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The Baptism of Christ.

By Piero della Francesca.

From a picture in the National Gallery.

A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

UMBRIA FLORENCE AND SIENA FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

VOLS. I.–IV. EDITED BY LANGTON DOUGLAS
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VOL. V.

UMBRIAN AND SIENESE MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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NOTE.

The Editor's notes are marked with an asterisk.

UMBRIAN AND SIENESE MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA

IT is not by dwelling exclusively on the growth of the purely Florentine school that we shall explain its development. Its ultimate perfection was due to the wisdom with which all existing elements of progress were assimilated and combined. The great laws of composition founded on the models of Giotto, the plastic element made dominant by the sculptors of the fifteenth century, the scientific perspective of lines, which owed its impulse to Uccelli, the more subtle one of atmosphere which Masaccio mastered, the tasteful architecture revived by Brunelleschi and Alberti, were summed up in a great measure by the spirit and grasp of Domenico Ghirlandaio. The changes in the use and application of mediums carried out by the Peselli and Baldovinetti, enlarged and extended by the Pollaiuoli, gained a concrete value in Verrocchio. But the merit of these and later artists was partly due to the example of an Umbrian educated by a Florentine master.

Pietro di Benedetto of the Franceschi, more commonly known as Piero della Francesca,[1] was born at Borgo San Sepolcro in Umbria, on the Western face of the mountain chain which parts Tuscany from the old duchy of Urbino and the States of the church on the Adriatic coast. He might have reached the twentieth year when he laboured at Florence, and the date of his birth

[1] Both the appellation "dei Franceschi" and "della Francesca" occur in contemporary records. See GRONAU, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxiii., p. 392 *sqq.*

may therefore be fixed about 1415–20.[1] The master who first instructed him is not known, but future investigation may prove that he was in early years apprentice to a painter who wandered, after the constant fashion of his countrymen, from Siena to the eastward, in search of employment.[2] His good fortune brought him in contact with Domenico Veneziano, whose residence at Perugia in 1438 has been described; and by Domenico he was employed, in 1439, on the frescos of S. Maria Nuova at Florence.[3] How long he may have remained with this master is uncertain. We have no clue to the story of his life after 1439 till his appearance at Rimini in 1451;[4] but we judge from his style that he tempered its Umbrian features with Florentine character. His masterpieces alone prove him to have been endowed with great penetration and powers of reflection, prone to fathom abstruse science, and capable to search and co-ordinate the secrets of nature. He enjoyed a happy conjunction of the talents which adorned the Van Eycks and Leonardo da Vinci.[5]

Thrown into relations with one of the realistic Florentines, he entered into the study of reality with an ardour equal to that of Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno, or the Peselli, making their style his own without a thought for selection, assuming their

*[1] We now know that Piero della Francesca was buried in the Badia (now Cathedral) of Borgo San Sepolcro on October 12, 1492 (CORAZZINI, *Appunti storici filologici su la valle tiberina*, Borgo San Sepolcro, 1874, p. 62). If VASARI be true in stating that Piero died at the age of eighty-six (ii., p. 501), the date of his birth would thus have to be fixed at 1405 or 1406. VASARI is, however, often inaccurate in statements of this kind, and it is quite possible that Piero was born at the time suggested by the authors.

*[2] There are two Sienese masters who may be considered to have had a large share in moulding the style of Piero della Francesca. One is Domenico di Bartolo, whose polyptych of 1438 at Perugia—whether it was painted in the latter city or not—must have been known to Piero; and the other is Sassetta, who between 1437 and 1444 executed an altarpiece for Borgo S. Sepolcro. In types and forms, system of design, and scheme of colour, Piero's works show numerous reminiscences of the paintings of these two artists.

*[3] See *antea*, iv., p. 140. *[4] Compare *postea*, p. 5, n. 2.

[5] One may observe that Fra Luca Pacioli, whose intimacy with Piero della Francesca is acknowledged by himself, became known as a mathematician, and in his later years (1496–99) remained at Milan in constant communication with da Vinci, who thus, no doubt, learnt much of his science through Pacioli from Piero. (See *Divina proportione*, Venice, 1509, p. 28, *v.* ch. vi. of the *Trattato dell'architettura*).

coarseness and energy, with some of the more refined quality perceptible in Paolo Uccelli. Without rising much above a common conventionalism apparent in the constant reproduction of a type affecting Moorish rather than European forms, he still reveals, in composition as well as in figures, some of the massive grandeur of the Florentines. With more science than Uccelli or Mantegna,[1] he turned his knowledge of linear perspective to admirable account, and learnt not merely to represent, but to measure planes at right angles to the picture, setting his figures at their just proportional height in the most advantageous situations. He applied the severest geometrical laws, in ascertaining the relative proportions of figures to each other and to their stations in a given room.[2] But he did not rest even there; he was the forerunner and superior of Domenico Ghirlandaio in the mode of projecting shadows. Calculations of the comparative values neces-

[1] Mantegna did not push the application of linear perspective to the human body farther than Piero della Francesca. His figures are firm on their plane and proportioned to surrounding objects, but lean, angular, and without the grandeur of the Florentines. Still his talent and application were great, and his works were studiously analyzed by Raphael.

[2] The late lamented E. HARZEN had the good fortune to discover in the Ambrosiana at Milan, under the false name of "Pietro Pittore di Bruges," Piero's treatise on perspective, from which it appears that he had already settled the point of distance as measuring point for rectangular, horizontal and vertical planes. He accurately described the relation of distance to the diameter of the equilateral cone of rays as similar to that of the height of an equilateral triangle to its side. (See HARZEN's paper on Pietro degli Franceschi, in *Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste, u. s.*, p. 241.) [* Beyond the MS. (in Italian, and probably dating from the second half of the sixteenth century) which was known to Harzen, there exists another version of this treatise (in Latin, and dating from the end of the fifteenth century) in the same library. Yet another (in Italian, and also dating from the end of the fifteenth century) is in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma; others still are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Latin, sixteenth century), in the British Museum (dated 1531), etc. (see JANITSCHEK in *Kunstchronik*, ser. i., vol. xiii., col. 671; WITTING, *Piero dei Franceschi*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 192). The Parma codex has been published in full by Dr. C. WINTERBERG (*Petrus pictor Burgensis de Prospectiva Pingendi*, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1899). Another treatise by Piero della Francesca, *Libellus de Quinque Corporibus Regularibus* is preserved in a MS. in the Vatican Library. (See JORDAN, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, i., p. 112 *sqq.*; and WINTERBERG, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, v., p. 33 *sqq.*)]

The authority of old writers is unanimous in favour of Piero's knowledge of perspective, and none more clear than that of CESARE CESARIANO, *Vitruvius* fol., Como, 1521, note to p. x.

sary for the due distribution of light and shade were familiar to him, and we may conjecture that he assisted his experiments by the aid of artificial light in dark spaces. Yet he seldom concentrates light, but gives each tint its proper local depth in exact proportion to its distance within the plane of the picture, thereby differing from those who condense light on one spot and throw the rest into comparative obscurity.[1] The natural result of this scientific acquirement in Piero was an elaborate certainty in the rendering of atmosphere. Without breaking up tones gradually according to distance, he was sure of the variation produced in primaries by the effect of remoteness.[2] The juxtaposition of two colours is never attended with any startling or brilliant contrast as in the Van Eycks; and the rules of harmony are equally maintained in the foreground and background. At the same time, the effect of the application of all these laws is perfect in the relief and natural projection of every object. If in the delineation of the human frame upon which these laws of relief and colour were carried out, Piero does not rise above the level of Paolo Uccelli, if he shows occasional neglect,[3] and sometimes falls into the angularities noticeable in the painters of Perugia, Foligno, and Gualdo, his architecture is admirable in taste, in proportion, and in ornament; and he is so peculiarly great in this respect that his perspective of edifices in S. Chiara at Urbino has been assigned to Baccio Pontelli and Bramante.[4]

To complete this sketch of Piero della Francesca one grand feature remains. The mediums introduced into painting by the Peselli and Baldovinetti, known to Domenico Veneziano, improved by the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, went through a new and clean

[1] A drawing by Piero of the angel appearing to Constantine,—sketch for a fresco in S. Francesco of Arezzo, once in the Ottley and afterwards in the Lawrence collection, was so effective that it was assigned to Giorgione. [* This drawing is now in the Print Room at the British Museum ; but it is undoubtedly a copy after, and not a design for, the painting, executed probably late in the sixteenth century.]

[2] This naturally presupposes and is intended to convey that he was perfectly aware of the laws of harmony in colours.

[3] He frequently gives the mere undressed block of a leg for instance. It is, however, true in action.

[4] The style and proportion of Piero's architecture, the taste of its ornament, are equal and perhaps superior to those of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

crucible before they were perfected by Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo. It was Piero della Francesca who performed this necessary and meritorious operation. He carried out improvements in the mode of oil colouring that place him next in Italy to Antonello da Messina, not because he followed the Van Eyck method introduced by the Sicilian, but because he added something like perfection to the system of the Florentine innovators. And thus we have before us a vast genius who only wanted the quality of selection to be one of the greatest men of his country.

It is said that Piero della Francesca and Domenico Veneziano once laboured together in the sacristy of S. Maria di Loreto,[1] and that, frightened by the appearance of the plague, they abandoned their work and the neighbourhood in all haste. According to a conjecture derived from the knowledge that the plague raged in the Marches between 1447 and 1452, it has been supposed that Domenico and Piero were residents at Loreto within those years. The statement is hard to deal with, because the only paintings in Loreto are those of Signorelli.[2] Again, if Vasari be reliable,[3] Piero was called to Rome in the Pontificate of Nicholas V., and competed with Bramante of Milan in two frescoes adorning the Camere, which were thrown down for Raphael by Julius II.; but it is extremely doubtful whether this competition took place, if it took place at all, in the Pontificate of Nicholas V.[4]

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 495, 674.

[*2] In 1442, Piero is known to have been one of the Consiglieri del popolo at Borgo S. Sepolcro (see EVELYN FRANCESCHI MARINI, in *L'Arte*, xvi. 472). On June 11, 1445, he received from the Compagnia della Misericordia of that city an order for an altarpiece (now in the Communal Gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro), which was to be finished during the next three years. Compare *postea*, p. 12 *sq.*

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 492, states this fact, and adds that, before throwing the frescoes down, Raphael had several portraits in them copied, and thus saved the likenesses of Niccolò Fortebraccio, Charles VII. of France, Antonio Colonna Prince of Salerno, Francesco Carmignuola, Giovanni Vitellesco, Cardinal Bessarion, Francesco Spinola, and Battista da Canneto. Compare also VASARI, iv., p. 329.

[*4] As set forth in CROWE and CAVALCASELLE'S *History of Painting in North Italy* (ed. BORENIUS), ii., pp. 333 and 340, note 2, what Vasari really wishes to convey in the passage referred to is that Bramantino (not Bramante) completed or restored the paintings executed by Piero della Francesca in the Camera dell' Eliodoro during the reign of Nicholas V. (1447–55). Professor SCHMARSOW (*Melozzo da Forlì*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1886, p. 235 *sqq.*) adduces some reasons for thinking that these frescoes were painted during the reign of Sixtus IV. (1471–84), and ascribes them—without sufficient reason, as it seems to me—to Melozzo da Forlì.

In 1451 Piero was serving Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini, a truculent soldier whose cruelty and wile are equally celebrated, and a patron of architects and painters; and Rimini owes to him the erection of the church of S. Francesco.[1]

On one of the walls of this edifice Malatesta may still be seen with two couchant greyhounds at his heels kneeling before the throned saint Sigismund of Burgundy; and on the lower border of a frame, imitating the pure antique, are the words:

"Sanctus Sigismundus. Sigismundus Pandulfus Malatesta pan. f. Petri de Burgo opus. MCCCCLI."[2]

A lofty simplicity, a perfect adjustment of proportions in the figures and in their relation to the classic intercolumniation of the background, reveal the talent of Piero at this period. His drawing, pounced from a cartoon on a very smooth surface, is of Leonardesque precision, his flesh colour is painted in thin, cool tones of yellowish light, shadowed with a transparent inky grey stippling. As a profile portrait nothing truer can be desired, except that perhaps the joined hands are flat and short and generalized in form. The face of the enthroned king is vulgar in type. But the architecture rivals in taste that of Alberti, who planned the church.[3]

Whether, after this, Piero betook himself to Pesaro, where Galeazzo Malatesta was Governor; whether he laboured at Ancona,[4] may possibly remain doubtful; but a certain correspondence of style and of handling suggests that the choir of S. Fran-

[1] See records as to Leon Battista Alberti and Pasti's share in the erection of S. Francesco of Rimini in *Alcuni documenti, u.s.*, pp. 9–12. [* Compare also F. Seitz, *S. Francesco in Rimini*, Berlin, 1893, and the account of Professor C. Ricci's discoveries in this church in the *Bollettino d' arte*, vi., p. 124 *sqq.*]

[2] A medallion at the side of the picture represents a castle, and is inscribed: "Castellum Sigismundum ariminensis E. MCCCCXLVI." (See also Vasari, vol. ii., p. 491.)

[3] The figure of Sigismund of Burgundy on a seat, is not nimbed; and the head is covered with a lappet cap. The blue mantle is partly scaled, and partly renewed. Part of the colour of the legs is gone likewise. The distance, being repainted, is damaging to the harmony of the whole. The dress of Malatesta is injured. The pouncing of the original design may still be traced beneath the original colour.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 491. [* In another place (ii., p. 498) Vasari states that Piero painted for the altar of St. Joseph in the Church of San Ciriaco at Ancona "in una storia bellissima lo sposalizio di Nostra Donna."]

cesco at Arezzo was decorated by him shortly after the completion of Malatesta's votive fresco at Rimini.[1]

The legend of the cross which Agnolo Gaddi had illustrated in S. Croce at Florence was that which now gave occasion to Piero to display the versatility of his powers.

In the lunette to the right the death and burial of Adam form two distinct subjects, parted from each other by a tree. The dying man is supported by Eve, whose hanging breasts indicate an advanced age; and three other naked figures represent the children of the first man. The burial to the left is an animated composition of ten figures. Both scenes are connected with the legend by the tradition variously stated in different books,[2] that the seed or a bough of the tree out of which

* [1] Luca Pacioli, as we shall see, mentions that Piero worked at Bologna and Ferrara; VASARI passes over his works at Rimini in silence, but states (ii., p. 491) that, having gone to Pesaro and Ancona, he, in the midst of his work, was called by Borso I. of Este (1450–71) to Ferrara, where he painted frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia and in the Church of Sant' Agostino. The existence of the frescoes by Piero in the latter building is also recorded in a MS. description of Ferrara, dating from 1585 (see CAMPORI, in *Atti e memorie delle Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, ser. iii., vol. iii., p. 556), but both these paintings and those which he executed at the Schifanoia are now lost. In view of what Vasari says, one is naturally apt to think that Piero went to Ferrara in or soon after 1451, when, as we have seen, he was working at Rimini, which lies so close to Pesaro and Ancona. It is, however, needless to point out how little trust can be put in the chronology of Vasari. Another remark of his bearing on this question will be found in the Life of Galasso, where it is said (iii., p. 89) that this painter, having seen how well remunerated Piero della Francesca was by the Duke, and how honourably he was treated at Ferrara, devoted himself, after Piero's departure, with such zeal to painting as to achieve a good name at Ferrara. Now, Galasso can only be traced at Ferrara up to 1453, after which year he went to Bologna. It seems also natural to date Piero's activity at Bologna some time about 1451, although it must be remembered that as late as 1482 we find him renting a house at Rimini (see *postea*, p. 23, note 2). However all this may be, he is known on documentary evidence to have been at Borgo San Sepolcro on October 4, 1454, when he was commissioned to execute a picture for the high-altar of the Church of Sant' Agostino in that city (see MILANESI, in *Il Buonarroti*, ser. ii., vol. ii., quad. v., p. 141). The picture was to be finished within the next eight years, and from the length of the period thus fixed it seems natural to conclude that he was engaged on some great undertaking—in all probability the frescoes in San Francesco at Arezzo (compare the Italian edition of this work, viii., p. 204 *sqq.*). These are known to have been finished by December 20, 1466 (*cf. postea*, p. 9, note 2).

At some date before 1466 he must have been at Urbino (*cf. postea*, p. 19, note 1).

* [2] For a full account of it, see Mrs. JAMESON'S *History of Our Lord* (London, 1865), ii., p. 385 *sqq.*

the cross was to be hewn, being that of the tree of life, had been granted to Seth, and either sown beneath the tongue of Adam or planted on his tomb; and that, growing to a noble size, it was hewn down by Solomon, and formed into a bridge over a stream. Its sacred nature was revealed to the Queen of Sheba, whose arrival and reverent prayer by the bridge, in the presence of her followers, is, together with her reception by Solomon, the subject of two frescoes, side by side in the course below the first lunette. In the lowest space of the same side the whole room is taken up with a view of the battle between Constantine and Maxentius.

The lunette of the end wall is only adorned with two grand figures standing at each side of the window—one to the left gesticulating with his hand as he speaks, the other at rest and haunched, but now much injured. In the course below this, to the right of the window, labourers busy with the raising of the cross[1] are depicted with realistic truth; whilst to the left of the window is an equally natural group of men hauling up a figure with a crane out of a well.[2] Beneath these two subjects are the vision of an angel to Constantine, who appears lying in his tent with an attendant slumbering at his bedside, and two guards at the entrance; and the Annunciation.

In the lower course of the left side are seen the battle between Chosroes, King of Persia, and Heraclius, Emperor of the Romans, for the recovery of the cross, and the execution of Chosroes, the upper space being filled with the finding of the cross before St. Helen, and the proof of its miraculous power by the raising of the dead man. The lunette (much injured) represents the progress of Heraclius into Jerusalem. In the left pilaster of the entrance arch, the soffit of which still preserves some figures by Bicci (two saints above the cornices being by Piero), a Cupid resting on his bow stands above two superposed saints, a Bishop, and Peter Martyr (half gone). The right pilaster is empty, with the exception of part of an angel in the lowest space.

Though injured in a great many places, these frescoes have not been retouched, the spots where intonaco has fallen being simply filled in, whilst the painted frames have been renewed.

*[1] Or perhaps bringing the sacred beam to the Temple at the order of Solomon (Witting, *u.s.*, p. 62).

*[2] The figure who is being hauled up is Judas, a Jew, who did not want to disclose to St. Helen where the true cross was buried. He was therefore cast into a dry well, and left without food. For six days he held out, but on the seventh he revealed his secret.

Photo, Alinari

THE BATTLE BETWEEN CONSTANTINE AND MAXENTIUS
By Piero della Francesca
From a fresco in S. Francesco, Arezzo

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Following close on the comparatively feeble Bicci, who had only completed a ceiling and part of the frieze at the entrance,[1] Piero deserved to be well rewarded by his patron, Luigi Bacci of Arezzo,[2] who had fortunately exchanged the ordinary productions of a low Giottesque for the more perfect ones of a great painter. Following the technical system of drawing and colour which he had already applied in S. Francesco at Rimini,[3] Piero distributes his groups and distances according to the laws of linear and aerial perspective with a science and certainty only equalled later by Leonardo, and with a startling reality of truth in effects, both of relief by light and shade, and of harmony by juxtaposition of tone. Treating the human figure as a mere geometrical unit, he neglects idealism of type or selection of form, contenting himself with realistic portraiture, with the conscientious reproduction of shapes, weighty of frame and of limb, coarse in hand and foot, but admirable as illustrating anatomy and instantaneous action. Piero is the best painter of nudes in his age, and not inferior in this sense to Masaccio or to Ghirlandaio. If his impersonations lack comeliness, spirituality, or idealized benevolence, they are dignified in mien and cleverly individual. Draperies realistic and broken are still broad in treatment. An illustration of his power of individualizing, and his talent for nude, may be found in Adam's death, where one of the youths, with his legs crossed, leaning on a staff, is almost equal to a figure by Signorelli. The keen perception of natural momentary action is shown in Adam's burial,[4] the Florentine quality of grand composition in the arrival of the Queen of Sheba.

The battle between Constantine and Maxentius, where the

[1] See *antea*, ii., p. 275 *sq.*, Bicci, and VASARI, vol. ii., p. 56.

[2] VASARI says it was painted for him (vol. ii., p. 495). RUMOHR doubts, on insufficient grounds, the authorship of Piero (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 336). It is proved in a record of 1466, in which the artist is chosen to paint a standard by the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo, and the mention of his name is made as follows: "Maestro Pietro di Benedetto dal Borgho Santo Sepolchro maestro di depigniere; il quale a dipinto la chupola maggiore di San Francesco d' Arezo" (GAETANO MILANESI in *Giorn. stor. degl. arch. tosc., u.s.*, 1862, p. 11).

[3] *I.e.*, the drawing pounced from cartoons on a very smooth surface, liquid tones of a yellow-red in flesh; light, inky grey shadows stippled on.

[4] Distant episodes here are all much injured.

soldiers of the latter are driven in disarray over a stream, is a mêlée of combatants and fugitives on horseback, in which, without the confusion which marks the fights of Uccelli, Piero allows us to perceive that he has not as yet mastered the forms of the horse in quick motion.

The absence of comeliness in females is proved by the Virgin of the Annunciation, whose common type, affecting a superhuman gravity,—whose costume, of the painter's own period, are more natural than suits the elevation of the subject. The angel with his wiry locks is not a celestial apparition. Nor is the Eternal rendered with any elevation.

The portraits in the group of the execution are excellent; and if in general the human form has little suppleness, it is not disfigured by such conventionalisms as we find at later periods. The types are peculiar, the costumes often singular; and had Vasari related of Piero that he was once a captive in Barbary, we should have believed him.

But Piero excites our surprise and admiration in the Vision, in which an effect of light and a daring foreshortened view of an angel, give a double attraction to the picture. The effect is similar in principle to that in the liberation of St. Peter at Rome, which Raphael conceived, no doubt after he had studied Piero's masterpieces.[1] There are but traces of the head and wings of the heavenly messenger ; but the hand and arm remain, and explain the general movement, which rivals in boldness that of Uccelli's Eternal in S. M. Novella.[2] The light dress of the figure, the yellow cone and sides of the tent whose shadows are tinged with red as they verge into the blackness of complete obscurity,—the powerful cool tone of the dark interior giving the idea of night, relieved by the lined white and blood-red coverlet of the Emperor's bed,—the twilight on the sleeping soldier in front, the alternation

[1] Perhaps an effect of light and shade similar to this at Arezzo adorned the space which Raphael afterwards filled with the liberation of St. Peter, that subject being painted on the wall previously occupied by a work of Piero's. This reflection has already been made in an able article on Raphael and Gio. Santi in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxvi., No. cxxxi., p. 8.

[2] Dr. GAYE, in *Kunstblatt*, No. 85, 1836, treating of this piece, affirms that there is no angel in the dream of Constantine, and takes the mutilated one still there for an eagle !

Photo, Alinari

THE DREAM OF CONSTANTINE

By Piero della Francesca

From a fresco in S. Francesco, Arezzo

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of light and shade in the two sentries,[1]—the shadows projected in a manner appropriate to a scene thus illumined, all combine to give an effect similar to the reality. The edge lights, or broad shadows, such as that cast on the face of the soldier to the right by his helmet, are truth itself; yet throughout, the proper balance of chiaroscuro is maintained, and the drawing is rapid, bold and correct. No one can wonder at the design for this fresco being taken for one by Giorgione. It might have been assigned with equal propriety to Correggio or to Rembrandt.

Assuming, as we must, that this great series was commenced after the death of Bicci di Lorenzo in 1452, we are led to judge from the general similarity of its execution with the fresco of Rimini that it was completed shortly after, and that Piero della Francesca resided at Arezzo during 1453 and 1454.[2] The traces of his activity are, however, not confined to the choir of S. Francesco. A crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, in a chapel to the right of the portal, betrays the less able hand of an assistant in Piero's school;[3] but a standing figure of the Magdalen, between the Tarlati monument and the door of the sacristy in the Duomo appears to have been painted on the wall by the master himself. She stands life size in a richly ornamented niche of feigned marble, with the cup in her left hand and the drapery of her mantle in her right; and long locks fall in the usual thorny style to her shoulders. The mass of light and shade is grandly distributed, and thus we have a work worthy of being cited amongst the fine ones of the master.

From Arezzo to Borgo S. Sepolcro is no great distance. Twenty-five miles is the utmost that separates the two places, and our artist may have resided in his native town and kept his family there when busy in person elsewhere. Records and pictures are still extant to prove that numerous commissions flowed in to him during a course of years at Borgo S. Sepolcro. An order for an

[1] The sentry in armour, to the left, is in shadow, resting on his lance, and turns his back almost completely to the spectator. The sentry to the right is also in armour, and part of his right leg, with a portion of the floor close by it, is repainted. The same mishap has occurred to the right leg of the sitting soldier.

*[2] *Cf. antea*, p. 7, note 1.

[3] An inscription below the Crucifixion runs: "Hæc cappella año Dñi MCCCCLXIII."

altarpiece from the brothers of the Compagnia della Misericordia in that town is said to exist, and may possibly be found at a later time.[1] The piece to which it refers, rebuilt in a modern and tasteless shape, remains in the church of the hospital occupied by the fraternity before its suppression.[2] It affords an example of Piero's skill in the handling of the Florentine oil medium, and proves more clearly than the frescoes of Arezzo the mixture of Umbro-Sienese and Florentine character forming his peculiar style.

The altarpiece in its present shape is a large wooden screen, in the midst of which an arched rectangle contains the Virgin of Mercy under whose cloak kneel groups of males and females of various degree.[3] The screen rests upon four arched niches, in which SS. Sebastian, John the Baptist, a nameless saint, and Bernardino, are depicted,[4] and the whole on a predella, which belonged to another picture,[5] representing Christ's burial, between the Flagellation and Christ in the garden, the Marys at the sepulchre, and the Noli me tangere. The old predella containing eight saints, amongst whom are SS. Benedict, Jerome, Anthony of Padua, Francis, Dominic, and three others;[6]—the Virgin and the angel annunciate of the side pinnacles, have been built up into pilasters at the side of the frame containing the Virgin of Mercy, whilst

* 1 This record has been published by MILANESI in *Il Buonarroti*, ser. iii., vol. ii., quaderno iv. (Rome, 1885), p. 116. We learn from it that the altarpiece was ordered on June 11, 1445, and is thus perhaps the earliest extant work by Piero.

2 The fraternity was found to have been an useful one, and was allowed to revive after the suppression. Its church had meanwhile been converted into an hospital, and in order to avoid further change, the company were located in their present Church of S. Rocco. On the pilaster of the altarpiece a panel at each side of a row of four saints contains the company's monogram, M. I. A. [* This altarpiece is now in the Communal Gallery at Borgo San Sepolcro. The panels have again been put together as they were originally. This arrangement is shown in the annexed reproduction.]

3 The Virgin stands with a heavy crown on her head in a blue mantle (repainted in the lights). Beneath her arms and under the cloak, females stand erect to the right, and kneeling to the left, a penitent of the compagnia amongst the latter.

4 These saints are injured, and the colour is cracked on the surface of the panel. The lower parts are mutilated, or covered by the predella.

* 5 This is not the case. It has always belonged to this altarpiece, of which it is no doubt the feeblest part, practically entirely the work of assistants.

6 These saints are all more or less injured. [* These panels were never part of the predella, but were arranged at the sides and the top of the altarpiece, as shown in the reproduction.]

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN OF MERCY

By Piero della Francesca

From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Borgo S. Sepolcro

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the central pinnacle overtops the whole edifice, and holds a crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist, in the exact form of that in San Francesco at Arezzo.

The whole of this piece, with the exception of the predella scenes which seem more in the tempera method than the rest, is painted in the mixed system already noted in the life of Domenico Veneziano, improved in some measure by Piero, and still further perfected in his latest examples. The Virgin, whose type as usual lacks comeliness, is still fine and grave. The females at her sides are graceful portraits, whilst the males, also impressed with a powerful stamp of nature, are moulded in a form reproduced on a lower scale by the school of Gubbio and the painters of Gualdo and Camerino. Equally fine are the saints in the pilasters, though vulgar types. A threatening glance in the open eyes and a realistic precision in the extremities, not characteristic of a painter educated solely in the Florentine school, reveal an inspiration derived from Siena. The mixture of Sienese character and the Florentine coarseness of Andrea del Castagno is marked likewise in the vulgar crucified Saviour, and in the somewhat extravagantly posed Virgin and Evangelist. A still greater want of selection is sensibly felt in the St. Sebastian and John the Baptist, whilst Umbrian or Sienese spirit of composition, type, and action are most conspicuous in the predella. Yet the whole work is Piero's, aided perhaps in the less important parts by pupils.

A surprising softness and fusion of colour of an equal brown tinge marks the flesh tints in the Virgin, in the figures at her feet, and in the pilaster saints; and the higher surface of the shadows explains the process of handling, which is carried out on the same system in draperies of powerful primary or secondary tones, glazed with half body colour, and bright with the brightness of Van Eyck, Antonello, Titian, or Giorgione.

Whilst Piero thus reveals the mixed nature of his manner in a picture which introduced the system of the Florentine innovators into Umbria, he gives another illustration of his fancy for Sienese typical compositions in the resurrection of Christ, a fresco adorning the old Palazzo de' Conservatori at Borgo S. Sepolcro, now the Monte Pio.[1] Following the arrangement of an artist, (probably

[1] This fresco is noticed by VASARI, vol. ii., p. 494 *sq.*

Niccolò di Segna) who in earlier years had used this subject at S. Chiara, a monastery in this very city,[1] Piero depicts the four guards, weighty and grandly presented in armour, asleep, in telling attitudes, one of them admirably foreshortened in front of the sepulchre, inside of which the Saviour has risen in his winding sheet, and grasping the banner, has a foot already on the ledge. It is apparent that the great object of the artist was to make the figure of Christ prominent in spite of its station on a more distant plane than the guard; he succeeds in his intention by keeping the tones of the foreground and landscape distance low. The Saviour whose winding sheet is drawn round over the left shoulder, leaving the torso and right arm bare, is at once realistic and colossal, and imposing as in the old Byzantine Sienese examples founded upon the antique. The parts are modelled with anatomical truth. But the type of the face is Moorish, with full lips, straight broad-barrelled nose, and hollow eyes, whilst the extremities are coarse and common. More striking for the science which it displays than pleasant to the view, this resurrection is painted with a breadth almost conventional, and in great relief, the various planes of light and shade being precisely defined and mapped out. The broken folds of draperies, of double stuff, recall those of Benozzo, and are glazed in shadow over the local tone, a system pursued in the flesh tints with equal success.[2] Greater freedom of hand, more impasto, suggest a later period for this piece than for the frescoes of the choir of Arezzo.

Less uncertainty as to time is created by the fresco of St. Louis, originally painted by Piero in the Regio Tribunale of Borgo S. Sepolcro, now in the "Comune," and dated 1460[3]—a mutilated

* [1] Compare *antea*, iii., p. 29 *sq.*

[2] The Saviour's mantle is glazed red, the shadows a deeper glaze of the same. It is unfortunate that very little light should flow into the place where the fresco is placed; and it can only be studied with difficulty. [* In these matters a change for the better has now taken place, the fresco being seen very well in the room it adorns, and which is mainly used for the purpose of showing it.]

[3] The inscription runs thus when freed from abbreviations: "Tempore nobilis et generosi viri Lodovici Acciaroli pro magnifico et eccelso populo Florentino rectoris dignissimi capitanei ac primi vexilliferi justitie populi aere Burgiano MCCCCLX." The lower part of the figure is gone. On a frieze of the architectural background are the letters of the name Lodovicus. [* This fresco has now been brought to the Communal Gallery. The dedicatory inscription is no longer to be seen.]

piece representing the saint in the mitre and robes of office and holding the crozier and book.

We have described in the Peselli the somewhat artless use of viscous and lustrous colours tempered with a new medium; in the Pollaiuoli, the introduction of a mode of glazing with the same vehicles transparently or in half body. Piero della Francesca gave a new impulse to the whole system. Instead of painting flesh tones of a certain monotonous value and marked by a difficulty of fusion in the passage from light through semitone to high surface shadow, he took advantage of some successful improvement in the liquefaction of the hitherto viscous medium. The certainty of this is derived from earlier and later examples of the master's skill, in which the flesh tints, instead of obtaining light from within—*i.e.*, by the brightness of the underground piercing the superposed tone—receive light from outwards, being prepared at once in a sort of dead colour, modified afterwards by half-bodied preparations and final transparent glazes. The lights and shadows are always given over the local flesh tone, and are thus more plentiful on the panel, the whole gaining a lustrous and pinguid aspect of much brightness. The primary colours of dresses temper each other judiciously because of the perfect proportion of their tone in the general harmony. The sky and distances are prepared so that the lighter portions (paths, for instance) should receive light from the white underground, this quality being attained by the use of hardly perceptible glazes; whilst the parts less flimsily touched over are still mellow, easily spread, and free from excessive pastosity. It is thus clear that Piero had gained the knowledge of many of the improvements which contributed to the greatness of the Van Eycks and Antonello; and that without revealing any material contact with them, he had gained possession of a great advantage in the use of vehicles less viscous, more manageable and paler than those of the Pollaiuoli and Peselli. He came nearer than any of the Florentines to the Flemish and Sicilian innovators in feeling for colour as well as in the technical manner of applying it.

Of great value as a genuine production of Piero is the Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery, formerly part of an altarpiece in

the priory of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo S. Sepolcro, of which the remainder is by another hand.[1]

Christ stands in the stream, in the centre of the picture, whilst John pours the water on his head. Three angels wait to the left, and behind the Evangelist a proselyte strips. In the distance four figures in Oriental dress stand and cast reflections into the water of Jordan. A garden and the town of Borgo S. Sepolcro form the background.

A serious drawback to the enjoyment of this picture is the abrasion of its colour and its reduction to the condition of a preparation such as we might expect to see in an unfinished work by Correggio; but in form, in type, in study of nude, Piero proves his mastery in giving elasticity to flesh and muscle. His carelessness of aught but correctness of action is shown in coarse extremities, his partiality to the antique in somewhat academic figures.[2]

We are in possession of the original contract in which the brethren of the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo ordered a standard of Piero to be adorned with a Virgin and angel annunciate in December, 1466; and one of the clauses of that contract is most important, as it states that the whole picture shall be "worked in oil" (lavorato a olio).[3]

*[1] *I.e.*, by Matteo da Siena; *cf. postea*, p. 143, n. 1. Matteo's paintings would seem, for reasons of style, to have been executed some time before his Virgin and Child with Saints in the Pienza Gallery, on which he is known to have been at work in 1462. See HARTLAUB, *Matteo da Siena*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 47 *sq.*

[2] London National Gallery, No. 665, Wood, tempera, 5 feet 5½ inches by 3 feet 9½ inches; bought in 1861 at the sale of the Uzielli collection.

[3] We may here take occasion to exclude from the catalogue of Francesca's works the following: *London, National Gallery:* a portrait, No. 585. This is a fine profile, but not certainly by Piero della Francesca. It has a Florentine character, with something akin to the art of one following the style of Uccello's battle pieces, the style of drawing being an advance upon his.

London, Late Barker collection: a portrait. This or the foregoing may, as stated, represent Isotta; that both should do so is impossible. That of Mr. Barker is said to resemble the likeness on Pisano's medal. However that may be, the style of this picture is not such as to convince us of the correctness of the attribution to Piero della Francesca. It is, however, a good example of Italian art. [* This portrait is now in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook, at Richmond. The features of the sitter do not resemble those of Isotta.]

London, Mr. Drury Lowe. This portrait is a good one, in the spirit of the Umbrian manner, mixed with that of Piero. It was exhibited (No. 48) at Manchester. It is not by our artist, and we may have occasion to notice it in the Life of Giovanni Santi.

When the brethren sent from Arezzo to Borgo S. Sepolcro for their standard in November, 1468, they found that Piero had left the town in June, 1467, and had taken up his abode in the neighbouring place of La Bastia, in order to avoid the ravages of the plague.[1] Their satisfaction at the result of his labours was simply and warmly recorded, and they relate how the brotherhood turned out on the following Sunday with their new purchase at the head of a solemn procession; and the public voice of Arezzo proclaimed that Piero della Francesca had done his duty; a verdict which their present posterity is unable to ratify, because the picture has perished.[2]

It may have been in the course of these years that Piero conducted to a successful termination a small panel containing the portrait of a man kneeling in prayer before St. Jerome, seated frontwise, turning the leaves of a book, now in the Academy at Venice, and authenticated by a signature. The distant landscape, enlivened by a view of a town very like that of Borgo S. Sepolcro, the figures arranged in the relative positions of those in the fresco of Rimini, are very characteristic of the master, and the piece is on a level with that of the National Gallery, whilst the drawing is pure and precise like that of Verrocchio or Leonardo. As for the person represented, it is clear from his attitude before St. Jerome that that hermit was his patron; and this is confirmed by the inscription at foot : " Hier. Amadi. Aug. P." Nor is it unlikely, since we know the artist's connection with Sigismund Malatesta, that this should be Girolamo, the son of Carlo Malatesta of Sogliano, who, in 1464, married a daughter of Federigo of Urbino.[3] The connection which shortly afterwards arose between Piero della Francesca and Sigismund Malatesta's consistent enemy, the Duke of Montefeltro, might thus become more com-

* [1] In the Registro di riforme of Borgo S. Sepolcro of 1467-68 there occurs the entry: " Maestro Pietro di Benedetto di Pietro pictore elettor del medico " (Evelyn Francheschi Marini, *u.s.*, p. 472).

[2] See all these facts in the records already cited in *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, 1862, pp. 9 and fol.

[3] Venice Academy, No. 47. Wood, m. 0·48 h. by 0·39. On the trunk of a tree to the left, bearing a crucifix, are the words: " Petri de Būgo Sĉi sepulcri opus." Many of the glazes and finesses are gone, and the piece is now a slightly tinted chiaroscuro. See for facts respecting Girolamo, Ugolini (F.), *Storia dei conti d'Urbino*, post 8vo. (Florence, 1859), vol. ii., pp. 27, 28.

prehensible than it otherwise would be; although, in respect of patronage, the experience of centuries proves that painters were free to come and go through the territories, and welcome at the Courts of princes bitterly hostile to each other.[1]

Pausing for the sake of recording only that the Ascension of the Virgin assigned to our artist in S. Chiara of Borgo S. Sepolcro, though coloured in a low key of tempera like that of Piero, suggests by its appearance the names of Gerino da Pistoia, or Francesco di Città di Castello, artists whose style may be more accurately defined hereafter,[2] we are led to inquire the time when

* [1] In the Italian edition of this work (viii., 239, n. 1), it is justly pointed out that the above inscription has been added later to the picture, perhaps after it had become the property of a person named Girolamo Amadi.

[2] This altarpiece in S. Chiara (of old S. Agostino) has been assigned to Piero della Francesca by the annotators of the last edition of VASARI (vol. ii., note 3 to p. 493). It represents the Ascension of the Virgin between six playing and singing angels. Below are SS. Francis, Jerome, Louis, and Chiara. In the distance are the youthful Baptist, St. Thomas, and the twelve Apostles. It is a carefully executed piece of feeble character. Francesco di Città di Castello, one of the painters suggested in the text, has many features of the school of Perugino, combined with a mode of drawing reminiscent of that of Piero della Francesca, his figures being thin and angular. He approaches Perugino most in a picture at Città di Castello. [* The Assumption seen by the authors above the high-altar of S. Chiara at Borgo San Sepolcro is now in the Communal Gallery of that city. We know from a contemporary record that a picture for the high-altar of the above-mentioned church, which at that time belonged to the friars of St. Augustine, and was called S. Agostino, was ordered from Piero della Francesca on October 4, 1454. The artist promised to finish it within the next eight years, and reference is made to it as finished ("tabule . . . picte per dictum magistrum Petrum") on November 14, 1469, at which date Piero received a rate of payment (though not the last one) for it (see *Il Buonarroti*, ser. iii., vol. ii., pp. 141 *sqq.*, 218 *sqq.*). The subject of this picture is not mentioned in the documents or by Vasari, who merely says: "Nel convento dei Frati di Sant' Agostino (Piero della Francesca) dipinse la tavola dell' altar maggiore che fu cosa molto lodata." It appears, however, from the records of 1454 that it was a polyptych ("consignaverunt dicto magistro Petro dictam tabulam sic pingendam et ornandam et figurandam *que est de tabulis compositam* et laboratam de lignamine in dicta sagrestia solutam et factam fieri et fabricari per dictum Angelum"). If this be so, the picture in question cannot, of course, be identical with the Assumption at Borgo San Sepolcro; and this seems unlikely also from the fact that none of the principal saints represented in it belongs to the Augustinian Order, and all to the Franciscan Order. We are therefore led to conclude that the altarpiece painted by Piero for S. Agostino has disappeared, and that the Assumption was brought to that church by the nuns of St. Claire when taking possession of it in 1555. This would dispose of Sig. VENTURI'S ingenious theory (see *L'Arte*, xiv., 54 *sqq.*), according to which the Assumption,

ur Umbro-Florentine made his way again across the hills to he Eastern side of the crest dividing the Marches from Tuscany, nd received employment in Urbino. The records of the Brother- ood of Corpus Domini assist us to solve this difficulty. They tell s that Piero was invited in April, 1469, to paint an altarpiece, nd that the expenses of his journey were paid by Giovanni Santi, he father of Raphael.[1]

The Duke of Urbino was at this time in the enjoyment of great ower and wealth. He was Captain-General of the Florentine eague — Florence, Naples, and Milan — against the Pope and enice. He had already begun vast architectural enterprises nder the direction of Luciano Laurana, a Dalmatian, it is hought,[2] who was afterwards succeeded by the Florentine Baccio ontelli. Francesco di Giorgio was his adviser in the art of forti- ication,[3] Santi one of the artists who most illustrated his state. hat such a man should employ Piero della Francesca when he ppeared under the auspices of Santi in Urbino was natural nough;[4] and accordingly it seems that Piero, who is not known o have carried out the commission for the altarpiece of the Corpus

hich he considers to be identical with the picture mentioned in the records of 454 and 1469, must be an early work by Perugino, executed in the studio of iero, since at so early a date the only "Peruginesque" artist in existence was erugino himself.] PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, vol. i., p. 433) assigns to Piero della rancesca an Ascension in S. Maria de' Servi at Borgo S. Sepolcro. It is strange hat a man of his experience should have confounded the works of this great naster with a purely Sienese production. But see *postea*, Benvenuto di Giovanni.

[1] Santi enumerates Piero amongst his great Italian contemporaries (see UNGILEONI'S *Elogio stor. di G. Santi, u.s.*, p. 73). The record of the latter's rrival in Urbino is in the same author, p. 75. [* There exists an elegiac by the armelite Ferabò on a portrait of Federigo di Montefeltro by Piero della Fran- esca. Ferabò was at Urbino in 1466, immediately before he lived at Perugia 1467–70), so that by this time Piero must at least have been once at Urbino. See CINQUINI, in *L'Arte*, ix. 56.) By November 14, 1469, Piero was back at Borgo San Sepolcro (see *antea*, p. 18, n. 2).]

[* 2] He was, without doubt, a Dalmatian. For full notices of him, see HOFMANN, *Bauten des Herzogs Federigo di Montefeltro als Erstwerke der Hochrenaissance*, 1905.

[* 3] Compare on Baccio Pontelli's and Francesco di Giorgio's activity at Urbino, OFMANN, *u.s.*

[4] FRA LUCA PACIOLI in *Summa de Arithmetica* calls Piero (Dedication of 1494 o Guidubaldo of Urbino) "l' assiduo de la excellenza V. D. Casa familiare" *p.* PASSAVANT, *Raphael*, vol. i., p. 435), so that Piero was well known to two suc- essive Dukes of Urbino.

Domini,[1] was soon at the service of Federigo, painting a Flagellation, intended, it was said, allegorically, to illustrate the last days of Oddantonio of Montefeltro,[2] and an apotheosis with portraits of the Duke and his wife, Battista Sforza.

The melancholy fate of Oddantonio di Montefeltro is historic. He perished with his minions, Tommaso dell' Agnello of Rimini, and the apostolic protonotary Manfredo de' Carpi, under the blows of men who in their age had at least the excuse of revenge for atrocious wrong to urge in mitigation of their actions.[3] It is a tradition preserved by the historians of Urbino, that three portraits of persons in local costume standing outside the portico in which Piero della Francesca depicted the Flagellation, are likenesses of the murdered Prince and his advisers.[4] Others suppose the persons to be Guidubaldo the father, Oddantonio, and Federigo, his lawful and illegitimate sons. Be this as it may, the picture which Piero here completed on the innovating system is the finest that he had yet produced. It is preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo at Urbino, and represents Pilate seated on his chair of state, under a splendid porch, in the midst of which the naked Saviour is fast to a pillar crowned with an idol, and

* [1] As suggested by Professor A. Venturi (*L'Arte*, xiii., 317 *sq.*), the probable sequence of events in connection with this altarpiece appears to have been as follows: It was ordered from Paolo Uccello, who also executed it, but not to the satisfaction of the Brotherhood. Piero della Francesca was therefore asked to examine it and introduce corrections in it (the record of April 8, 1469, states: "Bolognini 10 dati a Gioanni di Sante da Colbordolo per fare le spese a Mtro. Piero del Borgo ch'era venuto *a vedere la taula per farla a conto della Fraternita*") He probably, however, did nothing, or else the result was not considered satisfactory. Justus of Ghent therefore painted for the Brotherhood his Communion of the Apostles (now in the Urbino Gallery), which was joined on to the predella from Uccello's altarpiece. This predella is also now in the Urbino Gallery (see *antea*, iv. 120 *sq.*).

[2] *Guida di Montefeltro*, p. 1; Ugolini, *Storia*, *u.s.*, vol. i., p. 293.

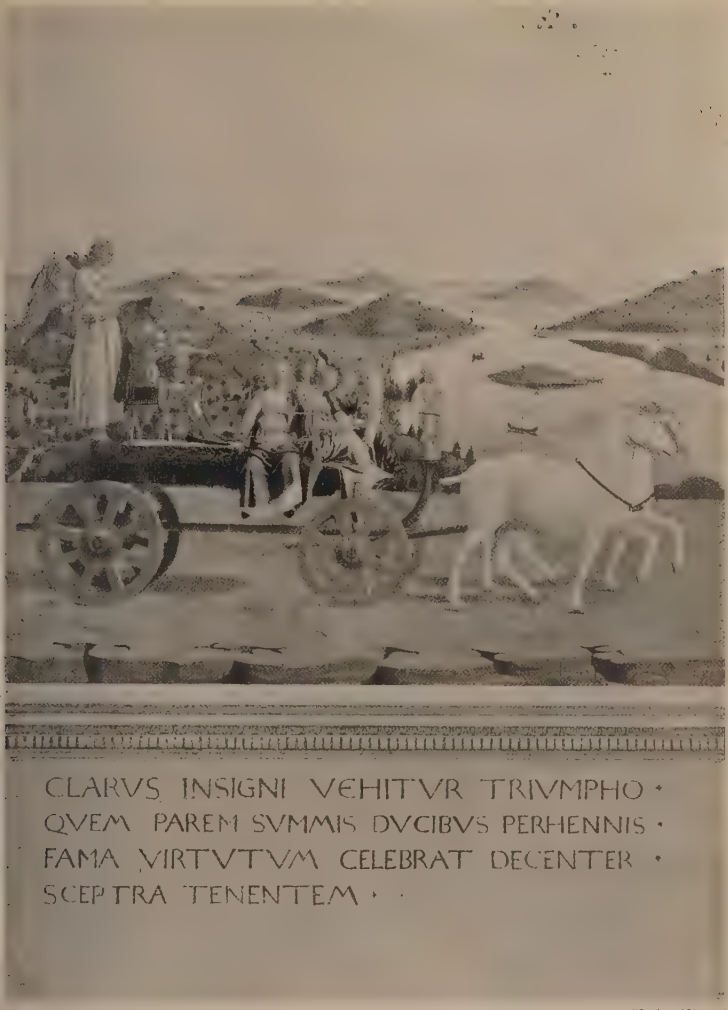
[3] The assassins desired the lives of the minions, not that of Oddantonio. They found it impossible to compass the former without the latter.

[4] In the National Gallery catalogues a motto, "Convenerunt in unum," is said to be inscribed near the figures. That motto does not now exist (see article, "Piero della Francesca"). [* According to Dr. Bombe (in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, v. 470), the whole verse, "Astiterunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum eius" (Ps. ii. 2), was formerly written on the frame of the picture. This verse forms the *Leitmotiv* in the first Nocturn of the service on Good Friday, and is often illustrated in illuminated missals with the Flagellation.]

Photo, Alinari

THE FLAGELLATION
BY PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA
From a picture in the Duomo, Urbino

V.—*To face page 20a*


CLARVS INSIGNI VEHITVR TRIVMPHO ·
QVEM PAREM SVMMIS DVCIBVS PERHENNIS ·
FAMA VIRTVTVM CELEBRAT DECENTER ·
SCEPTRA TENENTEM · ·

Photo, Alinari

THE TRIUMPH OF FEDERIGO OF MONTEFELTRO

By Piero della Francesca

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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receives the flagellation from three executioners, whilst outside to the right, and at the top of a street with a distance of trees and sky, stands, in closer proximity to the spectator, the group we have endeavoured to describe.[1]

Piero had now polished the style but partially developed at Arezzo. As a geometer, an architect, and a master of perspective, he shines alike, giving a beautiful form to the colonnade in which the principal scene is placed, distributing the figures with judgment on their planes, and imparting to them their exact shade of tone with sufficient relief. The sense of depth and rotundity is naturally assisted by carefulness and cleanness of tint, great softness and fusion of colour, and a perfect keeping in the parts. Yet Piero's neglect of all but the block of human form is perceptible still.[2]

A more finished example of the technical progress of our painter is the diptych at the Uffizi, in which the fair side of Federigo's countenance, left untouched, fortunately for him, in a tourney, faces the profile of his wife.[3] Neither are agreeable types, but nothing can exceed the Leonardesque precision of the drawing or the softness and fusion of the impasto. The obverse of each portrait contains a Triumph, in one of which Federigo is driven on a car, reproduced in these pages, and Battista is seated on another with similar accompaniments. Both allegories are handled with the same talent as the portraits, in landscapes of a charming expanse, in the mixed medium improved by Francesca. If in the representation of the horse at Arezzo he shows imperfection; he is now free from that reproach, those which drive the triumphal cars of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino being fine and precisely drawn, like those of Verrocchio. Nor can we refrain from comparing these masterpieces, produced at least as early as

[1] On the step of the platform on which Pilate sits in profile, to the left, are the words: "Opus Petri de Burgo sĉi. sepulcri."

[2] A sensible disadvantage to the picture is the horizontal split in it and a breach in the head of the centre portrait in the right-hand group.

[3] No. 1,300 (wood, small) Gallery of the Uffizi. It is natural to suppose that these portraits should have been executed before 1472, which is the year of Battista Sforza's death. [* If this portrait of Federigo be identical with that mentioned in Ferabò's elegiac (see *antea*, p. 19, n. 1), it would follow that it had been executed by 1466.]

1472, with the altarpiece of Justus of Ghent in S. Agata at Urbino, which was completed two years later. Italian art, obviously, had nothing to gain from this second-rate Fleming.

These, however, are not all the works with which our artist graced the city of Urbino. We must withdraw his name from the six panels of Apostles given to him in the Duomo, of which a description shall be deferred to the life of Giovanni Santi; but he is clearly the author of a splendid picture in S. Chiara, representing a circular temple of two stories, flanked by a line of edifices at each side, carried out with the taste and science for which Piero is already known, drawn in good perspective, with the greatest feeling for gradual breaking up of tones according to the receding planes which they colour.[1] Piero della Francesca may indeed at this time have matured his treatise on perspective composed, according to Fra Lucia Pacioli at Borgo S. Sepolcro, in the vulgar tongue, and translated into Latin by his friend Maestro Matteo,[2] for though Fra Luca only states the fact in his "Summa de Arithmetica," published in 1494, he does not indicate the exact period in which Piero wrote. Pacioli, who has been very unjustly

*[1] This picture is now in the gallery at Urbino (No. 17). F. von REBER (in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philolog. und histor. Klasse der K. Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1889, p. 55) has put forward the theory that it is the work of Luciano Laurana, and one of the pictures mentioned by Bernardo Baldi in his description of the ducal palace of Urbino (*c.* 1585) as follows: "Ch' egli (cioè Luciano da Laurana) avesse bonissimo disegno ed acconciamente dipingesse, si uede in certe tavolette, nele quali sono tirate con ragione di prospettivo e colorite alcune Scene, delle quali non può dubitarsi, se siano sue, essendovi scritto il suo nome ed alcune altre cose coi caratteri e linguaggio schiavone (see BIANCHINI, *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*, Rome, 1724, p. 44). It appears that there really are traces of inscriptions above the two foremost houses on each side, and Dr. BOMBE speaks of them as "clearly visible remains of the signature of Laurana" (*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, v. 458). I have not examined these traces, but feel reluctant to admit that this picture, with its wonderful rendering of colour and light, is not by Piero. A kindred subject, but not quite so fine, is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 1,015); yet another was formerly in the Massarenti collection in Rome, and has now been sold to America. A pen-and-ink drawing, of similar character (view of a street), is in the Kupferstichkabinet at Dresden (reproduced in WOERMANN, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinet zu Dresden*, Munich, 1896, first portfolio, plate XV.

[2] FRA LUCA PACIOLI, *Summa de Arithmetica*, vol. i., p. 68, *tergo*; *ap.* HARZEN. *u.s. Archiv.*, 1856, p. 236.

accused of plagiarism and the plunder of his friend's work, is really very innocent of the charge,[1] and always speaks of Francesca with extraordinary reverence. It is from one of his works, indeed, that we learn the artist's existence as late as 1509, as he declares in his treatise on architecture published in that year, that Piero " is still alive in those days, having been monarch of art, when he still had power to work, as is proved in Urbino, Bologna and Ferrara, on the walls, on canvas, in oil and distemper, especially in the city of Arezzo."[2]

But this statement is further of interest, as it shows that Piero, who does not seem to have become blind, as Vasari states,[3] but to have been gradually incapacitated for work by age, not only painted at Arezzo and Urbino, but at Bologna and Ferrara. At Bologna there are no traces of his stay, but at Ferrara there is reason to believe that he resided;[4] and sufficient confirmation of

*[1] For fresh contributions to the discussion on this point, see JORDAN, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, i. 112 *sqq.*; and WINTERBERG, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, v. 33 *sqq.*

*[2] As a matter of fact, Pacioli does not state in this passage (*Divina proportione*, p. 35 *r.*; ch. xix. of the *Trattato dell' architettura*) that Piero is still alive; nor could he have done so, for it is now ascertained that Piero was buried in the Badia (now Cathedral) of Borgo San Sepolcro on October 12, 1492 (*cf. antea*, p. 2, n. 1). After November 14, 1469 (*cf. antea*, p. 18, n. 2), we next hear of Piero on April 9, 1474, when he received a rate of payment for paintings executed in the Badia at Borgo San Sepolcro. On June 25, 1477, he was elected member of the Consiglio del Popolo of Borgo San Sepolcro for four months, beginning from July, 1477 (EVELYN FRANCESCHI MARINI, *u.s.*, p. 471 *sq.*). In 1478 he received various rates of payment for a figure painted on the wall of the Church of the Compagnia della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro (CORAZZINI, *u.s.*, p. 62; CAVALCASELLE and CROWE, *Storia della pittura in Italia*, viii. 247; GRONAU, *u.s.*, p. 393). On April 21, 1482, we find him at Rimini renting a house (GRIGIONI, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, xii. 118–121); and on July 5, 1487, he made his will at Borgo San Sepolcro (CORAZZINI, *u.s.*, p. 69).

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 500, states that Piero became blind at sixty years of age. He was in full possession of his eyesight in 1469 at Urbino, and probably became failing later, the words of Pacioli indicating that about 1509 he was no longer able for work. [* Professor A. VENTURI (*Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., part i., p. 436) is disposed to accept Vasari's statement that Piero lost his eyesight, and points out that we possess no works or records of works executed by him during the years from 1478 to 1492; and that, if he was born in 1416-20, he was about sixty in 1478. Still, it seems difficult to reconcile the theory of his blindness with his journey to Rimini in 1482.]

[4] VASARI (iii. 90) says that Francesca was largely recommended for works at Ferrara by " quel duca." He also describes how Galasso was incited to progress

Fra Luca and Vasari's assertion to that effect is at hand. The latter is more than usually circumstantial in affirming that Piero, whilst at work either at Pesaro or Ancona, was invited to Ferrara by Duke Borso, who caused him to adorn many rooms in his palace. These, however, were removed later, on the occasion of Ercole's reduction of the building to a new form; and the pictures were lost.[1]

The palace of Schifanoia, literally "Begone, dull care," was decorated between 1450 and 1468 by Duke Borso. Duke Ercole, his successor, altered it in 1469, by taking down the old roof and adding a story to the edifice.[2] It is very likely that, in the repairs, Piero's frescoes perished.[3] But he had lived long enough at Ferrara to exercise a marked influence on the painters of the place, where, indeed, he must have had many assistants. This is clearly proved by some of the frescoes in the upper story of the Schifanoia which were recovered from whitewash in 1840, one series of which, representing the triumphs of Minerva, Venus, and Apollo, is composed and carried out in his spirit.

In the first of these, Minerva on a platform car, graced with a Cupid at each corner holding festoons, is driven round into the foreground by two unicorns, parting two groups of men and women busy at various avocations in a landscape. In the second, Venus, led by swans, holds Mars captive on his knees before her, amidst groups of musicians. In the third, Apollo's car, harnessed with four horses of various colours, is guided by Aurora and accompanied by groups of nude children, whilst various incidents fill the rest of the picture. The series is continued with a distinct decline in the skill of the artists on the neighbouring walls.

The three principal frescoes exhibit, character hardly akin to that which marks the pure Ferrarese school. Nor is it the Paduan

by Francesca's example. "Nam in pictoria arte quis præstantior Petro Burgensi: Melozzoque Ferrariensi (?)" (CAMILLUS LEONARDUS, *Speculum Lapidum*, Venice, 1502, p. 48 *r.*).

* [1] Compare *antea*, p. 7, n. 1.

[2] BARUFFALDI (G.), *Vite de' pitt.*, etc., *ferraresi*, 8vo., Ferrara, 1844, vol. i., p. 69. LADERCHI (C.) (*La pittura ferrarese*, 8vo., Ferrara, 1856, p. 25) urges that Piero could not paint after 1469, being blind since 1458; but we have seen this date is not correct.

* [3] Borso reigned until 1471, and the upper story was added to the Schifanoia during his reign (see HARCK, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, v. 103). The frescoes by Piero cannot therefore have been destroyed during these alterations.

style which exclusively prevails in them. The dominant manner is the Umbrian of Piero della Francesca, a manner reminiscent in some respect of that peculiar to Benedetto Bonfigli, revealing at least as close a contact, through Piero della Francesca, between the Ferrarese and Perugian as between the Ferrarese and Paduan schools. The heads in some groups of the Triumph of Minerva are detached from each other, and are marked by types which betray the influence of Piero's school. The composition in the three frescoes is grander, more geometrically correct, and less defective in style than those of a pure Ferrarese of the time could be, and more in the spirit of the painter of Borgo S. Sepolcro. They are, in fact, executed by men educated in his school, and clearly prove the great influence of his style and teaching in Ferrara.[1]

We have said Bonfigli's works recall in a like manner the influence of Piero. Great uncertainty exists as to when Piero was at Perugia. There is, however, an altarpiece by him in the gallery of that place; and it is, no doubt, the very picture described minutely by Vasari[2] and recorded by Mariotti[3] as adorning in his time the convent of S. Antonio. It is a large gablepiece, with the Virgin and Child enthroned in the centre; four saints in the niches at her sides; the Annunciation in the upper space, and two saints in a mutilated predella. The Virgin Annunciate is like all those of Piero; the angel more gentle in mien than usual. The enthroned Madonna is not comely, nor is the Infant pleasing in its nakedness, because of its excessive fatness and the ugliness of its type; yet this type seems to have served as a model for the Boccati of Camerino, Matteo of Gualdo, and Bartolommeo of Foligno; nor is it clear that Bonfigli disdained to take an inspiration from it. The saints are more or less short in stature and common in aspect; and the cramped fingers of a St. Francis are the same that we have seen in the picture of the Spedale at Borgo S. Sepolcro. Still, this is a genuine work by Piero, painted imperfectly on the mixed system, in colours of much fusion, but of a low key on a brownish

* 1 These three frescoes are by Francesco Cossa, and were completed by March, 1470. (See CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii., 250, n. 2.)

* 2 VASARI, ii. 498.

3 *Lett. pit., u.s.*, p. 125.

preparation, marked by high surface bitumen shadows. The draperies, too, have the involutions and angularity of those of the Pollaiuoli and Benozzo Gozzoli.[1]

In Piero's manner, but more attractive than the foregoing, is a Virgin and Child between two angels in the convent church of S. Maria delle Grazie outside Sinigaglia, a mixed tempera panel of high surface shadows and hard leaden yet translucid colour, in which the pleasanter forms of angels contrast with an infant of the same type as that of the Perugian altarpiece.[2] Other panels may be thrown together as follows :

At Borgo S. Sepolcro, in possession of the Marini-Franceschi, descendants of Piero, is a portrait in oil of Piero della Francesca, common enough and of a later time, but perhaps a copy of that from which Vasari derived his woodcut of the painter.[3]

In the same family collection, four small saints, a little more than half length, representing St. Anthony between SS. Chiara, Apollonia, and another figure, much damaged and repainted, but still in Piero's character.

Late Barker Collection in London, formerly belonging, we believe, to the Marini-Franceschi, is a Virgin kneeling before the naked Infant, with five singing or playing angels on one side, St. Joseph on the other, and two shepherds in the landscape distance.[4] This piece is injured

* [1] Perugia, Gallery, Sala VII., No. 19. The saints at the side of the Madonna are (left) SS. Anthony of Padua and John the Baptist, (right) SS. Francis and Elizabeth of Thüringen. The predella is in two tiers, of which the upper contains the half-lengths of SS. Claire and Agatha on each side of a missing central compartment, while the lower part of the predella shows St. Francis receiving the stigmata between a Miracle of St. Anthony and a Miracle of St. Elizabeth. (The order of the latter two pictures seems at present inverted.) All the three last-mentioned pictures seem anticipations of Vermeer van Delft in the extraordinarily beautiful rendering of the effects of light and the wonderful harmony of the colouring. On various questions connected with this altarpiece compare AUBERT, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* ser. ii., vol. x., p. 263 *sqq.*

[2] The distance is architectural, the figures half length ; a landscape may be seen through a window. The piece is injured as regards colour.

* [3] This is a full-length, life-size portrait. A small portrait, said to be that of Piero della Francesca, painted by himself, was, in the early part of the nineteenth century, in the possession of the Marini-Franceschi family, but is now missing. [See WEISBACH, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* xxiii., 388 *sqq.*)

[4] This picture was taken to Florence for sale, and is described by the annotation of VASARI, vol. ii., note to p. 488, as in the hands of Sign. Cav. Frescobaldi. [* It was purchased at the Barker sale, in 1878, for the National Gallery (No. 908).]

in colour, and seems to have remained unfinished. It is painted with much impasto and of a brown tone. The shepherds and St. Joseph are, as regards vulgarity of type, reminiscent of Signorelli, who is known to have been Piero's pupil. As a work of art this is preferable to the panels of Perugia and Sinigaglia.

At Città di Castello, a Coronation of the Virgin, with saints, in the convent of S. Cecilia, is falsely assigned to our master, and seems more properly attributable to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio or Granacci's youthful time, when under the tuition of their master Domenico.[1]

Milan can boast of no genuine work by Piero.[2]

The master's influence at Arezzo is apparent, although its fruits are not of a high order, in a fresco of the Virgin and saints (life-size), inscribed with the date of 1483, in the Palazzo del Comune;[3] and in a Madonna between SS. Benedict and Bernard, dated 1512, a fresco in the sacristy of S. Bernardo.[4]

* [1] This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello (No. 78).

[2] A picture of S. Bernardino and angels (No. 163 in the Brera, and assigned there to Mantegna) is given by HARZEN erroneously to Piero della Francesca. See *Archiv, u.s.*, p. 233. [* Compare CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 195 *sqq.*]

[3] This fresco is assigned erroneously to Piero by HARZEN. See *Archiv, u.s.*, p. 233. [* This fresco is known from a contemporary record to have been painted by Lorentino d'Andrea, the pupil of Piero della Francesca (see the Italian edition of this work, viii., 266, n. 1).]

In the Altenburg Gallery two Flemish pictures, a Madonna with the Child and Angels (No. 183), and a young St. John Baptist (No. 184), are falsely given to Piero della Francesca. [* They are now officially ascribed, with a query, to Jerome Bosch.]

* [4] As shown by Signor DEL VITA (in *Rassegna d' arte*, x. 196), this fresco is the work of Angelo, the son of Lorentino d'Andrea (*cf. postea*, p. 136, n. 1).

To the number of extant works by Piero should be added the noble figure of the Young Hercules, a fresco transferred to canvas, and now in the collection of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, of Boston. It adorned, originally, a house at Borgo San Sepolcro, said to have been that inhabited by Piero della Francesca himself. Compare the Italian edition of this work, viii. 243 *sq.*

The bust of Christ in the act of blessing in the gallery at Città di Castello (No. 70) is probably, as suggested by Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 226), a late work by Piero.

In the chapel of the cemetery at Monterchio (a village near Bastia, where, as we have seen, Piero was staying in 1468) there is a fresco representing the Virgin standing under a canopy, while two angels are holding up the draperies on each side of her. The Virgin appears to be represented as pregnant; hence the painting, which is held in great veneration by the country women, is popularly known as *La Madonna del Parto*. In the Italian edition of this work (viii. 251 *sq.*) the opinion is expressed, judging from a photograph, that this fresco was executed

Having thus brought to a close the life of Piero della Francesca, and described the advantages which accured to Italian art from his great and peculiar talent, it is but a just tribute to his memory to add, that, having formed the bold and vehement style of Luca Signorelli, their combined influence extended to all the schools of their native country. Both these artists were connected with the Court of Federigo of Urbino, assisting to produce an exotic splendour which waned soon after. Raphael's early studies derived a beneficent impulse from Piero della Francesca through Santi, but, for want of sufficient support at home, required the direction of Perugino. In the same way the schools of the Adriatic side of Central Italy felt the effects of Piero's genius, until Venetian and Paduan artists invaded the Marches. Melozzo da Forlì, amongst others, derived much from contact with, or study of, Piero, and strengthened by his example the same fibre in Santi which had already been made to vibrate by the master whom they had both known and honoured. Such, indeed, was Melozzo's power over Santi's style that some of the productions due to the latter show many characteristic features noticeable in the works of Melozzo's pupil, Marco Palmezzano. A clump of artists headed by Piero della Francesca, most of them Umbro-Florentine—that is, commingling Florentine maxims with an Umbrian nature—were thus mainly instrumental in giving a powerful impulse to Italian art.

The name of Piero della Francesca in union with that of one Fra Carnovale has been alluded to by many authors. The connec-

under the supervision of Piero, by some such pupil of his as Lorentino d' Andrea. Mr. BERENSON (*op. cit.*, p. 226) concurs in this view, and so does the editor, judging also from a reproduction.

A picture of the Virgin and Child with angels, ascribed to Piero della Francesca, and lent to the Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House in 1870 (No. 116) by the late Mr. Alfred Seymour, has not been seen by the editor.

We have still to register the following paintings assigned to Piero by VASARI (ii. 497), and now lost:

1. *Arezzo, S. Maria delle Grazie.* Cloisters. St. Donatus enthroned, surrounded by *putti*. According to Signor TAVANTI (in *L'Arte*, ix. 306), there are still a few traces visible of this fresco.

2. *Arezzo, S. Bernardo* (*Monaci di Monte Oliveto*). St. Vincent (fresco).

3. *Sargiano near Arezzo, Frati Zoccolanti di S. Francesco.* The Agony in the Garden.

tion of this monk's name with extant paintings is authenticated by no records whatever. He is casually mentioned by Vasari, in a Life of Bramante, as the author of a picture in S. Maria della Bella at Urbino, of which the subject is not given,[1] and the following facts are said by Pungileoni to refer to him:[2]

He was called Bartolommeo, the son of Giovanni di Bartolo Corradini, and entered the Dominican Order. In 1456 (the record is given) he was absolved by mutual consent from the duty of painting a picture for the company of Corpus Christi at Urbino. In 1461 he performed the duties of *pievano*, or curate, in S. Cassiano of Cavallino, near Urbino, and there are further records of his existence in the same capacity at the same place till 1488.[3]

So far, it appears that a certain Dominican friar of the name of Bartolommeo di Giovanni Corradini was a painter at Urbino about the year 1456. There is no proof that this Bartolommeo went by the name of Carnovale,[4] nor is there any authentic memorial of his

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., pp. 147 *sq.* [* According to LAZZARI (*Delle chiese di Urbino*, Urbino, 1801, p. 73 *sq.*), this picture represented the Nativity of the Virgin, and was nearly finished by October 31, 1467. In the seventeenth century Antonio Barberini, Cardinal Legate at Urbino from 1631 to 1633, possessed himself of this picture, substituting for it a copy by Claudio Ridolfi, which, after the suppression of the convents at Urbino in 1808, was sent to Milan, and is now in the Church of Gropello d' Adda, a village in Lombardy. In the Italian edition of this work (viii. 268 *sq.*) mention is made of two pictures in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, representing the Nativity of the Virgin and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, concerning which it is remarked that they show "the characteristics of a feeble painter, following the manner of Piero della Francesca, and an art recalling that of Boccati da Camerino and Matteo da Gualdo." It is also pointed out that, should one of these pictures prove to be the original of Ridolfi's copy, one would have to conclude that the Presentation is also by Fra Carnovale. The composition of Ridolfi's picture is, however, quite different, and it seems more likely that these small panels, with their numerous figures and miniature-like execution, originally were let in a wall in the ducal palace of Urbino. (See FRIZZONI, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. ii., vol. i., pp. 396, 400; BOMBE, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vi. 20.) In the *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 52, n. 5, the authors refer to these pictures, as being "more in the character of Zoppo than of Botticelli," to whom they were at one time assigned.]

[2] PUNGILEONI, *Elogio stor. di Gio. Santi*, *u.s.*, p. 52, and following.

[* 3] As a matter of fact, he died in July, 1484. (See SCHMARSOW, *Melozzo da Forlì*, p. 362.)

[* 4] It is now ascertained that he did so (compare SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 361 *sq.*). MARCHESE (*Memorie dei più insigni pittori scultori e architetti domenicani*, Flor-

works. Pungileoni adds, however, from certain statements furnished to him in the convent of S. Bernardino of Urbino, which he quotes at second hand (and which still exist in the very words of Padre Pungileoni in the convent above named, being drawn up apparently in the last century), "about this time (1472) the altarpiece of the high altar (of S. Bernardino) was painted by Fra Bartolommeo, called F. Carnovale, because the Virgin is a portrait of the Duchess Battista Sforza, wife of Duke Federico, and the infant on the Virgin's lap is the likeness of the son born to the Duke by the said Duchess."[1]

It may be submitted that this is a very untrustworthy authority for assigning to Fra Carnovale the altarpiece of S. Bernardino at Urbino, which now hangs in the gallery of the Brera at Milan.[2]

The Virgin, of life size, is represented there enthroned under a semi-dome rivalling in architectural beauty the creations of Leon Battista Alberti. The infant Christ is stretched on her knees, adored by her and by a kneeling figure of Federigo of Urbino in armour at her feet. Four angels are in couples at the Virgin's side, supported by SS. Jerome, Bernardino, and John the Baptist (left), Francis, Peter Martyr, and Paul (right).

This is a picture on the system of Piero della Francesca, with scientific perspective, with a geometrical division of lines, of light, and of shadow. The figures seem only subservient to an effect of chiaroscuro, being placed side by side without much variety. The child has the peculiar type of the least pleasing ones painted by Piero. The angels are in his well-known mould and dress, but, like the rest of the picture, on a lower scale of art than his. The stamp of the master's school, without the impress of his hand, is marked. The colour is of full impasto and of a leaden grey, in good keeping, however, because of the judicious distribution of the lights and shades in juxtaposition. That the work may have been by one of Piero's pupils is evident. It is of the same class,

ence, 1845-6, i. 350), suggests that the nickname may be derived from the friar's prosperous appearance and gay temperament. In a MS. list of the officials attached to the Court of Federigo di Montefeltro, "Fra Carnevale" is mentioned among the architects and engineers. (CALZINI, *Urbino e i suoi monumenti* Rocca S. Casciano, 1897, p. 151, n. 1.)

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[2] No. 510, Brera Catalogue, wood, m., 2·47 h. by 1·68.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Lorentino d'Andrea

From a fresco in the Palazzo del Comune, Arezzo

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and shares defects already visible in the Madonna at Sinigaglia or the altarpiece of Perugia, and to a less extent, in the panel at the Spedale of Borgo S. Sepolcro. We know but of one assistant or pupil of Piero besides Luca Signorelli, and that is Lorentino d'Angelo of Arezzo,[1] whose works are, however, not preserved.[2] If the author of the Brera picture be Fra Carnovale, we add to the list another pupil whose picture was completed about 1472, or later. The same hand had clearly a share in other works assigned to Piero della Francesca, and until records shall have settled the matter, Fra Carnovale's name may be taken as a conventional one to indicate works bearing the impress, but not revealing the perfect manner, of a great master.[3]

[1] See VASARI, vol. ii., p. 499.

[*2] This is not the case. As noted already in the Italian edition of this work (viii. 259 *sqq.*), a certain number of the productions of this artist (whose name from contemporary records is known to have been Lorentino d'Andrea) are still extant.

We possess the following authenticated examples of his art:

1. *Arezzo, Palazzo del Comune.* The Virgin and Child, with SS. Donatus and Stephen. Fresco, ordered from the artist on April 26, 1483, bearing the date of that year (compare *antea*, p. 27).

2. *Arezzo, S. Maria delle Grazie,* wall to the right of the entrance. Pope Sixtus IV. granting an indulgence to that church. Fresco, mentioned by VASARI (ii. 499), and recently rescued from whitewash.

3. *Same church,* ex-cloisters. Fragments of the frescoes illustrating the legend of St. Donatus, also mentioned by VASARI (ii. 499), and still in great part covered with whitewash. Compare TAVANTI, *u.s.*, p. 305 *sq.* (with a reproduction).

On the evidence of style, the following works may, further, be ascribed to Lorentino:

4. *Arezzo, San Francesco,* Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua (to the left of entrance). Frescoes, dated 1480. (See the Italian edition of this work, viii. 264.)

5. *Arezzo, Communal Gallery.* The Virgin and Child, with SS. Gaudentius and Columatus (originally in S. Maria delle Grazie). See *ibid.*, p. 265.

6. *Same gallery.* SS. Gaudentius and Stephen (or Columatus); two panels, formerly in the Palazzo del Comune (*ibid.*).

In all the above works Lorentino appears as a feeble and slavish follower of Piero. He was dead by 1505 (see DEL VITA, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xi. 168). For notices of his son, Angelo di Lorentino, see *postea*, p. 136, n. 1.

[*3] In the Italian edition of this work (viii. 271 *sqq.*) the Brera picture is accepted as being by Piero della Francesca himself. It notes that "the picture is in good state of preservation, excepting the hands of Duke Federigo, which seem to us retouched by another painter, and not in our time." Professor VENTURI has suggested that the hands of the Duke were painted by Justus of Ghent. On the main question of authorship, the editor is inclined to agree with the original verdict of the authors.

In this class we shall at once place a St. Michael trampling the dragon and carrying the monster's head in one hand, a picture now in the National Gallery. We have here again the tendency to give effects of light and shade, perhaps better and brighter colour of rich impasto.[1] A Virgin and Child formerly belonging to the Marquis d' Azeglio belongs to the same order.[2]

In conclusion, a just surprise may be expressed that Vasari should, in his Life of Bramante, make Fra Carnovale the great architect's teacher in his art and in perspective, when it is certain that, being born in 1444, he (Bramante) might have learnt from Luciano Laurana, or other great professors, such as Piero della Francesca.

[1] London National Gallery, No. 769, wood, 4 feet 4½ inches h. by 1 foot 11 inches. Originally in possession of Signor Fidanza at Milan, later in the Eastlake collection. [* Another panel from the altarpiece of which this picture once formed part is in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli at Milan (No. 598); it represents a monastic saint. With these pictures we may further associate, from a stylistic point of view, two small half-lengths of saints (a Dominican monk and nun) in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna.]

[2] Ex-collection of the Marquis of Azeglio; at the British Institution Exhibition in 1865 [* now Rome, Marchesa di Villamarina]. Wood, figures half the size of life. The Virgin, half-length, holds the Infant erect on her knee. This is a feebler picture than the foregoing, the forms being without fulness, but the execution very careful. In the same style we have a Virgin and Child attended by three angels (wood, half life-size) in Christ Church Library, Oxford. [* As a work by an immediate follower of Piero della Francesca we further note a feeble Presentation in the Temple (canvas, nearly life-size figures) in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond. Professor C. RICCI has recently (in *Bollettino d' arte*, vii. 197 *sqq.*) ascribed to Piero della Francesca two frescoes of St. Christopher and St. Sebastian, formerly in S. Andrea at Ferrara, and now (transferred to canvas and in a terribly injured state) in the Communal Gallery of that city. Judging from reproductions, there is no denying the affinity of these paintings to Piero della Francesca; but the editor does not feel sure that they are not rather by a Ferrarese painter under the influence of Piero. In any case, Vasari does not say, as Professor Ricci states, that Piero painted for the " Eremitani di Sant' Agostino," to whom the Church of S. Andrea belonged; he speaks of " una capella in Sant' Agostino lavorata in fresco " (ii. 492), and there did exist a church of S. Agostino at Ferrara.]

CHAPTER II

MELOZZO DA FORLÌ AND MARCO PALMEZZANO

THE name of Sixtus IV. has frequently been noticed in these pages. During a long pontificate he promoted the interests of artists in Italy with a zeal scarcely surpassed by later popes. He had not been long raised to the chair of St. Peter before he undertook a series of great architectural and pictorial enterprises. He caused the Sixtine chapel to be erected in 1473, the Vatican library to be restored in 1475, and the churches of SS. Apostoli, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and S. Sisto at Rome to assume a new shape. His relatives, the Della Roveres and Riarios, shared his partiality for architectural improvements; and the whole family favoured with its regard, or supported by wages, a crowd of architects and painters from every province of Italy. We have seen with what perseverance Sixtus IV. called in succession to Rome, Fra Diamante, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, Perugino, and Signorelli. His chief architect, Baccio Pontelli,[1] bred under Francesco Giovanni Francione at Florence, became so distinguished that Federigo of Montefeltro, who had perhaps made his acquaintance at the wedding of his daughter to Giovanni della Rovere in 1472, was induced to engage him for the completion of his palaces at Urbino and Gubbio.[2] But Sixtus was not content to think that Roman pontiffs should always be obliged to ransack the cities of the Peninsula for artists, and he determined to found and to endow an academy at Rome under the

[1] See VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 652 and following; and GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 274 and following.

[*2] Vasari certainly overrates the number of works executed by Baccio Pontelli in Rome; moreover, there is considerable evidence to show that he only came there about 1482, after he had been active at Urbino (see MILANESI in VASARI ii. 659 *sqq*; GIORDANI, in *L' Arte*, xi. 96 *sq.*). For a defence of the older view, see, however, HOFMANN, *Bauten des Herzogs Federigo di Montefeltro*, col. 28 *sq.*

patronage of St. Luke. He gave that body a constitution which was promulgated with great solemnity; and he succeeded at once in enrolling several masters in its register.

Prominent amongst these was Melozzo of Forlì, whose name, inscribed in his own hand—"Melotius pi. Pa." (Pictor Papalis)—is one of the foremost in that interesting record.[1]

Forlì, Melozzo's native place, had long been under the sway of the local family of the Ordelaffi. It had not been celebrated for giving birth to any remarkable painter in the earlier centuries, but, like most cities, it fostered the exertions of local artists, as the narrative in these pages sufficiently shows. It continued to do so, as may be fully proved by more modern examples, at Forno, at Imola, Pesaro, and Ancona.[2]

It was the fortune of Melozzo to enter upon his career at a period when the influence of Piero della Francesca was powerfully felt throughout those parts of Italy in which Forlì is situated. He was of the Ambrosi of Forlì, and born about 1438.[3] His infancy coincides with the manhood of Francesca, and we have the more

[1] Melchiorri (Marchese G.), *Notizie intorno alla vita . . . di Melozzo da Forlì*, 8°, Rome, 1835, p. 29 *ap.* comm. to Vasari, vol. iii., p. 67. [* As shown by Professor Schmarsow (*Melozzo da Forlì*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1886, p. 150), what follows in the register after the word "Melossius" (not "Melotius") is not the abbreviations, "pi. Pa.," but one word, "Pipa," which is the name of another painter. The date of this document is 1478.]

[2] Thus at Forno, between Forlì and Ravenna, in a church the erection of which is certified by the following inscription: "Ano Giubileo 1450 mi Piero Biancho de Durazzo . . . fece fare questa Santa Chiesa," a fresco adorns the recess of the tomb of Pietro di Durazzo, and represents him kneeling to the left near the Saviour borne to the tomb (seven figures, half the Saviour and the lower part of the others all but gone). This is a reproduction assignable to a third-rate painter of the time of Palmezzano.

Of the same inferior style is a Coronation of the Virgin, with numerous saints, in the Lovatelli Gallery at Ravenna, signed: "Hoc opus fecit Antonius alias Ghuidacius Imolēsis año dñi 1470, die 17. mensis Octobris." This is a grotesque tempera, with figures of ugly type and character, but curious for an exaggeration of gravity imitated from Piero della Francesca, and akin to that in the works of the school of the Boccati of Camerino.

[3] His death in 1494 is recorded by Leone Cobelli a contemporary whose MS. chron. is cited in Reggiani, *Alcune memorie intorno al pittore Marco Melozzo da Forlì*, 8°, Forlì, undated, but printed in 1834, p. 42. His epitaph in S. Trinità at Forlì has been preserved as follows: "D. S. Melocii Foroliviensis pictoris eximii ossa. vixit a. LVI. . . . m. ob. an. . . ." If he died aged fifty-six in 1494, he was born in 1438.

ground for believing that the two men were connected by ties of art, because, besides the clear derivation of Melozzo's style from that of Piero, the latter was not less known to his contemporary and fellow-countryman, Fra Luca Pacioli, than Melozzo, whom he praises for his acquirements and talents in perspective and architecture, and of whom he adds that his figures would have lived, had it been possible to infuse breath into them.[1] It has been suggested, indeed, that he owed his education in part to Ansuino of Forlì,[2] an assistant of Mantegna at the Eremitani of Padua in 1453–59;[3] and it is true that in some of the remains of his works we trace a Mantegnesque hardness and angularity in drapery, reminiscent of the Paduan school. But this characteristic is merged in others, and may be due to various causes. Melozzo combined Mantegnesque features to a slight extent with others derived from the teaching of Piero della Francesca, and Giovanni Santi of Urbino.[4] Giovanni, who eulogizes most of the painters of his time, alludes to Melozzo in terms suggestive of strong friendship. "Melozzo a me sì caro," he says, "che in prospettiva ha steso tanto il passo."[5] The Forlivese would thus have been known to the Montefeltri; and the connection of Federigo with the Della Rovere as early as 1472[6] may have caused the employment of the painter at the court of Sixtus IV. Long before that time he had received commissions from patrons of distinction at Rome, and we find his name preserved in a contemporary epigram.

[1] *Divina proportione, u.s.*, cap. 57, p. 18, and *Summa de Arithmetica, u.s.* Luca Pacioli was in Rome during the reign of Paul II., 1464–71, when he enjoyed the acquaintance of Leon B. Alberti. He returned thither from Venice in 1482. See GAYE, in *Kunstblatt*, an. 1836, No. 69.

[2] LANZI, *u.s.*, vol. ii., p. 115; and vol. iii., p. 28.

[3] The date of these frescoes is ascertained with tolerable accuracy (see notes to VASARI, vol. iii., pp. 387 and 389). Ansuino's fresco of the Adoration of St. Christopher in the series is signed with his name. [* The wall-paintings in the Ovetari Chapel in the Eremitani were executed between 1448 and 1452 (CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 13, n. 2). For notices of Ansuino da Forlì, see *ibid.*, 17–19, and 77.]

[*4] Such affinities as there exist between the words of the gentle and provincial Santi and that bold and vigorous innovator Melozzo must undoubtedly be due to an influence exercised by the latter upon the former. Elsewhere (pp. 28, 68 *sqq.*) the authors themselves speak of Santi as influenced by Melozzo.

[5] Rhyme Chron. in PUNGILEONI, *Elogio di Giov. Santi., u.s.*, p. 74.

[6] Federigo's daughter married Giovanni della Rovere in that year.

He had been asked by Alexander Sforza, Lord of Pesaro—and this is supposed to have happened about 1460—to copy a Madonna in Santa Maria del Popolo, attributed to St. Luke, and the completion of this copy had been celebrated by the following lines :

"Ad Mariam de Populo.
Hanc divus Lucas vivo de Virginis ore
Pinxerat; hec propria est Virginis effigies.
Sfortia Alexander jussit, Melotius ipsam
Effixit. Lucas diceret esse suam." [1]

[1] See the epigram as copied from the MS. in the Biblioteca Angelica, quoted in Costantino Corvisieri, notices of Antoniasso, in *Il Buonarroti*, ser. ii., vol. iv. 8°, Rome, June, 1869, pp. 133–34. Alexander Sforza is known to have been at Rome in 1461 (*ibid.*). [* The earliest record of Melozzo's existence dates from April, 1460, when at Forlì, he was present at the sale of some property of his mother's. Other documents testify to his presence at Forlì in December, 1461, and December, 1464. See Grigioni, in *Bullettino della Società fra gli amici dell'arte per la provincia di Forlì*, 1895, pp. 156 *sqq.* ; Okkonen, *Melozzo da Forlì*, Helsingfors, 1910, p. 15 *sqq.*

We possess no contemporary record of Melozzo dating from the period between 1464 and 1477, when his name for the first time appears in the Papal books of account. He spent, no doubt, great part of this time in Rome, and among the earliest extant works executed by him in that city are the two pictures of St. Mark the Pope and St. Mark the Evangelist in San Marco at Rome. The style points to an early phase of the master's career, and we know that considerable works of restoration and embellishment were carried out in this church between 1468 and 1472 (compare Schmarsow, *u.s.*, p. 64 *sqq.* ; Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 31 *sqq.* ; see also *postea*, p. 304, n. 1 ; and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. Borenius, i. 49, n. 2). Probably slightly later than these works is the very attractive fresco of the Annunciation, discovered in 1904 above the first altar to the right in the Pantheon, and previously hidden by an altarpiece of the Baroque period. In this painting the influence of Piero della Francesca is throughout strongly marked ; the figure of St. Gabriel anticipates the angels of the tribune of SS. Apostoli (see Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 36 *sqq.*). Probably a work by Melozzo, executed a few years before 1477, is the fresco representing Christ resuscitating the Dead, painted inside the monument of Juan Diego de Coca, Bishop of Calahorra, in S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome (sixth chapel in right aisle) (*ibid.*, p. 41 *sqq.*). Along with these works we may further class two fragmentary organ-doors, acquired some years ago for the Uffizi, and representing on the inside the Annunciation, and on the outside the lower halves of the figures of St. Prosdocimus and a male saint holding a book. Only the door containing the figure of St. Gabriel (which is unfinished) and that of St. Prosdocimus is painted by Melozzo himself ; the other is by a feeble assistant (*ibid.*, p. 45 *sqq.*). Some time between 1476 and 1478 Melozzo is likely to have been at Urbino (see *postea*, p. 46, n. 1).]

Photo, Anderson

THE ANNUNCIATION

By Melozzo da Forlì

From a fresco in the Pantheon, Rome

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That he was a man of completely formed talents when he was promoted to the favour of Sixtus IV. is evident as much from his works at Rome as from the statements of contemporaries. Fra Luca Pacioli's opinion has been quoted: that of Sabba da Castiglione is equally favourable;[1] and a Roman compiler of the reign of Sixtus soars to fulsomeness in the epithets with which he honours his hero.[2] All these authorities, and many more that might be added to the number, call him Melozzo da Forlì—a name by which he was known through life and remembered in death. A conclusive proof of the source from which Melozzo derived his style may be found in the fact that one of his masterpieces was for years assigned to Piero della Francesca. Yet there is nothing more certain than that when Baccio Pontelli finished the restoration of the Vatican library,[3] and Sixtus IV. appointed Platina to superintend the valuable collection which he formed there, Melozzo was employed (1475–1480) to celebrate the event by a fresco, long an ornament of the walls, but subsequently transferred to canvas, and now in the gallery of the Vatican.[4] Sixtus, Platina, two attendant Cardinals,[5] and a couple of inferior persons were portrayed from life in the library itself, the square

[1] SABBA DA CASTIGLIONE, *Ricordi*, 4°, Venice, 1554, Ric. 109, p. 52 *r.*: "Chi (adorna la casa) con le opere di Pietro del borgo, o di Melozzo da Forlì, le quali forse per le loro prospettive et secreti dell' arte sono a gli intelligenti più grate che vaghe agli occhi di coloro che meno intendono."

[2] Jacopo Zaccaria, at Rome, under the Pontificate of Sixtus IV., printed a volume of forms for addressing letters to persons of divers rank and profession, one of which runs: "Totius Italiæ splendori Melocio de Forolivio pictori incomparabili." See MORELLI, notes to *Anon., u.s.*, p. 109.

[*3] That the library of Sixtus IV. was built by Pontelli is stated by VASARI (ii. 652); yet his name does not appear in any contemporary record concerning this edifice. For further notices of it, see FABRE, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XV. 455 *sqq.*

[4] TAJA, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, etc., Rome, 1750, p. 344 *ap.* REGGIANI, *u.s.*, p. 39. LEONE COBELLI, MS. Chron. in REGGIANI, *u.s.*, p. 39, says: "Melocio . . . fe molte dipentorie al Papa Sisto magne e belle, e fe' la libreria del detto Papa"; and RAFAELLO MAFFEI (*Antropologia Pictorum sui temp.* Basileæ, 1530, lib. 21, p. 245): "De his reliquis in artibus claruerunt Melotius Foroliviensis; iconicas imagines præter cæteros pingebat ejus opus in bibliotheca Vaticana Xistus in sella sedens, familiaribus nonnullis domesticis adstantibus."

[*5] The figure immediately to the left of Sixtus is not a Cardinal, but an Apostolic Protonotary. SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 42 *sq.*

pillars and panelled ceilings [1] of which are drawn with a knowledge of perspective hardly attainable by Melozzo except in the school of the great painter of Borgo S. Sepolcro.

The Pope, on the right, sits in a chair, with his hands on the balls of its arms. The two Cardinals, Pietro Riario, and Giuliano della Rovere, stand to the left facing each other,[2] Platina on his knees with the two attendants behind him. The precision with which the parts are defined, the accuracy with which the proportions of the figures are measured for the places they occupy, a tendency to hardness in the outlines or to angular blocks of form, draperies of Umbrian character, a general keeping in the various tones which show more knowledge of the laws of harmony than feeling for colour—all these features characterize a piece technically worked out by Melozzo on the system of Piero della Francesca.[3]

Amongst the churches which Baccio Pontelli improved or repaired, one of the most conspicuous was that of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, to which he added a tribune, the pictorial decoration

* [1] This is not the case. The ceilings in the library are vaulted, not coffered, as in the fresco. STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, Munich, 1901–05, i. 21, n. 3.

* [2] The Cardinal turned towards the Pope is undoubtedly Giuliano della Rovere, the future Julius II.; but the figure immediately to the left of the Pope is, as already stated, not a Cardinal. Moreover, Pietro Riario had been dead for a year when Platina was appointed librarian (1475). Professor SCHMARSOW (*u.s.*, p. 43) has suggested that the figure in question may be Raffaello, the son of Antonio Sansovini and Violante Riario, the sister of Pietro Riario.

[3] Vatican Gallery. The profile of the Pope and the manner in which his figure is drawn remind one of Piero's Malatesta at Rimini. The local flesh tone is yellowish, with shadows freely stippled in brown—the whole a little raw, perhaps, since the transfer of the surface to canvas, but still, as regards colour, reminiscent of the frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo. [* This is no doubt the painting referred to in the following note in Platina's account-books: "Dedi magistro Melotio pictori pro auro emendo pro pictura quam pingit in Biblioteca Ducatos sex die XV. Januarii, 1477" (MÜNTZ, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, iii. 127). The room originally adorned by this fresco was known as the *Bibliotheca Latina*. It is the first room as you enter the library (which now serves as the Papal *floreria*, or wardrobe) from the Cortile del Papagallo.

Melozzo also painted in the two adjoining rooms, the *Bibliotheca Græca* and the *Bibliotheca Secreta*. The walls in the former room showed an elaborate system of architectural decoration, of which now only the parts contained in the lunettes survive (see STEINMANN, *u.s.*, i. 80 *sqq.*). The exact date of these frescoes is not known. On June 30, 1480, Melozzo and Antoniasso received payment for work done in the *Bibliotheca Secreta*; by April 10, 1481, the two painters had no claim for any more payment (see MÜNTZ, *u.s.*, iii. 134). Nothing now remains of these frescoes, which probably also were of a decorative character.]

Photo, Alinari

SIXTUS IV. AND HIS COURT

By Melozzo da Forlì

From a fresco in the Vatican Gallery, Rome

V.—*To face page* 38*a*

Photo. Anderson

CHRIST RISING TO HEAVEN

BY MELOZZO DA FORLÌ

From a fragmentary fresco in the Quirinal, Rome

V.—*To face page* 88*b*

of which was entrusted by Cardinal Riario in 1472 to Melozzo.[1] He endeavoured with the aid of a daring perspective to represent the Ascension of Christ amongst cherubs in the semidome, with the Apostles looking up, and angels, variously foreshortened, attending or playing divers instruments. When the tribune was taken down in 1711, the figure of Christ was sawed from the wall, and placed on a landing of the staircase leading up to the Quirinal Palace;[2] three fragments of Apostles and eleven others were removed to the sacristy of S. Pietro.

Melozzo was remarkably successful in the figure of the Redeemer, which is made to appear as if it were piercing the semidome and ascending to heaven; yet its vulgar and somewhat rigid form, its common type, coarse extremities, and broken draperies, are not attractive. The latter, copious, hard, and angular, like those of the Mantegnesque school, have suggested the theory not unfairly broached by Lanzi, that Ansuino of Forlì was one of Melozzo's teachers; but the interest of the series centres not in the principal figure, but in the other fragments, which are so fine and characteristic as to recall the works of Raphael, and which betray an intimate connection of style between Melozzo and Giovanni Santi.

Of three half-length Apostles looking up and presenting their foreshortened features to the spectator, one with copious hair and beard, in red and blue, imitates the manner of Santi.[3] One of the angels in profile plays a guitar, but turning his face so that it

[1] Cardinal Riario was Sixtus IV.'s nephew. That he ordered the frescoes of the tribune is stated by Taja, *u.s.*, p. 344, who was instrumental in saving the parts now preserved when the tribune was taken down. See also Vasari, vol. iii., p. 52. [* The statement (dating back to Vasari) that this fresco was ordered by Cardinal Riario cannot be correct, as the latter died in 1474, when the tribune SS. Apostoli was not yet finished. For Riario we should probably read Giuliano della Rovere, who continued the work of restoration in SS. Apostoli. Melozzo's fresco was probably executed towards the end of the seventies. The only architect known to have been employed in the restoration of SS. Apostoli is Giovanni de' Dolci; there is no proof that Baccio Pontelli was connected with it, although Vasari states so (Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 64 *sqq.*).]

[2] The following inscription by Clement XI., it is thought, testifies to the genuineness of the work: "Opus Melotii Forolivensis, qui summos fornices pingendi artem miris opticæ legibus vel primus invenit vel illustravit, ex apside veteris templi sanctorum XII. apostolorum huc, anno salutis MDCCXI."

* [3] *Cf. antea*, p. 35, n. 4.

fronts the spectator, is somewhat rigid in form and features, showing the full iris, after the later fashion of Palmezzano. Two pieces, each of them containing three seraphim, are repetitions of similar ones in creations of Giovanni Santi, with fine nude forms and rotund lines, such as Perugino might have drawn. An angel beating a drum, another with flying ribbons, are conceived with a freshness and simplicity suited to the temper of Santi and Raphael. A clean, firm drawing, bold and spontaneous movement, an affectation peculiar to the Umbrian school, and afterwards improved by the Perugians, are all qualities varied in some instances by Melozzo's frequent use of undressed blocks of form in extremities, by hard design, by draperies of frequent angularity and occasional want of purpose, and by eyes like those of Santi, exposing the whole iris. As regards tone, the fresco is clearly painted in with a yellowish local colour, over which the shadows are stippled with great freedom.

These are all the productions of Melozzo at Rome, but they suffice to characterize his style and to show that no study of Raphael is complete unless we analyze, together with the works of Giovanni Santi, those of his friend and contemporary, and trace them back to the examples of Piero della Francesca.

Sixtus IV. and Cardinal Riario were not the only patrons of Melozzo. Count Girolamo Riario, apparently still more conscious of artistic worth than either of his relatives, made Melozzo his gentleman and squire;[1] and Fra Luca Pacioli describes the painter as in constant communication with the nobleman when he built his palace at Rome.[2]

In the meanwhile Forlì, whose loyalty to the Ordelaffi had lasted for a considerable period, shook off its allegiance and gave itself to the Holy See in 1480. The person to whom Sixtus IV. entrusted the government was no other than Girolamo Riario, the patron of Melozzo, who may thus have returned to his native city with unusual advantages.[3]

[1] Leone Cobelli, *ap.* Reggiani, *u.s.*, p. 39.

[2] *Divina Proportione*, cap. 57, part i., p. 18. [* The period referred to by Pacioli is about 1482.]

* [3] It seems likely that Melozzo remained in Rome until some time in 1484. Giulio Mancini (d. 1629) states in his MS. *Viaggio per Roma* that a chapel in

Yet in Forlì, the only production that can be assigned to Melozzo is a fresco originally painted as a sign above a shop, and now in the Collegio, representing a grocer's assistant in a violent state of exertion, open-mouthed, panting, but vulgar in type, wielding with both hands a pestle over a large mortar. The figure is not less remarkable for its realism than for Melozzo's known ability in accurately measuring the effect of place. As the sign was above the shop, the mortar-boy was conceived as if seen from below through a window, the projection of whose beam and side are given with perspective truth.[1] The piece is thus of interest as a link between the creations of Melozzo and those of his pupil Marco Palmezzano.

With the notices of it, however, we exhaust all that is known of Melozzo and his works, because, though a portion of certain frescoes in S. Girolamo at Forlì discloses a style related to his, and he may have had a share in laying out the chapel, the paintings there are clearly by Marco Palmezzano. Whether they were

S. Maria in Trastevere was decorated by Melozzo; and, according to the dedicatory inscription, Stefano Nardini of Forlì caused the chapel in question to be erected and adorned in 1484. Unfortunately these frescoes were subsequently covered with whitewash (Steinmann, *u.s.*, i. 77; Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 90). By August, 1484, Melozzo was back at Forlì, as is known from an anecdote preserved in the *Cronache Forlivesi* of his contemporary, Leone Cobelli (see Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 29 *sq.*). After the death of Girolamo Riario in 1488, Melozzo returned to Rome, where he is proved by a legal record to have been in May, 1489. For three or four years we know nothing of his movements, until, in 1493, he appears at Ancona, where, on February 14 and May 3 of that year, he received payment for paintings executed in the Palazzo degli Anziani, and no longer extant. Towards the end of May he went to Forlì, leaving behind him at Ancona a number of objects belonging to him (including some reliefs, cartoons, panels, etc.), all of which are noted in a very interesting inventory of May 20, 1493. Contemporary records also testify to his presence at Forlì on February 28 and September 18, 1494, and he died in that city on November 8 of the same year. Grigioni, in *Bullettino della Società fra gli amici dell'arte per la provincia di Forlì*, 1895, p. 35 *sqq.*; Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 96 *sqq.*).

[1] Though seriously injured some years since, the true character of this piece could be discerned. Since then it has been damaged in various additional ways, so that a true opinion can now hardly be formed. The figure is only seen to the knees in a sort of frock of a yellowish tone; the background having been originally blue. The tone of the whole was of a low key, tending to olive. Note the warts on the forehead and right cheek. [* This painting—popularly known as the *Pestapepe*—is now in the Communal Gallery of Forlì (No. 118).]

ordered by Girolamo Riario is uncertain,[1] but a ceiling in the Cappella del Tesoro of the Duomo at Loreto, adorned in the same manner under the direction of that nobleman, dates from the same time, and reveals also the hand of Palmezzano.

Whether Melozzo ever painted at Urbino is a puzzling question. One picture in Windsor Castle, which may be assigned to him, might lead us to answer in the affirmative. It was found not many years since near Florence in the house of a villager, who used the panel as a table. After a good deal of cleaning, and, unfortunately, not a little repainting, it was brought to London. The subject is not for a moment doubtful. We look into a large room supported on pillars and lighted from an octagon lantern. In the middle of the space Federigo of Urbino sits in a chair, with his son, Guidubaldo, a boy eight or nine years old, in gala dress, standing at his knee. Both are half-lengths; both listen to a bearded man in a cap reading a book at a desk. Through a door in the distance three persons are coming in, and three others occupy seats behind Federigo. On a frieze beneath the ceiling we read: "FEDERICVS DVX VRBINI, MONTIS F." Everything points to the assumption that Federigo sat for this work about a year before his death in 1482, when his son Guidubaldo was about nine years old. The cleverness with which the perspective of the interior is given, the application of that science to the figures, the manner in which form and outline are rendered, all induce us to think that the painter is Melozzo. In spite of the injuries which the picture has received, it is evident that the handling is more bold, as well as that the movement and expression are more naturally given and the drapery more freely cast, than in the frescoes of Rome. The texture of the flesh presupposes facility of treatment and a copious use of bright colour of rich oily substance, the substratum being light, cleverly modelled, and finished with glazes. Melozzo was just capable of producing a picture of this kind in his later years.[2]

*[1] *Cf. postea*, p. 49, n. 4.

[2] Windsor Castle. Wood, oil; figures all but life-size. The panel was found by Signor Tivoli, who sold it to Mr. Woodburn, after having it restored by Signor Cortazi. It was bought at Christie's for H.R.H. the late Prince Consort. The figure to the left is almost destroyed, and those entering at the door are also much defaced. Of the three sitting to the right, the nearest is least damaged.

Almost simultaneously with him another artist attempted a similar subject.[1] It represents the Duke bareheaded, but in armour, with his helmet on the ground, and young Guidubaldo with a sceptre and jewelled coronet near him. This portrait, in the Barberini collection at Rome, is catalogued as of the Trans-Alpine school.[2] It is angular in form, contour, and drapery, and tinged with light olive flesh tints of viscous and horny substance. It is the work of a man who seems no stranger to the school of Melozzo or Francesca, but who embodies distinct foreign elements.[3] We are not inclined to concede that he is identical with Justus of Ghent, so long as we only know Justus by his Communion of the Apostles at Urbino, but we cannot say who he is. That there was an artist at Urbino of Flemish origin in the Duke's employ is proved by a series of fancy portraits often assigned to Melozzo, though foreign to his manner. For a considerable time these portraits adorned the palace of the Montefeltri, where they were seen by Baldi.[4] They passed at a comparatively recent date as heirlooms into the Barberini and Sciarra families, and part of them came by purchase to the Louvre. In this collection we have portraits of Plato, St. Thomas, Bessarion, Virgil, Solon, Pietro Apponio, Dante, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Vittorino da Feltre, Aristotle, Sixtus IV., Ptolemy, and Seneca.[5] In the Barberini collection, Solomon, Moses, Gregory the Great, Albert the Great, Pius II., Ambrose, Boetius, Hippocrates, Homer, Scotus of Smyrna, Petrarch, Cicero, Bartolo Sentinati, and Euclid.[6] Of these illustrious persons, the Venice Academy con-

*[1] Judging from the apparent age of Guidubaldo, the picture now under discussion would seem to have been painted several years earlier—about 1476, in favour of which date there is also other evidence (see n. 4).

*[2] Now officially assigned to Melozzo da Forlì.

[3] Rome Barberini collection. No. 69; wood, oil. Figures all but life-size. In an interior the Duke is seated with a book in his left hand, and reads. The hands are coarse and short.

[4] *Descrizione del Palazzo Ducale d' Urbino*, 1587. [* The portrait of Federigo and his son was probably in the same room as that adorned by these portraits. Somewhere in this room there was an inscription giving the name and titles of Federigo and the date 1476, which may denote when the pictures were finished (see Voll, in *Repertorium*, xxiv. 54 *sqq.*).]

*[5] Louvre, Nos. 1,637, 1,633, 1,627, 1,634, 1,635, 1,629, 1,630, 1,632, 1,631, 1,628, 1,638, 1,626, 1,639, 1,636.

*[6] Rome, Galleria Barberini, Nos. 63, 72, 74, 99, 104, 65, 93, 105, 95, 98, 92 101, 85, 86.

tains ten drawings in the character of Raphael's youth, and unanimously assigned to him by the most competent critics.[1] We conclude from this that they were sketched from the originals by young Santi at Urbino, and we assume at the same time that the originals were finished before 1482, the year of Federigo's death. The character of the series is not constantly the same. The Solon is painted in a Flemish, the Dante in an Italian, style. St. Augustine is Flemish, St. Jerome is like the work of a man formed on the model of Van der Weyden; Vittorino da Feltre is Italian. This mixture is apparent in various ways, some figures being in freer action or motion than others; and the same variety is apparent at Rome. The drawing of the greater part is Flemish; the draperies are angular, and the hands coarse. They are all boldly handled, in a transparent yet horny olive brown tone, through which the ground and outlines appear. The shadows are high in surface, and a softer fusion or more perfect modelling distinguishes some of the number. The obscurity which overhangs these productions is double, and it is not possible to name the author. Their foreign aspect naturally suggests the inquiry whether Justus of Ghent might not have produced them. His labours at Urbino are comprised between the years 1462–1475. The Flemish element in the gallery of heroes before us may be that of a Netherlander whose style was modified by contact with Italian painters at Urbino, but there is still room for conjecture in our present state of doubt.

The National Gallery now possesses two allegories—Rhetoric, a female, richly dressed, in a niche under a canopy presenting an open volume to a man who kneels before her; Music, giving a closed volume to a kneeling youth.[2] In the Berlin Museum is a third allegory of precisely the same kind.[3] These three panels all

*[1] The question as to the author of the Raphael Sketchbook in the Venice Academy is one of the most vexed in art criticism; but critics are now practically unanimous at least in refusing to acknowledge it as the work of Raphael. For a summary of the literature on this subject, see STEINMANN, *u.s.*, i. 288, n. 1.

[2] London, National Gallery. Wood, 5 feet 1½ inches h. by 3 feet 4½ inches. From the collections of Principe dei Conti and Mr. Spence at Florence under the name of Melozzo.

[3] Berlin Museum, No. 54. Same size as the foregoing. From the Solly collection, under the name of Bramantino. [* This picture, an allegory of Dialectic, is at present officially ascribed to Melozzo.]

Photo, Hanfstaengl

RHETORIC

By Justus of Ghent

From a picture in the National Gallery.

V.—*To face page* 44a

Photo, Hanfstaengl

DIALECTIC

By Justus of Ghent

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

V.—*To face page* 44*b*

form part of one series, as we observe by the inscriptions on the friezes above the thrones, the Berlin example being the central one of the three, the words beginning in the allegory of Rhetoric and running as follows: "VX VRBINI MONTISFERITRI AC | DVRANTIS COMES SER | IECLESIE GONFALONIERVS." These inscriptions show that the painter was employed by Federigo of Montefeltro, and there is every reason to believe that the allegories form part of a series once adorning the palace of Urbino.[1] Whilst the colouring offers some analogy to that of the portraits of the Barberini-Sciarra succession, its style is more Italian. A certain viscosity, reminiscent of that in the tones of pictures by the Pollaiuoli, is coupled with much boldness and ease of handling and rich impasto. The progress of the method apparent in these examples may be noted further in a fine bust portrait at three-quarters, in the costume of the close of the fifteenth century, in possession of Signor Leoni at Urbino.[2] A certain hardihood in the drawing in

*[1] The Berlin Museum contains yet another picture from this series, representing Astronomy (No. 54 A). As shown by Professor SCHMARSOW (*u.s.*, p. 84 *sqq.*), these pictures formed part of a series of allegories of the seven liberal arts, which originally adorned a room in the Ducal library of Urbino. The panels probably bore a continuous inscription, as follows:

FRIDERICVS MONTEFELTRIVS.	DVX VRBINI MONTIS FERETRI AC.
1. Grammar (lost).	2. Rhetoric (London).
DVRANTIS COMES SER.	REGIS SICILIÆ CAPITANEVS GENERALIS.
3. Dialectic (Berlin).	4. Geometry (lost).
SANCTÆQVE ROMANÆ.	IECLESIE GONFALONIERVS.
5. Arithmetic (lost).	6. Music (London).

(date)

7. Astronomy (Berlin).

The last-mentioned piece, which is heavily restored, and also cut down, has lost its inscription. The kneeling figures are no doubt all portraits, but so far it has only been possible to identify those of Duke Federigo (Dialectic) and Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, and Federigo's brother-in-law (Music). The series must be dated somewhere between 1474 (when Federigo received the title of Duke) and 1478 (when Costanzo Sforza joined his enemies); but its date can, apparently, be fixed within even narrower limits—1476–78; *cf. postea*, p. 46, n. 1.

[2] Via Urbino, and still in possession of that gentleman in 1859. The portrait is life-size, the panel 16 inches by 13. The cap of a dark green, the coat dark brown. [* This portrait can no longer be traced. In the Italian edition of this work (viii. 307, n. 2) it is stated that the word "Tomaso" was carved at the back of the panel, and that it was shown in 1882, after having been heavily repaired, in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia. Compare also SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 358 *sq.*]

Signorelli's fashion—a hard viscous colour of dull olive tone, but shadowed with brown stippling and touched up with high surface lights of a diaphanous quality—the whole well modelled and glazed, are characteristics in this piece.

It is needless to say that none of these creations are by Melozzo, but they illustrate the course of a particular form of art in a particular place, and lead us to suppose that there were artists at Urbino who combined the style of Melozzo with that of the Flemings.[1]

Melozzo died in 1494, leaving behind him Marco di Antonio Palmezzano, who seems to have found employment under the same patron as his master.[2] The date of his birth is unknown,[3]

[1] VESPASIANO DE' BISTICCI (*Lives*, published by MAI at Rome in 1839), in his *Life of F. di Urbino*, says: "Della Pittura n'era intendentissimo; e per non trovare maestri a suo modo in Italia, che sapessino colorire in tavola a olio, mandò insino in Fiandra per trovare uno maestro solenne e fello venire a Urbino dove fece fare molte pitture di sua mano solemnissime, e massime in uno suo studio dove fere dipingere i filosofi e poeti e dottori della chiesa così greca come latina fatti con un maraviglioso artificio; e ritrassevi la sua signoria al naturale che non gli mancava nulla se non lo spirito."

Vespasiano, it is to be remembered, died in 1498. See UGOLINI'S *Storia dei Conti e Duchi d' Urbino*, *u.s.*, ii., note to p. 39. [* On the face of it, it seems very natural to identify the artist mentioned by Vespasiano de' Bisticci with Justus of Ghent; and the Communion by this painter in the Urbino Gallery (completed in 1474) undoubtedly reveals so close affinities in types, forms, draperies, etc., with the portrait of Duke Federigo in the Barberini collection and the fancy portraits now divided between the same gallery and the Louvre, as to lead us to conclude that these are also works by Justus. Many features of style, noticeable in the above work, are also pronounced enough in the Allegories in London and Berlin to point beyond mistake to Justus as their author; but they bear at the same time evidence to the strong influence of Melozzo, who may, therefore, be supposed to have visited Urbino at some time between 1476 (the probable date of the fancy portraits) and 1478 (when the Allegories presumably were finished). The style of the portrait group at Windsor calls for the same remarks as the "Allegories." Compare OKKONEN, *u.s.*, p. 118 *sqq.* The name of the artist commonly known as Justus of Ghent was really Joos (Jodocus) van Wassenhove. For full notices of him, see DE CEULENEER, in *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, v. 57 *sqq.*]

[2] LUCA PACIOLI mentions Marco in the same sentence with Melozzo, and calls him the dear pupil of the latter (*Summa de Arithmetica*, *u.s.*). Palmezzano's exact name is in a record of the time, which shall be quoted in full (see *postea*, p. 52, n. 4).

*[3] In a record of 1483 Palmezzano is described as "maior XX annorum minor 25" (see GRIGIONI, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, v. 187). This enables us to fix the date of his birth between 1458 and 1462.

but he lived far into the sixteenth century, and has left behind a number of important pieces that are now scattered throughout the galleries of Europe.

In the chapel of S. Biagio in S. Girolamo at Forlì, a furnace vault resting upon two full walls and upon two arches supported by square pillars is painted so as to simulate the appearance of a panelled dome resting on a balustrade, in front of which, or on which, eight figures are seated. An attempt is made to show the thickness of the section of the dome by feigned openings of a polygonal shape at the angles of the lunette and arch spandrils. The sky is supposed to be seen through the openings, and the view of it to be intercepted in part by children carrying scrolls. The place usually occupied by the lantern is a circular shield with armorial bearings,[1] surrounded by heads of cherubs. The figures are foreshortened in the manner for which Melozzo was celebrated, a manner which his pupil is known to have inherited, and the decoration is the work of a man of great experience in the use of the compass and rule and in the working of architectural plans. Melozzo had already given proof of his ability in this line of pictorial ornamentation at the SS. Apostoli in Rome and elsewhere.[2] He and his pupil were the continuators of the practice of Piero della Francesca and Signorelli, diversifying it with a novel variety of perspective and invention of forms. They were in their age the great illustrators of the system which in the sequel was perfected by Correggio in his cupola paintings, by the Carracci, and the most skilful of the so-called *barocchi*, Luca Giordano and Pietro da Cortona. As exponents of this style, Melozzo and Palmezzano were naturally esteemed; and though Mantegna, a great master of perspective in his day, was acknowledged as such even by his contemporaries, he did not originate, any more than Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, or the Florentines, the particular mode of applying its laws which shed lustre on the painters of whom we are now treating. These, however, but Palmezzano chiefly, were geometers and monumental draughtsmen whose figures, though accurate in the block of proportion and contour,

[1] The arms are, unfortunately, all but obliterated. [* They are those of the Feo family.]

[2] G. V. Marchesi, *Vir. Illust. forl.*, 8°, Foro., Sylva, 1726, lib. ii., cap. vii. *ap.* Reggiani, *u.s.*, p. 49.

were not more refined than was necessary for their positions in given spaces. The result to them of contemplating art under this point of view was a certain hardness and rigidity, which became in Palmezzano a sculptural immobility, extending alike to action, details, and drawing. A coloured bas-relief or stone-model, placed at a certain height and imitated according to the laws of perspective, would produce the same impression as one of his decorations, being correct, well proportioned, and sculptural, but hard and angular in outline, and naturally lifeless, and deriving little additional charm from a dull yellow-red flesh tone shadowed with brown. That these are the characteristic features in the ceiling we have attempted to describe is undoubted. They are clear in the broken and rigid figures of naked children, whose defects in this respect are striking as compared with those of Melozzo, whilst in the rest of the work Palmezzano exhibits inferiority in the reproduction of movement or of flowing drapery, and betrays his comparatively feebler handling in a higher surface colour and the use of cross hatching in the modelling of parts.[1] Like Melozzo, he has no feeling for colour, hence no atmosphere. He displays fancy and taste, however, in the ornaments of pilasters and friezes. Human figures supporting vases, themselves receptacles for monsters, winding tracery of stems, leaves, and scrolls, all on a dark green ground, cover the pilasters of the Riario chapel, and reveal a style not unlike that of similar ones in Signorelli's frescoes at Orvieto, and not inferior to those of Pinturicchio and Spagna; and we thus trace the origin of the taste for decoration which is in later artists of this school, such as Rondinelli, Zaganelli, or Giovanni Bertucci da Faenza—men in whom this secondary feature is stamped, with a mixture of Bolognese, Ferrarese, Paduan, and Venetian art.

No sensible difference is observable between the painting of the ceiling and that of the solitary wall, which remains in its pristine state.

This wall is divided into two courses. In the lunette, a number of persons kneel or stand in the centre of a court looking at St. James restoring two cocks to life. A man on the left, in the light dress of the

[1] REGGIANI (*u.s.*, pp. 45–6) supposes, but on insufficient grounds, that the ceilings and a remaining lunette are by Melozzo.

period, presents his back to the spectator, and reminds us, by the freedom of an action expressing surprise, of Signorelli's powerful creations. A broad flight of steps and landings winding round from the right of the picture and pivoting on a broad pillar, is enlivened with figures. Two men stand to the right on the landing, of whom it has been said, upon very slender grounds, that they are portraits of Melozzo and Palmezzano.[1] Nearer the centre, two youths of vulgar features on the steps are evidently trembling at the miracle; whilst on the left a male and female are seen coming down, followed by two persons in converse.[2]

In the lower course, parted into a double arcade with a groined vaulting, a rider in the garb of a pilgrim carries a dead body on the crupper of his horse, and is followed by a pilgrim on foot, whilst three figures stand to the left.[3] In the arcade to the right a kneeling man is about to be decapitated. Guards are at hand, and a gallows has been erected in the landscape distance. On a scroll fixed to the central pillar are the remnants of the inscription: "Marcus Palmezzanus Pictor foroliviensis M. . . ." The date is illegible, but a monogram follows it.[4]

To characterize this work would be to repeat the remarks sug-

[1] Reggiani, *u.s.*, pp. 46–7. He doubts whether the two kneeling pilgrims are portraits of Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza.

* [2] The legend illustrated in this fresco is as follows: A family, consisting of father, mother, and a young son, was once on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James the Greater at Compostella. During the journey the son was unjustly accused of theft, and hanged. On her return from Compostella, the mother went to the place of her son's execution, and found him hanging, still alive, in the gallows. The parents then went to the Judge, told him the miracle, and asked him to set their son free. The Judge was just then having a meal, and answered to the request of the parents: "Your son is as dead as the chicken before me," and as soon as he had said this, the chicken rose to life. In the fresco the mother and the father are seen kneeling to the right; the figure standing on the table is not St. James, but a mere spectator.

[3] In this group, again, it is affirmed, are Melozzo and Palmezzano with ? Sigismondo Ferrarese holding a compass (Reggiani, *u.s.*, pp. 46–7).

* [4] What follows from the date is really not a monogram, but a palm-branch, being an allusion to the painter's name. Professor Schmarsow (*op. cit.*, p. 289) states that "MCCCCC" may still clearly be made out of the date, and the following cipher seemed to him a X, but was, according to Reggiani (*u.s.*), a V. In view of the facts that the Feo arms are painted on the ceiling and the frescoes on the wall illustrate the legend of St. James the Greater, we may suppose that the paintings in this chapel were ordered by or in memory of Giacomo Feo, the lover of Caterina Sforza (widow of Girolamo Riario), who was murdered in 1495. *Cf.* Schmarsow, *u.s.*, p. 288 *sqq.* Okkonen, *u.s.*, p. 142 *sqq.*

gested by the ceiling. The perspective is true, the figures are well arranged, and a due subordination of parts is preserved. The costumes are rich, and some faces are pleasing, but the drawing is hard and angular, the forms unwrought, and the draperies broken, whilst the colour is without charm.[1]

Whether painted originally for Girolamo Riario or not, the frescoes of this chapel are valuable for the clue they give to the author of an exactly similar work in the Cappella del Tesoro in the Duomo of Loreto. The arms on the centre of the dome in this place are clearly those of the Della Rovere. Eight Prophets sit on the balustrade,[2] whose ornaments are copious and beautiful, but the curve of the dome is not divided into lozenge panelling. It is cut into sections by ribs of ornament, each section being filled with an angel, foreshortened so as to appear in the act of approaching the spectator, and bearing a symbol of the Passion. The type and form of heads, reminiscent of those of Melozzo, seem truly to date from the period when he was patronized by Girolamo Riario. But the same nobleman may have befriended Palmezzano likewise, and the execution, which is richer and better than that of the chapel at Forlì, is clearly Palmezzano's, who thus had occasion to study Signorelli's ceiling in the sacristy of the same church.[3]

In assigning to Palmezzano two important wall-paintings, we have pointed out the difference between his style and that of his master. This difference is traceable in pictures on panel, and not less on those which bear the signature of "Marcus de Melotius" than on others more distinctly inscribed with Palmezzano's name.

[1] It must be remembered, however, that the lower fresco is in very bad condition.

[2] Ezekiel, Obadiah, Zachariah, Amos, David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Habakkuk.

* [3] In the Archives of the Santa Casa of Loreto this chapel is mentioned as early as 1515 as "la Cappella de Melozzo" (SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 132, n. 2). It must, therefore, be assumed that Melozzo designed these frescoes, although the execution cannot be his. The rebuilding and adornment of the sanctuary of Loreto were much furthered by Sixtus IV. and his nephew, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, who was created Bishop of Recanati in 1476, Cardinal in 1477, and received the Protectorate of Loreto in the same year. The Della Rovere arms (surmounted by a Cardinal's hat), which appear in the centre of the dome of the Cappella del Tesoro, pertain to Girolamo, who died in 1507.

There are but two pieces with the inscription "Marcus de Melotius." They shall now be described in their order. The first, in the Chiesa de' Zoccolanti at Matelica near Fabriano, represents the Virgin enthroned with the naked Infant in benediction between SS. Francis and Catherine. A Pietà and five saints fill the lunette. Three saints stand in a pilaster at each side, resting on a plinth, in which is also a saint. In the predella between the two plinths are the Last Supper, the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The Virgin's throne rests on a sand-glass pedestal, and a scroll at its base reads thus: "Marchus de Melotius Foroliviensis faciebat, al temp. de frate Zorzo Guardiano del M° CCCCCI."

A peculiar monogram closes the inscription. The relation between this picture and the frescoes in S. Biagio at Forlì is obvious in the rigidity and motionlessness of the figures, the angularity and hardness of the drawing, and the copious broken folds of the double draperies, the Umbrian character of which is at the same time reminiscent of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Lorenzo di Credi. The colour is hard, reddish in the flesh tints, and of much body, and the architectural ornament is copious and tasteful. A tendency to roundness in the heads reveals an approximation to the painters of Treviso and Friuli—for instance, to Cima da Conegliano.[1]

The second piece in the SS. Annunziata or Carmine of Forlì is an apotheosis of St. Anthony the Abbot, enthroned in a portico between SS. John the Baptist and Sebastian. The throne on which the saint sits is similar in general shape to that of the picture at Matelica, and bears a scroll in its centre inscribed, "Marcus de Melotius, pictor forolivensis faciebat," with traces of the monogram.[2]

The proportions of the figures are undoubtedly good, yet their character is not different from that of the Madonna at Matelica.

[1] The mantle of the Virgin is scraped, but otherwise the piece is fairly preserved. The predella scenes are animated in composition.

[2] On a scroll affixed to a pilaster on the left the restorer has signed his name, 'G. Reggiani foroliviense." His restoration is bad, and parts are threatening to drop. The draperies of the principal figure are repainted. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Forlì (No. 119). The signature of the restorer was removed in 1870.]

The contradiction which the inscription on this altarpiece would introduce into the chronology of Melozzo's life, if it were assigned to him, has been remarked by the last commentators of Vasari, who settle the matter summarily by altering the date from 1501 to 1491. Others have accepted the contradiction, and Signor Reggiani has gone so far in his eagerness to multiply examples of Melozzo that he introduced the signature "Marchus Melozii" in a Pietà originally forming part of an altarpiece in the Duomo of Forlì, and now in the National Gallery.[1] Yet the altarpiece in the Duomo is proved to have been finished in 1506, and is signed "Marcus Palmezanus faciebat."

The finest picture given to Melozzo, however, is the Virgin and Child seated on a sand-glass pedestal, between the standing SS. Michael and James the Less in the Orfanotrofio delle Michelline at Faenza.[2] A landscape is seen through the open lodge in which the Virgin is enthroned. A warrior on horseback, an apparition of St. Michael on Mount Gargano, are in its foreground and distance to the left. Two saints are in rear to the right. In the lunette, the Eternal appears amongst angels. The richness of architecture in particoloured marbles, the octagon pedestal resting on pillars and filled with diamond ornaments as in the Ferrarese school, the tracery on friezes, are characteristic of Palmezzano. The Infant Christ is the counterpart of those bearing scrolls in the chapel at S. Biagio of Forlì, but the figures generally are more pleasing, and have less defects than are usual in the average of Palmezzano's Madonnas. The colour is of high body, and handled with ease. Yet the reddish general tone peculiar to the master is everywhere perceptible.[3] This fine production was ordered of Palmezzano on June 12, 1497, by the prior of the company of S. Michelino of Faenza, and on March 16, 1500, the painter gave a discharge for sixty ducats for his labour.[4] All the

[1] This piece is now numbered 596 in our National Gallery. The signature, "Marchus Melozii," painted in by Signor Reggiani, has been removed.

[*2] Now in the Communal Gallery of Faenza.

[3] The Eternal in the lunette is of inferior execution to the rest. Four vertical splits stopped with colour spoil the heads of the saints at the sides and other parts. The flesh tints have also been retouched in some places.

[4] "12. Junii 1497. Mag. Antonius ol. Santis a credentiis et Mag. Ant. ol. Siverii Maneghelle priores societatis S. Michilini de Faven. dederunt M. Marco qd. Antonii

Photo. Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Marco Palmezzano

From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Faenza

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pictures enumerated in the foregoing pages have been assigned to Melozzo of Forlì on the obvious ground of their superior excellence when compared with the general series of Palmezzano's works. But this ground is removed when it appears that the best of these choice examples is not by Melozzo, but by his pupil. The contract for the Madonna of Faenza is, therefore, of value, as it proves the ability of Palmezzano in 1497, and justifies the presumption that, having worked long under Melozzo, his best efforts are due to the period immediately succeeding that master's death. It is evident at the same time that Marco was willing at first to rest his chance of fame upon the acknowledged fact that he was Melozzo's pupil, and hence the custom of signing his earlier works "Marcus de Melotius." During thirty-seven years of the sixteenth century he painted a great number of pictures, all of them in oil, and now scattered throughout the galleries of Europe. They have all the same general character, reminding us fundamentally of Melozzo, frequently of the Umbrian school and of Pinturicchio, casually of the Lombards and of the Luini, and in landscapes of Cima, whose clear atmosphere, however, they do not rival.[1] Marco's portrait was, till 1854, in possession of the Palmezzani family, and is now in the Pinacoteca of Forlì with the

palmezani de forlivio pictori unam tabulam altaris dicte societatis ad pingendum coloribus finis et fino auro et cum oleo in qua tabula sint figure glor. Virginis in medio, a laterib. figure Sõi Michaelis et Sõi Jacobi minoris, et in supratondo dei patris ornati Seraphinis. Et talis pictura facta sit per totum mensem aprilis prox. futuri. Et ita predicta omnia promisit observare M. Marcus. Et pro pretio promiserunt dicti priores dare et solvere eidem ducatos sexaginta vel equivalentem in auro quantitatem, de quibus ducatis LX. dictus M. Marcus pro . . . confẽsus est habuisse ducatos viginti. Ego Bartholomeus olim fris Philippi de Taurellis not fav." The discharge, dated March 16, 1500, runs as follows: "Cancellatum fuit presens instrum. debiti ducatorum 60 de Mandato dicit M. Marci et ad instantiam dictor. M. Antonii Maneghelle et M. Antonii Santis quia fuit confessus se esse integre satisfact. et solut. et etiam de omni pictura facta hac usque in Societati Sõi Michaelis &c. Act faven. in domo mei not. present. Petro babini armaroli et Antonio M. Andree ab armis test. Ego Bartolom. de Taurellis rogatus scripti et cancellavi." This extract was made for the authors by Don Marcello Valgimigli of Forlì, from the contract in the Archivio Notarile at Faenza; but the piece has been printed in the *Calendario Faentino* for 1857.

* [1] Palmezzano's works contain, indeed, so frequent reminiscences of Venetian painting generally, that it lies close at hand to think that he studied for some time at Venice. A record of 1495, published by Signor Grigioni (*u.s.*, p. 189 *sqq.*), offers also some evidence in favour of such a surmise.

inscription: "Marchus Palmezanus nob. forol. semet. pinxit octava ætatis sua 1536." It is the likeness of a white-haired, aged man, smiling open-mouthed, in a white shirt and black dress, with pallet and brush in hand, heavily painted in tones now dulled by time. His bony face shows a good-humoured vulgarity, but reveals vigour remarkable in a man of eighty, as the inscription purports him to be. If, indeed, we interpret the word *octava* in the above sense, we find that Palmezzano was born in 1456.

His works may be classed as follows :

Forlì. SS. Biagio e Girolamo. In the fourth chapel, to the right of the entrance to this church, is an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child on a throne, in front of which an angel plays the guitar. A scroll on the throne bears the words : "Marchus Palmizãus pictor foroliviẽsis faciebat." To the left kneel a man and a child, to the right a female and a child. Flavio Biondo[1] and Buriel[2] pretend that these are portraits of Girolamo Riario, Caterina Sforza, and their children; but Reggiani[3] thinks they are members of the Acconzi family, patrons of the chapel in which the picture is situated. The sides of the centre-piece contain SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Domenico, Anthony of Padua, and Sebastian. A predella is filled by small figures of Christ, Apostles, and saints. The date of 1486 given to this altarpiece is conjectural. It is not a fine picture, but of paltry and dry execution, with considerable flatness. It may be doubted whether the work be by Palmezzano in person, the domed ceiling of the chapel being decorated with wall paintings by men of his school.

Milan. Brera, No. 469. Wood, 2·25 m. high by 1·31. A Nativity. The child on straw is adored by the Virgin; and St. Joseph sits on the opposite side. The magi and shepherds are seen approaching from the distance. This is an abraded and restored picture with a mutilated inscription of a suspicious character on a scroll, as follows : "Marchus Palmizanus . . . forolivens . . . fecierunt MCCCCLXXXXII." The piece is, however, quite in Palmezzano's manner.[4]

Milan. Brera, No. 471. Wood, 1·70 m. high by 1·56. The Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, Peter,

[1] *Ital. Illus .*, pp. 242, 248, 258; *ap.* Casali, *Guida di Forlì*, 12°, 1838, p. 85.

[2] *Vita di Caterina Sforza*, Bologna, 1795, tome iii., p. 857.

[3] *U.s.*, p. 44.

[4] The signature now reads: "Marchus Palmizanus foroliviese fecit MCCCCLXXXXII." The picture comes from the Church of the Confraternita dei Bianchi di Valverde at Forlì.

Dominic, and Mary Magdalen; distance a landscape. A modern inscription in capitals reads: "Marchus Palmizanus foroliviense fecerunt MCCCCLXXXXIII." The picture is pretty and treated like a tempera, but has been restored in former times in the figures of the Virgin and St. Dominic. The date may be incorrect.[1]

These two pieces are the only ones in which the strange word "fecerunt" occurs, but in both cases the inscriptions appear to have been tampered with.

Same gallery, No. 470. Wood, 1·63 m. high by 1·23. A Coronation of the Virgin, on a high pedestal. Two angels play on each side. In front are two kneeling monks, half the size of life; and on a scroll the words: ". . . Palmizanus . . . da Forlì . . ." The picture is pretty, and in the Umbrian character.[2]

Berlin Museum, No. 1,129.[3] Wood, 1 foot 10½ inches high by 1 foot 7 inches. From the Giustiniani Collection. Christ crowned with thorns, and carrying His cross. A fine creation of Palmezzano, in which the type is reminiscent of those of the Leonardesque school copied by Cotignola and others. It is inscribed: "Marchus Palmezzanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat MCCCCCIII."

Forlì. Pinacoteca, No. 122. Christ giving the Communion to the Apostles, with the inscription in front: "Marchus Palmizanus faciebat." The scene is laid in a lodge through which we see Satan in pilgrim's garb tempting Christ. On the right, the Saviour, erect, gives the Host to a kneeling Apostle, whilst the rest are in similar attitudes on the left. St. John Evangelist stands with the cup in rear of the Redeemer. Some hardness and rigidity may be noticed in this picture, but the character, types, and execution are similar to those in the wall-painting at S. Biagio and Loreto. This piece was noticed by Vasari in the Cathedral of Forlì, where it once stood, and was assigned in his first edition to Rondinelli (Vasari, vol. vi., p. 323).

London. National Gallery, No. 596. Wood, 3 feet 3 inches high by 5 feet 5½ inches. Pietà, with six figures. Lunette of the foregoing, a fine work. The whole piece is noticed in Albertini's MS. Chronicle, and described there as placed on the altar in 1506. Purchased at Rome of Signor Gismondi in 1858.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,400. Wood, 0·83 m. high by 0·80. Knee-piece representing Christ supported on the tomb by two angels. A

* 1 Same provenance as No. 469.
* 2 Formerly in the Church of the Minori Osservanti at Cotignola.
* 3 Now on loan to the Gallery at Bonn.

fine, cleanly finished picture, inscribed on a cartello to the left: "Marcus Palmesianus Eês Furlivesis, 1510." Bought of Signor Richetti at Venice in 1863.

Dublin. National Gallery, No. 127. Wood, 7 feet 2 inches high by 6 feet 2 inches. Late Bromley Collection. The Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist and Lucy, with an angel in front of the throne playing a guitar, inscribed: "Ma . . . emizan, pictor . . . rolivensis M . . ." Once in the Ercolani and Fesch Collections, and described by Lanzi (iii. 30) as bearing the date of 1513. The Child is defective in shape; the colours are ruddy and raw.

In the same collection, under the name of "Francia," *No.* 5 (wood, 4 feet high by 3 feet), St. Philip Benizzi in a landscape with two diminutive angels holding the cross and papal tiara. This also is by Palmezzano.[1]

Munich Gallery, No. 1,026. Wood, 7 feet 8½ inches high by 6 feet 10½ inches. Virgin and Child on the usual pedestal between SS. Peter, Francis, Anthony the Hermit, and Paul, with an angel playing in front, a fine picture inscribed on a scroll: "Marcus Palmezanus pictor Foroliviensis faciebat." On the sword of Paul is the date "MCCCCCXIII." This picture, which once adorned a village altar in Romagna, was purchased for the Ercolani collection at Bologna in the last century (see BOTTARI, *Raccolta*, Milan, ed. 1822, vol. vii., pp. 95-96), and bought of Prince Ercolani in 1829 by King Ludwig.

Berlin Museum, No. 1,129A. Christ erect in front of the cross, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezzanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXV."

Ravenna. Palazzo Rasponi. Christ (life-size), on a pedestal, raises one hand high in benediction, an angel playing at the base, and SS. Roch and Sebastian at the sides, the whole under a portico, through which a landscape and two hermits are seen. This is a fine picture of the master, of a dull yellowish, but well-fused, colour, the Christ reminiscent of the Luini, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor forolivensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXIII." The date may be 1524. We need but mention by the way a Pietà here assigned to Melozzo, all but a copy of a splendid Bellini (Gio.) falsely attributed to Mantegna in the Vatican.[2]

*1 Not now shown.

*2 As shown by Dr. FRIZZONI (in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxii. 260 *sqq.*), the Vatican Pietà was originally the top piece of the great altarpiece painted by Bellini for S. Francesco at Pesaro. This accounts for the fact that we possess several imitations of it by Romagnole painters. One, by Palmezzano, is noticed by the authors (*postea*, p. 60); another, by Girolamo Marchesi of Cotignola, is in the Budapest Gallery (No. 73).

Same collection. Christ carrying His cross drawn with a cord by an executioner. A cartello bears trace of the painter's name.[1]

Grenoble Museum, No. 420. Holy Family; inscription: "Marcus Palmazanus pictor Foroliviensis faciebat a MCCCCCXXX."

England. R. P. Nichols, Esq., No. 315, *at Manchester.* Baptism of Christ, with a figure to the left bending to adjust his dress; inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat, 1534."[2]

A copy of the foregoing, with a variation in the nude figure dressing, is in possession of Signor Casali at Forlì, inscribed: "Marchus de Melotius pictor foroliviensis faciebat."[3]

Forlì. Pinacoteca, No. 116. From the suppressed church della Missione. Christ going to Calvary, and carrying His cross (four life-size bust figures). The Saviour's type recalls those of the Leonardesque school. The colour is reddish and hard, and the faces of the attendant figures are vulgar; inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXXV."[4]

Faenza. Municipal Gallery. The same subject turned in the opposite direction, not signed.

Padua. Galleria Communale, No. 414. Wood. Virgin, Child and Infant Baptist; a mediocre work inscribed: "Marcus Palmezzanus pictor Foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXXVI."

Venice. Museo Correr, Sala II., No. 59. Wood, 0·55 m. high by 0·98. Christ, turned to the right, carries His cross, the executioner dragging Him with a cord, between Simon of Cyrene and another personage. Half-lengths. This is a replica of the panel in the gallery of Forlì.

London. Marquis of Northampton. Wood; figures life-size. Virgin and Child under a daïs between St. Louis and St. Anthony of Padua. In front the kneeling St. Catherine and the angel and Tobias, parted by three angels in the act of singing, inscribed: "Marchus palmezanus

*[1] The collection of Count Ferdinando Rasponi of Ravenna was sold by auction at Brussels on October 25, 1880.

*[2] Subsequently in the collection of the late Sir William Farrer, and sold at the Farrer sale, March 23, 1912, No. 56.

*[3] This picture was in 1894 in possession of the Croppi family of Forlì (Calzini, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. vii., p. 458 *sq.*, who also mentions a third version of this composition, signed and dated 1536, in the collection of the Marchese Albicini at Forlì.)

*[4] The figure of Christ is imitated from that occurring in a composition of which several versions are known, and which has been associated with the names of Bonsignori, Solario, and Gianfrancesco de' Maineri. Compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. Borenius, ii. 185 *sq.*

pictor foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXXVII. Doña Lucia . . . uxor Magistri Jovanis calzolarii spenditore de Cesena fecit fieri Año. Dni MDXXXVII." This injured and not very fine work also comes from the Ercolani collection at Bologna, and is mentioned by LANZI (iii. 30).

Rome. Museum of S. Giov. Laterano. Virgin and Child under a colonnade, from the key of which a lamp is suspended, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Anthony the Abbot, and Dominic at the sides; on a scroll the words: " Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXXVII." Although type and form are not pleasing, the picture is good, and shows no decline of power.

Same Museum. Virgin and Child on the usual quaint pedestal between SS. John the Baptist and Jerome, with an angel in front playing the viol. The scene is laid in a much ornamented colonnade, the execution, as before, in oil, much stippled. The piece is injured, however, and a scroll originally inscribed is now bare.[1]

Rome. Monte di Pietà.[2] Christ in the tomb raised by Simon of Arimathea. Distant landscape—a very good and dignified figure of the Saviour in the feeling of Cima. Well preserved.

Rome. Galleria Spada, No. 49. Christ carrying His cross, assisted by Simon of Cyrene; the Virgin fainting in the arms of the Marys. Full length, of life-size, in a landscape. In a lunette the Eternal in a glory of cherubs' heads. This is a good specimen of the master's most powerful style.

Forlì. Chiesa dell' Annunziata-vulgo Carmine.[3] In the choir of the church is a fine altarpiece injured by repainting in the shadows, representing the Annunciation. The Virgin, seated before a little desk, is surprised at the appearance of the angel kneeling before her. The types, the draperies, are amongst the best of the master. A landscape without much atmosphere is seen through an arcade, in front of which is a garland of Seraphim. A scroll on a column to the left is bare.[4]

Forlì. S. Maria de' Servi, vulgo S. Pellegrino. Sacristy.[5] A small Annunciation like the foregoing and of the same beauty, inscribed: " Marchus Palmizanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Forlì. S. Mercuriale, Cappella de' Ferri. An altarpiece, in its frame of the period, representing the conception of the Virgin. Mary kneels

*[1] This and the preceding picture are now in the Vatican Gallery.

*[2] Present whereabouts unknown.

*[3] Now in the Communal Gallery of Forlì (No. 120).

*[4] According to CALZINI (*u.s.*, p. 286, n. 1), this picture had been placed over an altar in S. Annunziata by 1491.

*[5] Now Forlì, Communal Gallery, No. 113.

on the right with St. Stephen behind her, on the left a child kneeling, St. Rufillus, repainted in the seventeenth century as St. Barbatian, and St. Mercuriale. In the upper corner to the left, the Eternal appears amidst Seraphim, and reminds us of a similar type by Pinturicchio in the frescoes of Spello. In a lunette, Christ rises from the tomb, and the guard in foreshortened attitude sleep in front; the execution being reminiscent of that of Cima and the Bellini. Two prophets occupy medallions in the angles of the square circumscribing the lunette at the Virgin's feet. A scroll bears the words: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat," and the monogram. The predella is divided into four parts, containing St. Peter and a monk, the Salutation, the Martyrdoms of St. Stephen and St. Paul, and an anchorite. The altarpiece is painted in a dry, dull manner, and is coldly worked out. The predella, however, in the Umbrian style, is amongst the best creations of Palmezzano.

Forlì. Same church. Fourth chapel to the right of the portal. Virgin and Child between St. Catherine of Alexandria and another saint, with a landscape distance. This is not one of the fine productions of Marco. It is thin in colour and done at one painting, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Forlì. Same church. Third chapel to the right of the portal. The Crucifixion, S. Giovanni Gualberto presenting a kneeling soldier, the Magdalen to the right, and a landscape. This is a much injured picture, in which the head of the Magdalen is new. The colour is of a dull purple and opaque, yet there is no other difference between it and a genuine Palmezzano than inferior execution. A scroll bears the mutilated inscription: "Marchus . . . pictor fu."

Forlì. S. Trinita della Torre.[1] In the style and character of the foregoing is a Virgin and Child between saints in the sacristy of this church, a feeble piece apparently by a pupil, and inscribed on a scroll: "Marcus . . . pictor de for . . . facie . . . M." Casali's *Guida di Forlì* (*u.s.*, p. 19) gives the inscription as follows: "Marchus Valerius Morolinus de Forliviensis faciebat, MDIII." The inscription of the Crucifixion he also gives thus: "Marchus . . . a . . . e . . . is li . . . dri . . . MC . . ." He adds: "The painter here named is not otherwise known." The words on the scroll of the Madonna in S. Trinita are uncertain. The name of Valerius may have been there. But we must be cautious at Forlì, for we have seen how pictures are tampered with there. Still, if we assume Marcus Valerius Morolinus as a con-

[1] Now Forlì, Communal Gallery, No. 109.

ventional name for inferior works in Palmezzano's school, we may place the two foregoing in that class.[1]

Forlì. S. Antonio Abate. Half-length of the Virgin's meeting with St. Elizabeth, not without merit.

Forlì. Pinacoteca, No. 123. Virgin and Child, and St. Joseph. A bare scroll is on the front of the picture, which has less the character of Palmezzano than of his school.

Padua. Conte Maldura. Wood. Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, the Magdalen, and young Baptist; background, a green curtain. On a wall a cartello with the words "Marcus Palmezzã forolivensis," and near it in large letters the forged name "Andreas Mantegna." This is a fair Palmezzano.[2]

Treviso. Contessa del Corno. Virgin, Child, St. Catherine, St. John the Baptist, and St. Joseph. This feeble piece, with traces of an inscription, is one of Palmezzano's less agreeable works; injured by restoring.

Vicenza. Galleria Communale, No. 179. Wood. Christ supported by St. John Evangelist with the Magdalen and another saint. Distant landscape, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezzanus foroliviensis faciebat." The composition is almost the same as that of the Pietà assigned to Melozzo in the Rasponi collection at Ravenna, but the panel is almost worthless from injury and restoring.

Berlin Museum, No. 1,087.[3] Wood, 5 feet 7 inches high by 4 feet 7 inches. From the Solly collection. A Virgin and Child between SS. Barbara and Jerome, almost a monochrome. The usual pedestal and colonnade are in this piece, which is inscribed: "Marcus Palmezzanus Pinctor . . . m."

Berlin. Collection of the dealer Signor Rocca. Virgin and Child and saints; half-lengths.

Carlsruhe Museum, No. 405. Wood, 3 feet 1 inch high by 2 feet 2 inches, inscribed with a forged signature under which Palmezzano's name is still visible: "Joannes Bellinus pingebat, MCCCCLXXI." The subject is St. Sebastian at the pillar.

England. Late Lord Northwick's collection, No. 145, at the Manchester Exhibition under the name of Raphael. Incredulity of St. Thomas: to

*1 As shown by Signor GRIGIONI (*u.s.*, p. 193, n. 1), the belief that there existed a painter called Marcus Valerius Morolinus must be due to a misinterpretation of the signature of Palmezzano.

*2 The Maldura collection is now dispersed.

*3 Now in the palace of the Imperial Chancellor at Berlin.

the right, St. Anthony of Padua presenting a kneeling patron; originally in the Solly collection, where it was called a Perugino. This is a fine work by Palmezzano.

Collection of Mr. Brett, No. 150, at Manchester under the name of Raphael. Christ carrying His cross; half-length. This is a pleasant panel, not by any means a Raphael, but in Palmezzano's so-called Leonardesque phase.

Forlì. A Jerome, signed "Marchus Palmezzanus, MCCCCCXXXIII.," is but a poor copy.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,095. Crucifixion, with the Virgin, Martha, the Magdalen, and St. John Evangelist,[1] inscribed "Marchus Palmizanus forlivensis faciebat."

* [1] Without attempting to exhaust the catalogue of Palmezzano's works, we may still mention the following works by him:

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, No. 268. The Circumcision, signed "Marcus Palmezanus pictor Foroliviensis fatiebat, 1536."

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 131. The Nativity.

Bologna. Pinacoteca, No. 502. The Virgin and Child.

Bordeaux. Musée de Peinture, No. 78. The Crucifixion.

Brisighella (Province of Ravenna). Church of the Minori Osservanti. High-altar. The Virgin and Child, with SS. Augustine and Anthony of Padua. Signed "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat," and dated 1506 (Calzini, *u.s.*, p. 341 *sq.*).

Florence. Corsini Gallery, No. 417. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. Signed "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat, MCCCCCXXIIII."

Forlì. Communal Gallery, No. 111. The Flight into Egypt. *No.* 112: The Presentation in the Temple. *No.* 117: The Crucifixion, with Saints, fresco transferred to canvas, originally in the Church of the Monache della Torre at Forlì, and stated to have borne the signature "Marcus Palmizanus fecit," and the date, MCCCCLXXXXV. (Calzini, *u.s.*, p. 278). *No.* 121: The Eternal (lunette). *No.* 125: St. Helen, dated 1516, formerly in the Church of the Dominicans at Bertinoro (Calzini, *u.s.*, p. 357).

Hamburg. Late Weber collection, No. 31. The Virgin and Child, with SS. Peter and John. Signed "Marcus Palmesanus foroliviensis pinsebat."

London. Buckingham Palace, Royal Closet. Judith with the Head of Holophernes (with traces of a signature). *Rev. Canon Raymond Pelly.* The Crucifixion. Signed and dated 1530.

Lovere. Galleria Tadini. Christ carrying the Cross. Signed "Marcus Palmezanus foroliviensis pinxit, 1537."

Meiningen. Grand Ducal Palace. The Virgin and Child, with the boy St. John and St. Joseph. Signed "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Milan. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, No. 599. The Annunciation. *No.* 697. The Marriage of the Virgin. *Von Ecker Sale,* 1891, *No.* 91. Judith (the composition

similar to that of the picture at Buckingham Palace but reversed; signed and dated 1526).

Padua. Galleria Communale, No. 412. The Virgin and Child, with the boy St. John. Signed "Marcus forolivi."

Rome. Palazzo Corsini, No. 715. St. Jerome. *Scialoja collection.* The Holy Family (reproduced in *L'Arte*, xi. 152).

Rontana (*Comune di Brisighella, Provincia di Ravenna*). *Parish Church.* The Adoration of the Magi; in the lunette, Christ among the Doctors. Signed "Marcus Palmezanus foroliviensis fecit, MCCCCCXIII." (see *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. v., p. 297; and CALZINI, *u.s.*, p. 353 *sq.*).

Vienna. Liechtenstein collection. St. Claire (an interesting work, showing Palmezzano under the influence of Tura, to whom it is ascribed). SS. Francis and Jerome (two panels, the former dated 1500). The Dead Christ (very Bellinesque).

CHAPTER III

GIOVANNI SANTI

WE are indebted to the industry and zeal of men of the last century for the most precious details respecting the life and works of the father of Raphael. It has seldom been the fortune of a youth bred to art in the paternal painting-room to obscure the fame of his father. History but too frequently records examples in which the son is content to wear the laurels of his sire. But, if Giovanni Santi has been rescued from oblivion, because we like to trace the smallest particularities connected with the rise and progress of Raphael, it would be an error to suppose that this is his sole claim to the attention of posterity.

Giovanni Santi was one of the men who contributed to the brilliancy of the constellation in which Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, and Melozzo, shone with such conspicuous brightness; and we know enough of his career and influence to be able to affirm that their omission would form a very sensible gap in the sum total of elements out of which the talent of Raphael was formed.

Giovanni's grandfather, Peruzzolo, was married and settled at Colbordolo in the country of Urbino in 1418. His small property in land and houses having been plundered and burnt by Sigismund Malatesta in 1446, the family wandered in 1450 to the capital of Urbino, where they took shelter in a house hired from the brotherhood of S. Maria della Misericordia. Sante, Giovanni's father, succeeded, on the death of Peruzzolo, to a huckster and general dealer's business.[1] He was enabled to purchase lands of some value in 1457 and 1461, and in 1464 to buy a house in the Contrada del Monte at Urbino, famous as the birthplace of Raphael.

[1] Sante, Giovanni's father, is called "triculus," a huckster, in a record of May, 1460 (*ap.* Pungileoni, *Elogio stor. di Gio. Santi*, *u.s.*, p. 129).

Giovanni Santi alludes to the vicissitudes which his family underwent, in a dedicatory epistle written towards the close of his life to Guidubaldo of Montefeltro, describing the destruction of his homestead by fire, his loss of substance, and subsequent struggles. He was not bred to art, he admits, but, "having tried various ways of getting a livelihood, gave himself up at last to the wonderful art of painting, of which he did not disdain to be called a follower."[1] It is still a question when he began that art and under whom he learnt it. We have not to recapitulate how the Dukes of Urbino fostered architecture, sculpture, and painting in their capital, or to enumerate afresh the artists who laboured there. We do not know the date of Giovanni Santi's birth; but we infer from the vivid memory which he had of the sack of Colbordolo, that in 1446 he was of an age to realize the terrors of the siege and of the cruelties which accompanied it. Raphael was born in the house which his grandfather Sante purchased in 1464; and it may therefore be presumed that Giovanni Santi lived and kept shop in common with his father. We are induced to think that he had some standing as a painter in Urbino when Paolo Uccelli appeared there in 1468, and when the company of the Corpus Domini charged him with the defraying of expenses attending the stay of Piero della Francesca in 1469. That his own talents were considered subordinate to theirs might be deduced from their employment, to his exclusion. But that he felt no jealousy of Piero is apparent from his accepting, as it were, the office of his host.[2] We cannot tell whether earlier ties had not already existed between them. Who can say whether Melozzo of Forlì, at one time clearly under the direction of Piero, had not sounded in Giovanni's ear the praises of his master? Melozzo, "so dear to Santi," is not known to have lived in Urbino or even to have visited it. Yet where else can the two men have met? It may be that Santi, like most painters, was a wandering apprentice. It has been suggested that he might have accompanied Federigo of Urbino (1468) to Milan,[3] but it is not ascertained that he was ever in the

[1] See the dedicatory epistle in full in GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 348 and following.

[2] See *antea*, Piero della Francesca.

[3] Santi describes this journey in the ninety-first cap. of his *Rhyme Chron.* (see DENNISTOUN and PUNGILEONI). But there is no part of his narrative that

service of that prince, nor was a single work of his produced without the Duchy.[1] But Urbino, during the reign of Federigo, was a city in which a man of parts had every chance of successfully developing his faculties. The biographer Vespasian has left a minute description of the transactions of that reign. He has sketched the daily life in the city; and we can hardly imagine one in which despotism assumed a paternal and patriarchal aspect under more singular circumstances. We may conceive a mountain chieftain at the head of his clan, personally acquainted with every member of it, awarding praise or preferment to the obedient, chastizing the unruly, by all equally beloved. But we connect this mutual relation of a ruler and his people with primitive habits and the rudeness of uncivilized ages. At Urbino, Federigo stood in the position of a father to the people of the town and its neighbourhood, holding an open audience to all comers, joining the crowd of the market-place, at home in every man's house. But he was surrounded at the same time by artists, by men of science and of letters, who shared his favour with the captains of his council in the field. We can fully understand how Giovanni Santi might rise in purpose and in thought above the level of his father's shop; how, mixing in a society so patriarchal, he should gradually feel incentives to improvement in the pursuit of art and of letters. Giovanni Santi was not only a painter of fair attainments; he had the ambition of being thought a poet, and his "Rhyme Chronicle," so often quoted in these pages, is just such a production as an impulsive, but imperfectly educated, man might produce.[2]

It is unfortunate for the true judgment of Santi's career that

he might not have had from hearsay—for instance, from the relations of Paltroni, secretary to the Duke and his patron. Indeed, in the *Rhyme Chronicle* itself he admits (*ap.* PUNGILEONI) that he had often read Paltroni's Life of Federigo.

* [1] We know that Giovanni Santi at some time before January 13, 1494, went to Mantua, where he contracted the illness which led to his death on August 1 of the same year (compare *postea*, p. 81, n. 1).

* [2] The MS. of this *Rhyme Chronicle* is in the Vatican Library (Ottob., 1305). It has been published *in extenso* by Professor HOLTZINGER (*Federigo di Montefeltro Duca di Urbino. Cronaca di Giovanni Santi*, Stuttgart, 1893). We also possess a record of a literary production of Giovanni Santi, which has not been preserved—viz., an allegorical drama produced during the festivities accompanying the wedding of Guidubaldo di Montefeltro and Elisabetta Gonzaga at Urbino in 1488. See LUZIO and RENIER, *Mantova e Urbino*, Turin and Rome, 1893, p. 21.

we should possess no early examples of his manner; but we may conjecture that he had fully completed his pictorial apprenticeship when he was commissioned by Piero Tiranni to decorate a chapel in S. Giovanni Battista, now S. Domenico of Cagli. The frescoes of this chapel have generally been attributed to a later time, and Pungileoni has been followed by most subsequent writers in asserting that the Cappella Tiranni was painted in 1492. The truth is that some at least of the frescoes in S. Domenico of Cagli were painted in 1482, and the rest, it is fair to suppose, date from the same period.

Pietro Tiranni, of a patrician family at Cagli, was attached to the Court of Urbino, where he held (1502) the office of Chancellor or Secretary to Federigo's daughter, Giovanna della Rovere.[1] The loss of his wife broke up their home at Cagli in 1481; but he signalized his fondness by an affectionate epitaph. He showed his taste by choosing Bramante to design a funeral urn, and he proved his judgment by asking Santi to paint the wall against which it was erected. Whilst Pietro exhausts his power of language in the words of the epitaph, "Non fuit uxori castê vir carior alter, gratior et conjux non fuit ulla viro," his sorrow is symbolized in Santi's fresco of the Redeemer resting in the tomb, attended by St. Jerome and St. Buonaventura. The marble urn containing the remains of the departed lady is placed in front of the fresco, which was clearly first completed; and on the plinth is the inscription which concludes with the words: "Baptistê conjugi pietiss. Pe. Cal. S. D. anno MCCCCLXXXI."[2] A mournful interest is created by the expression in the Redeemer's head, whose face, however, is of a bony Umbrian type, somewhat marred by a large nose. His frame is lean and square, searchingly anatomized. Overweight of head is noticeable in St. Buonaventura.

[1] PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi*, p. 114.

[2] The whole epitaph is as follows:

"Hoc sita sum tumulo viridi Baptista sub evo.
Rapta . . . quondam gloria summa mei.
Non fuit uxori caste vir carior alter,
Gratior et conjux non fuit ulla viro.
Vivere proh! Superi cornicis sēcula longa
Debuimus tanto sic in amore pares.
Baptistē conjugi pietiss. pe. Cal. S. D. anno MCCCCLXXXI."

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS
By Giovanni Santi
Detail of a fresco in S. Domenico, Cagli

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The hands are unwrought as we are accustomed to see them in the works of Melozzo, the heads well defined, with a slightly abrupt passage from light to shadow, and the latter darkly stippled up to the edge of the outline. The general tone is a liquid water colour, of a brown-grey yellow.[1]

It is difficult to trace a difference of period between this fresco, which is obviously by Giovanni Santi, and the wall-paintings of the adjacent chapel. That sacred space, indeed, is said to have been erected and endowed by Pietro Tiranni in memory of his lost wife;[2] and hence it may be supposed to have been decorated shortly after her death. Its architecture, assigned to Bramante, and worthy of his fame, is beautiful, being a simple arch resting on columns and square pillars, and the front being adorned with parti-coloured marbles and a frieze in dead colour. Two medallions at the upper angles of the front contain figures of the Virgin and Angel Annunciate. In the vaulting, the Redeemer gives the Benediction; angels in prayer, or playing divers instruments, are about him. The Resurrection, and the Virgin enthroned amidst saints, are designed in the lunette and wall above it. But the painter and the architect clearly understood each other; and Santi endeavours to increase the depth of the chapel by producing the lines of the real entablature into his picture according to the laws of perspective. He thus simulates a stone court, above which an opening discloses a rocky foreground, and a distance of hill and vale. In this opening the Saviour has risen from the tomb. He advances with the banner in his hand, giving a blessing, whilst the guards sleep all round him, lying, sitting, or leaning back, in various attitudes. Below this scene the Virgin sits in a beautiful stone tabernacle holding the Infant, erect and all but naked, to the adoration of two angels and four saints. It is not possible, when contemplating the Saviour advancing out of the tomb, to forget the earlier example of Melozzo da Forlì, whose defect of rigidity appears to have passed to Santi. Nor is it less remarkable to notice in the exaggerated swing which the painter has given in a certain stiff way to the figure, the germ of a peculiarity which became developed in the later Umbrians, and

[1] The blue background has fallen out, and is now red.

[2] We are indebted for this statement to Signor Bonfatti of Gubbio.

is visible in the works of Alunno. The fine and well-foreshortened forms of the soldiers produce much the same impression as that of the Redeemer. There is something Mantegnesque in the creation of at least one of them, a certain affectation in the arrangement of the place and attitude of the remainder; but one, seated with his head and elbows on his knee, is graceful, and foreshadows the coming of Raphael.

In spite of some squareness in the shape and pose of the Virgin, Umbrian tenderness graces the group of herself and her Child. The youthful angel on the left, looking on with his arms crossed, is a fine Raphaelesque type, a juvenile face encircled with chestnut locks; and the draperies, improved from those of Melozzo, have some Umbrian character. This very youthfulness and grace have been thought ground sufficient for the statement that Santi here depicted his own son. The bowing angel in prayer on the opposite side is feebler and more immediately derived from Melozzo. St. Peter, on the extreme left, distantly suggests by his movement the grandeur of similar figures in the masterpieces of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael; a figure somewhat square of head, but pregnant with such character as, simplified and remodelled, might serve to embody the talents of greater men of a later time. There is less to be said of the St. Francis at St. Peter's side, or of St. Thomas Aquinas,[1] behind the Baptist to the right of the Virgin. But St. John is a repetition, as to pose and action, of the Saviour in the lunette, with such changes of raiment and of features as the nomenclature required, but, if stripped of its externals, taken from the same model. Yet even in this artless repetition we trace Santi's knowledge of perspective. The Redeemer is properly foreshortened, and the Baptist is drawn correctly on the level of the plane of the picture. Meanwhile we must not omit to notice the open eyes and mouths, the high bony forehead, balled nose, and wig, which detract from the dignity of St. John's aspect; nor shall we fail to observe that the attitude is at once rigid and strained, after the custom of Melozzo, or that the drawing generally has the hard dryness peculiar to him and to Palmezzano. The traces of Melozzo's influence on Santi are most visible in the Christ

[1] There is no doubt that this figure represents St. Thomas Aquinas. The sun, which is his special symbol, forms a brooch to his dress.

n Benediction, and the angels around him. It is in the aged type of this figure and the foreshortened aspect of the whole that we observe an exact resemblance to similar creations in the frescoes of the SS. Apostoli at Rome.

The entire series, however, more or less discloses the same general characteristics, dry, hard drawing, absence of half-tints or reflections, untrimmed and often coarse forms;[1] draperies of a good intention, a little festooned and full perhaps, but Perugiesque in fold, a cold general local tone, grey half tints, red shadows and white lights, the surfaces of tone being defined with Mantegnesque precision, and the inky shadows stippled up to the outlines. Remarkable correctness may be noted in the reproduction of projected shadows.[2]

Santi does not approve himself a genius of the highest order, but he shows at Cagli a respectable proficiency. The mysteries of architecture and perspective are known to him, which is no small merit if we consider that the old schools of Gubbio and Fabriano were ignorant of the scientific progress of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, it is not surprising that he should have mastered so much, if we suppose him to have meditated the examples of Melozzo. These, indeed, would have sufficed even if Santi had also had the advantage of analyzing the works, if not of forming an acquaintance with the person, of Mantegna. It has been suggested that the two artists may have met at Mantua; but we do not know that Santi had early opportunities for visiting that city. There was something of the Mantegnesque in Melozzo, and it was his style which superseded that of Pietro and Julian of Rimini, of Antonio da Ferrara, Ottaviano Martini Nelli, and the brothers S. Severino, along the Adriatic coasts. In considering art with reference to perspective, we must recollect also that that science, greatly illustrating the Paduan school under the skilful pupil of Squarcione, was not confined to one city in the North of Italy; that it owed much of its progress to the efforts of Uccelli,

[1] The hands are particularly so, a defect noticeable in Palmezzano, and sometimes to be found even in Raphael.

[2] Changing hues with cold shadow predominate in the vestments. A panel representing St. Francis in contemplation still exists in Casa Brancaleone at Cagli. It is already noticed by Pungileoni, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi, u.s.*, p. 43.) though assigned to Santi, it is an inferior production of a later hand.

Castagno, Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Melozzo, and Palmezzano, and that being immutable it would show itself under similar aspects in the various places in which it assumed an equal development. We are too apt to derive certain features from a certain quarter, without considering that similar ones might characterize schools at a distance from each other, the real cause of certain resemblances of style arising perhaps less from contact than from the general use of common principles. We must not therefore too hastily assume that one painter, like Mantegna, influenced Santi more than others, although we know that for that master he had a special reverence.[1] We must rather believe that Uccelli, Piero della Francesca, and Melozzo, had an equal share in forming his style. We do not know Angelico's picture at Foiano, which is said to have had its influence on Santi; but we are well acquainted with his style as well as with that of Gentile da Fabriano, and it must be submitted, with all deference, that Santi left them totally unheeded.[2]

Whilst forming himself on the model of Melozzo, as is so apparent in the frescoes of Cagli, Santi retained an Umbrian fibre in the feeling for tenderness and grace which pervades his works, and which passed from him to his son. The presence of this feeling in all, but especially in later, works shows indeed that Santi had analyzed the creations of Pietro Perugino. A tempera picture on canvas, representing the enthroned St. Jerome, originally in S. Bartolo of Pesaro,[3] but now in the museum of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome, is a remarkable example of the affinity of the two painters at one time. The bearded saint in a niche, with pen and book, is delineated, as to form and draperies, without the power, but with many of the characteristic features, of Perugino's manner. Angels in flight above the principal figure rival in softness of expression those of the great Umbrian. The drawing

[1] See the *Rhyme Chron.*

[*2] An artist who certainly exercised a considerable influence on Giovanni Santi is Justus of Ghent. In the fresco of the Pietà at Cagli, for instance, the type of Christ is distinctly reminiscent of that in Justus's Communion of the Apostles; and the shape of the hands is also paralleled in the same picture. Similarly, an analysis of the other works of Santi will show frequent reminiscences of Justus of Ghent in types, forms, design of drapery, etc.

[3] PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi, u.s.*, p. 9.

reveals conscientious care, and the greyish tone of the whole piece is not unpleasant. It is clear indeed that Santi was more at home in the old system of tempera than in the difficult one of oils.[1]

That Santi laboured at Pesaro, and left his mark there, is proved by traces of the extension of his manner to inferior artists whose productions are still extant.[2] Nor is the picture of Pesaro a solitary one of its class; another of the same character, representing the Virgin and Child, is in the gallery of Count Mazza at Ferrara, lamentably injured, it is true, but still interesting.[3]

A masterpiece, however, in which Santi exhibits Umbrian feeling allied to improved execution, is the Madonna and Saints in the church of the Hospital of S. Croce at Fano. Its principal group of the Virgin complacently watching the veiled Infant, in benediction on her knee, charms by greater sweetness and maternity than that of Cagli,[4] embodies some Peruginesque feeling, and discloses Santi's progress towards the creation of those chastened and sensitive models which assumed a shape so beautiful when finally perfected by Raphael. A better and broader style of drapery adds to the effect produced; and the untrimmed hands alone remind us that Santi cannot divest himself of characteristic traits derived from his connection with Melozzo.

Two most pleasing types are those of the seraphs whose winged necks support the poles of the red tapestry on which the Virgin

[1] The picture, which is on canvas, is signed on the step of the throne, "Johannes Santis de Urbino." A lion on the saint's right is repainted. In the distance St. Jerome prays before the crucifix. [* Like all the old pictures in the Lateran Gallery, this one has recently been transferred to the Vatican Gallery.]

[2] A Marriage of St. Catherine, on an altar in St. Domenico of Pesaro, is a proof of this. The group of the Virgin and Child giving the ring to St. Catherine is enclosed between SS. John Evangelist and Thomas Aquinas. This is a somewhat rough tempera piece, completed after the death of Giovanni Santi, in the general character of his and the Umbrian school.

A production of the same class is a life-size Virgin, Child, and donatrix, originally a church standard, in S. Girolamo of Urbino, inscribed: "1512 questa f. f. la moglie di M°. G. Batista Gonella." The whole of this picture is injured, and the blue of the Virgin's mantle has been scraped off.

[3] The Virgin, half length, supports the naked Infant on a stone projection, and looks at it with maternal affection. A blue tapestry is behind the group, and the distance is a landscape. [* This picture was in 1865 purchased for the National Gallery (No. 751).]

[4] The Infant holds a pink in its left hand. A coral necklace is about its neck.

and Child are relieved. A fine apparition is that of St. Macarius immediately to the left of the Virgin, and partly concealed by the pendent tapestry. St. Helen at his side, in diadem, veil, and imperial purple, is noble in aspect as, enveloped in broad, but perhaps too copious draperies, she points to the cross in her left hand. There is something Florentine in her face and figure, which, indeed, are superior in style to many by Cosimo Rosselli. The Mantegnesque principles of Melozzo are apparent, on the other hand, in the heavy and weighty frame, in the upturned head, of St. Sebastian to the right of the central group. Yet this mode of foreshortening a face is evidently the suggestion to Raphael of many subsequent delineations of the same kind. St. Roch, by St. Sebastian's side, points to the plague boil on his thigh, but the hat, the tights, and buskins are not more dignified than the strained attitude repeated from that of the Baptist at Cagli.

This piece is carried out on the new system of oil colour in the manner common to Palmezzano, *ex. gr.* of a low red but translucid impasto of much consistency, and of a high surface in the shadows. The viscous nature of the medium is betrayed in the abruptness of the passages from light to shadow.[1] The design is precise as before, but in blocks like that of Melozzo, form being realized by the meeting of outlines at angles, and assuming for this reason a broken aspect.

A less pleasing picture in S. Maria Nuova, at Fano, represents the Visitation, and though much injured and embrowned by age, reveals Santi's conscientious drawing and types with more study of nature and intention of beauty than successful realization of it. Flatness and coldness of general tone, absence of atmosphere, and more than the usual rigidity and hardness of outline, contribute to the comparative inferiority of this work, which, however, is like its companion at the Hospital, authenticated by Santi's own signature.[2]

[1] A landscape of a dull reddish tone, a light sky with white clouds form the background. One may note how the hair is lined in wavy streaks on a general undertone; and on the front of the step on which the Virgin's feet repose one reads: "Johañes Santis urbi p."

[2] The Virgin and Elizabeth are in the centre of the picture, the followers of each grouped behind them in a landscape receding to high hills, and near a house. A long vertical split cuts the picture behind the Virgin and injures the face of a

Photo, Alinari

THE VISITATION

By Giovanni Santi

From a picture in S. Maria Nuova, Fano

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The examples of Cagli, Pesaro, and Fano, already afford facilities for a general analysis of Santi's power and style. His colour is marked by the defects peculiar in Melozzo's frescoes, and conspicuous in all the productions of Palmezzano. A dull leaden tone of equal flatness pervades his panel pieces, which are done at one painting, and finished without glazes, but stippled, and therefore higher in surface in shadow than in light.

It has been usual, amongst a certain class of critics, to assign some influence upon Santi in respect of technical methods to Justus of Ghent. Yet this Fleming, who painted in a manner greatly inferior to that of the schools of Van Eyck and Antonello, was also much below Piero della Francesca. Even had Justus assisted Santi in the manner described, the honour accruing to him from this would be slight, inasmuch as Santi shared an unenviable defect with Melozzo and Palmezzano, and had no feeling for colour. He could fairly divide masses of light and shade, but he was no judge of true value of tone, and the total absence of atmosphere in his pictures proves that he was unable to aid the development of linear by aerial perspective.

The general quality of his figures is not perfect. They combine heaviness of frame and overweight of head with undue feebleness of limb. He galvanizes them into attitudes intended to indicate motion, but producing the effect of an academic pose. Their extremities are large and coarse. Their types are almost as motionless as their action, and derive little charm from the total exposure of the iris of eyes, the partial opening of mouths, and the balled proportion of noses. A vast forehead and small round chin are peculiar to the Virgin, whose face is, however, pleasingly set off by an elegant trim of hair with plaits and veils. A longing for grace and tenderness in females is in Santi the heirloom of Umbrian painters. Draperies of surplus amplitude imitate the forms peculiar to Melozzo, and assume folds reminiscent of those of Perugino, but, though correct and elegant, they require simplifi-

standing St. Joseph. The best figure is the slender one of Mary, whose face is marked by a round, projecting forehead, and chin. Elizabeth is conceived, as to features, more in the spirit of Piero della Francesca. The colour is translucid, as before, and of high surface, in shadow. On a scroll in the centre of the foreground are the words: "Joānnes Santis di Urbino pinxit." One marks in this piece the introduction of light reflections in the shadows.

cation. Perspective is applied with scientific correctness to the foreshortening of the human body and to the projection of shadows.

As a painter Santi thus balances defects with great and important qualities. He is not without originality. He is not unacquainted with the progress made by the sciences applied to the art of his time, and he is not slow in making that progress subservient to his purpose. He combines in his works germs of tenderness and grace, which verge upon affectation, but which still reveal the presence of a heart and genuine feeling in him, and explain the development of the same quality in a higher measure in his son. He was well qualified for the duties of a teacher by his earnestness, his patience, his carefulness, and conscientiousness, and it may readily be credited that, if Raphael had not lost his parent in tender years, he would have required no other master. It was fortunate indeed for him that, having been admirably taught, and having inherited from his father those treasures of grace which flowed so copiously in his manhood, he fell into the hands of Perugino, an artist rejoicing in many qualities that were deficient in Santi—a man who treated his pupil's tender and kindly temper with forbearance, and who helped him forward with paternal care, until such time as Florence, the Athens of Italy, should be open to him, and expand before his eager eyes the varied masterpieces which it contained. It must not be forgotten that even before setting foot within the walls of the city which had witnessed the triumphs of Cimabue, Giotto, Masaccio, Angelico, and Ghirlandaio, Raphael had already imbibed that tincture of Florentine art which Santi had gained through the examples or precepts of Uccelli, Piero della Francesca, and Melozzo. The teaching of Santi was indeed of such paramount influence on the career of his son that he more than once reproduced the paternal types and faces of children and angels with no other change apparent in them than that which naturally followed from the polish which he had gained, and the progress of the age. At the period of Raphael's birth in 1483 Santi's wife, Magia Ciarla, was, it may be conjectured, already mother of a son,[1] whose comely forms, if they but resembled those of his younger brother, might well inspire an affectionate father. In 1484, when

[1] See PUNGILEONI, who notes the existence of these children, without giving the dates of their birth.

Raphael was but a year old, Santi painted an altarpiece for the parish of Gradara, near Pesaro, in which the infant Saviour on the Virgin's knee is surprisingly like one of his son's creations, not only in type and outline, but in action. One may say that he was born in the midst of the implements and models which were to be the familiar accompaniments of his existence.

Gradara is ten miles distant from Pesaro, on the Adriatic coast. The picture which adorns the altar of its church is very badly injured by the starting of the panel joints and the abrasion of several parts; but its life-size figures are still attractive, and disclose more tender Umbrian feeling than previous examples, and an advance towards the greater perfection of Raphael. Two cherubs support on their necks the pole of the tapestry which hangs behind the throne, and a third peeps over the centre of it, glancing at the Virgin seated below, and looking at the Saviour on her lap. He grasps a bird in his left hand,[1] and looks round at St. John the Baptist standing to the right, attended by St. Michael in scale armour, whilst St. Stephen and St. Sophia on the opposite side reverently look on. The natural liveliness of action in the handsome form of the Infant is not less engaging than the meek but graceful movement of the Virgin, whose round and polished forehead, prim mouth and chin, and drooping eyelid, are equally pleasing and characteristic. The saints in attendance partake of the general improvement, and are drawn with more than usual purity and elegance of line in hands, ankles, and feet. Even the Baptist, in whom Santi's usual defects are apparent, is more skilfully rendered than at Cagli. But the tone of the whole piece is still cold and grey in shadow.[2]

[1] As before, a coral necklace is fast round the Infant's neck.

[2] On the base of the throne, which rests on a layer of rock, are the words: "Gradario spectanda fuit impensa et industria viri d. Dominici de Domenicis vicarii anno D. MCCCCLXXXIIII. die X. Aprilis, et per duos prius tempore. D. Jo. Caño. XPI. rectoris eccle. Sophie. Joannes san. urb. pinxit." The distance is one of landscape and hills, and meadow in front. The sky is injured, parts are scaled out in all directions; and two vertical splits divide the forms of the Baptist and injure the opposite group of SS. Stephen and Sophia. The nonogon shield of St. Michael is admirably ornamented. [* This painting is now kept in the Municipio of Gradara.] Of the value which Santi received for his pictures we have an indication in a letter of November 11, 1484, written by himself to Messer Antonio Cornon of Urbino, and Papal Nuncio at the Court of the Duke. Here he acknowledges the receipt of twenty ducats for a picture executed for the niche of Santa Lucia in Torre. See GRIMM, *Kunst und Künstler*, 8°, Berlin, 1867, ii. 164.

Whilst Santi was thus perfecting his style and necessarily increasing his fame, family cares impended over his house. His father died on August 2, his son, Raphael's brother, on September 20, 1485—a double bereavement. Then followed the formalities of a divided succession, from which Giovanni obtained as a share the paternal house and lands. But then, in January, 1485–86, the date of administration to Sante's will,[1] Giovanni set up his own shop, in which, from that time forward, he carried on business after the approved fashion, undertaking orders not only for pictures and for tinting and gilding of reliefs and figures, but for candelabra and other articles more specially appertaining to the business of a goldsmith.[2]

Traces of artistic labours in the house in which we can now fancy Raphael the spoilt favourite of a fond mother, may still be found in one of the rooms in which Santi's daily work was apparently carried on. A fresco on the wall, much injured by time, but the outlines of which are still visible, shows us the Virgin in profile, seated, with a book on a little desk before her, and pressing to her bosom the sleeping infant, whose head reposes on its arms. Originally a beautiful conception, it is even now one of the sweetest groups that Santi ever carried out.[3] One might almost fancy that Magia Ciarla sat in the room with her infant son, and was thus drawn from life by Santi. The sentiment of our day asserts this indeed to be a fact, and thus transforms an amiable presumption into a concrete fact.

We may judge of Santi's social position at this time in Urbino from circumstantial evidence. When he married, he became connected with the family of Battista Ciarla, a merchant of good position, whose relations in the city of his residence might be of great use to a struggling painter. So it proved, indeed, for Santi successively painted altarpieces for the chapel of Luca Zaccagna,[4]

[1] PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi, u.s.*, p. 130.

[2] There are items in the books of the Company of the Corpus Domini at Urbino showing dealings with Giovanni Santi for gold-leaf and manufacture of candlesticks in 1486, 1487, and 1493 (PUNGILEONI, *u.s.*, pp. 114, 115).

[3] This fresco, detached from a wall on the ground-floor, is now in one of the upper rooms of the house. It has been assigned to Raphael (PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Raf. Santi, u.s.*, p. 4).

[4] PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi, u.s.*, p. 30.

Magia's brother by marriage, and for that of Gaspar Buffi, an intimate friend of Luca. Zaccagna, on his deathbed in March, 1489, appointed Santi his executor, together with Buffi, the advocate Gini, and Count Ottaviano Ubaldini.[1] Santi was also on terms of friendship with Pier Antonio Paltroni, secretary and privy councillor to Federigo di Montefeltro, from whom his father Sante had bought land in 1457, and in whose house Giovanni admits that he had often had occasion to read the details of the great Duke's career, Paltroni having written a copious narrative of it.[2] For this nobleman, too, Santi finished a picture in S. Francesco, representing the archangel Michael, and scenes from the Passion, in a predella.[3] The family of the Galli were Santi's patrons also, and we still admire the extant panels ordered by the Pianiani at Montefiorentino.

The altarpiece commissioned by Gaspar Buffi was finished shortly after the artist and his new patron had become joint executors of Zaccagna's will,[4] and long adorned the family altar in a chapel at S. Francesco of Urbino. Gaspar himself kneels by his wife's side on the right hand foreground of the court, and their infant son in a suppliant attitude prays in front of them. The Virgin, to whom their prayers are directed, sits in a circular niche, with the Eternal in a glory of cherubs above her, whilst two angels at his sides hold the ribands that suspend a diadem over her head. At her sides SS. John the Baptist and Francis, Jerome and Sebastian, stand in attendance.

We realize to the fullest extent the aspect of the Buffi and their child, and we picture them to ourselves sitting for their likenesses before the conscientious Santi, who reproduces their features without flattery or idealism. But the fidelity of portraiture is not confined to them; and whilst the St. Sebastian seems

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28. *Rhyme Chron.*, *ibid.*, *u.s.*, p. 129.

[2] *Ibid.*, *u.s.*, p. 119.

[4] The following record in the archives of S. Francesco of Urbino certify the date of this altarpiece. It is contained in a book with the press-mark "A," containing entries from 1286 to 1619, and reads as follows: "Altare S. Sebastiani imago lignea perpulcra ornatum mediocriter, fuit erectum a familia de Buffis anno 1489." Other records cited by PUNGILEONI (*Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi*, p. 91) state the painter to have been Giovanni Santi—a fact conclusively proved by the picture itself.

but a copy of a coarse and ill-conditioned nude, the vulgar type of the Eternal fails to raise our thoughts from the contemplation of terrestrial things. Santi's strength is seriously taxed in the effort to delineate the flight of the angels holding the diadem above the Virgin's head, and their broken drapery incompletely suggests the idea of a breeze playing about them. Yet the forms, tucked-up skirts, and close-puckered sleeves, are essentially characteristic; and a drawing of these angels in the collection of designs at the Berlin Museum is assigned to Raphael's youthful time. For the rest, the architecture is rich in ornament and drawn with perspective truth. The shadows are correctly projected, and the whole altarpiece is ably painted at a throw in the somewhat dim flat tones peculiar to the master.[1]

It would be superfluous to describe the altarpiece which Santi completed at the same period for Carlo Olivo Pianiani in the convent of Montefiorentino, near Urbania (of old Castel-Durante). It is reproduced in these pages, and bears the inscription:

"Carolus Olivus Pianiani Comes divæ virgini ac reliquis celitibus Joanne Sanctio pictore. Dedicavit M.CCCCLXXXVIIII."

Santi never produced a more perfect example of his manner, one more firm and precise in drawing, or more truthful and grand in portraiture. A calm melancholy feeling dwells in the features of the Mother of Christ, whose form, movement, and drooping eyelid, are prefigurative of similar qualities in Raphael, whilst the Infant has a Peruginesque plumpness, and the angels charm by

[1] This altarpiece is now No. 82 in the gallery at Urbino. The Child points with His left hand to the donors, and blesses them with His right. The Virgin looks at the spectator, but the charm of her features is impaired by the retouching of the iris in the eyes, and the picture generally is not exempt from repainting in the shadows. The sky, being new, spoils the effect of the whole piece. The forms of the Eternal on the gold ground of the glory are square and coarse, especially in the hands. The technical execution is similar to that of previous examples, the shadows being stippled, of an inky grey, and generally of a high opaque surface.

The Angel and Tobit, and a St. Roch, once on the sides of the high-altar in S. Francesco, now Nos. 88 and 87 in the gallery at Urbino, are said by PASSAVANT (*Raphael, u.s.*, vol. i., p. 30) to be wings of the Buffi altarpiece. They are painted in tempera on canvas, above life-size, and partake of the manner of the Pollaiuoli.

Photo, Moscioni

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS

By Giovanni Santi

From a picture in the Church of Montefiorentino

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the beauty of their forms, and the infantine grace of their occupations. The reflections in the armour of St. Michael are given with truthful care, yet the colour of the whole piece is still as cold and unmellow as before.

A fine and animated picture of the same period is still in the brotherhood of St. Sebastian at Urbino, much injured and repainted, however, but remarkable for the youthful elegance of the forms in the principal figure, whose glance is directed upwards towards an angel flying down to him with the crown of martyrdom. Much energy and force are in the action of the archers; and no doubt the master's excellence in portraiture was to be marked in the nine male and female members of the brotherhood, who kneel on the right hand foreground.[1]

Other pieces in and about Urbino, numerous enough of old, are less so now.

The church of S. Bernardino has deprived itself quite lately[2] of the painted hanging that adorned its pulpit. It represented Christ supported on the edge of His tomb by two angels, and was a picture of a small size, ably treated in the manner of Santi.[3]

In the sacristy of the Duomo at Urbino six apostles assigned to Piero della Francesca disclose the manner of Santi, though some of the figures have been injured and abraded. The convent of S. Chiara in the same city also possesses a panel in Santi's manner representing half-lengths of the Virgin supporting the dead body of the Saviour,[4] and a Christ carrying His cross.[5-6]

An Annunciation, originally in S. Maria Maddalena of Sinigaglia, is now in the Brera at Milan (No. 503), and is a genuine work inscribed with the master's name: "Joannes Santis urb. p." Wood, 2·30 m. high by 1·57.

The Virgin and Child with saints, originally painted for the family of Matarozzi at Urbania, and now in the Berlin Museum, may be classed with that of the Brera amongst the less pleasing works of Santi. A

* 1 This picture is now in the gallery at Urbino (No. 84).

* 2 *I.e.*, shortly before 1864.

* 3 This picture is now in the gallery at Urbino.

* 4 Now in the gallery at Urbino (No. 18).

* 5 Present whereabouts unknown.

6 See *antea*, Antonio da Ferrara, for a figure in S. Maria extra Muros at Urbino, assigned there to Giovanni Santi.

donor, however, kneeling in prayer in front recalls the Platina in Melozzo's fresco at Rome.[1] Another unfavourable specimen of Santi's art is in the Spedale of Montefiore between S. Marino and Urbino, where a Virgin of Mercy is represented between SS. Paul, John, Francis, and Sebastian. Two angels support the Virgin's cloak, beneath which are the male and female members of the hospital fraternity. But most of the figures are injured and repainted.

The presence of Santi at Montefiore at some period of his existence might be proved, if we could certainly assign to him a feeble fresco quite in his manner, on the wall by the high altar of the parish church. This wall painting represents the Virgin giving suck to the infant, and an angel on the right.[2]

The only remaining works of Santi to which we can point are three portraits.

One is that of a youth (bust) in profile with long hair, in a red dress with yellow sleeves, assigned to Raphael by Mr. Dennistoun, to whom it once belonged, but displaying much of the manner of Melozzo and Santi, and probably by the latter;[3] another, of a youth in profile in a red cap, dressed in red and wearing a jewelled collar, once the property of Vincenzo Piccini at Urbino, and now in the Colonna Gallery at Rome;[4] a third belonging to W. D. Lowe, Esq., exhibited at Manchester under the name of P. della Francesca (No. 48), representing also a youth in profile, with a red cap and green vest.[5] All these portraits, of Umbrian character, partake slightly of the style of Melozzo.

[1] Berlin Museum, No. 130, wood, 6 feet 2 inches h. by 5 feet 10 inches. A Virgin and Child (half length, No. 140A), wood, 2 feet h. by 1 foot 5½ inches, in the Berlin Gallery, assigned to Santi, is quite Umbrian in character, but the Virgin is repainted.

[2] A St. Francis receiving the Stigmata noticed here by PUNGILEONI is not discoverable. See *Elog., u.s.*, p. 19.

* [3] After having been in the possession of Mr. Dennistoun, this picture belonged successively to Lord Breadalbane and the late Hon. Mrs. Baillie-Hamilton, by whom it was lent to the exhibition of pictures of the Umbrian school at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1910 (No. 13; reproduced in the illustrated catalogue, Plate VII.). A copy of this portrait is in the collection of Mr. J. P. Heseltine, of London (No. 12 at the above-mentioned exhibition).

[4] PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi, u.s.*, p. 44. [* There is reason to think that this is a portrait of Guidubaldo, the son of Federigo di Montefeltro; and if this be so, the present picture would, judging from the approximate age of the sitter (ten to twelve years), date from about 1482-84. A copy of it is in the gallery at Urbino (No. 70).]

* [5] This picture is now in the collection of the late Mr. J. P. Morgan, having previously been in the Drury-Lowe collection at Locko Park. Dr. RICHTER

Santi at the time of his death was busy on a commission from Elizabeth Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino. He had been sent to Mantua to paint the portrait of a prelate, probably Lodovico, of the Gonzaga family, then Archbishop of Mantua, and had returned with the likeness but half finished. Then he sickened and died, Elizabeth Gonzaga in vain hoping to find the likeness, which had been mislaid. In communicating this fact by letter to the Marquess of Mantua, the Duchess reveals to us that she had also ordered her own portrait of Santi, which he had been unable to begin.[1]

Santi died on August 1, 1494, after having in 1491 lost his first wife, and shortly after married a second. The widow's

(*Catalogue of Pictures at Locko Park*, London, 1902, No. 61, p. 23 *sq.*) has ascribed it to Francesco Cossa, to whose style the system of design and general execution show a very close resemblance. Dr. Richter further makes the very plausible suggestion that the sitter is Ercole I. of Este as a youth.

The following should be added to the number of extant works by Giovanni Santi:

Berlin, formerly collection of Herr A. von Beckerath (sold in 1912): The Nativity of Christ with SS. Sebastian and Francis (fragment of predella).

Florence, Galleria Corsini, Nos. 408, 410–414: Six figures of Muses, parts of a series once adorning a room in the Ducal Palace of Urbino, and including the figures of Apollo and a seventh Muse by Timoteo Viti, now also in the Galleria Corsini (Nos. 409 and 407), and the figures of two other Muses and Minerva, which are now untraceable. A drawing for the figure of Clio is in the Royal Library at Windsor. Compare Morelli, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 327; *idem, Die Galerie zu Berlin*, p. 207: E. Calzini, in *L'Arte*, xi. 255 *sqq.*

Urbino, Picture Gallery, No. 19: A female Martyr, holding a vase filled with blood.

[1] See the letter of the Duchess, dated October 13, 1494, in Campori, *Notizie e documenti per la vita di Gio. Santi*, fol., Modena, 1870, pp. 4–5. [* Santi must have been at Mantua for some time before January 13, 1494, and finished during that sojourn a portrait of Isabella d' Este, which the Marchioness presented to the Contessa d' Acerra. In the letter of the above-mentioned date, in which Isabella announces the gift, she speaks of the painter as "Zohan de Sancto pictor de la Ill^{ma} Duchessa di Urbino, qual dicono far bene dal naturale, etiam che questo secundo m'è referto se me puoteria più assimigliare" (see Luzio, in *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, ix. 571). By April 25, 1494, Santi had returned to Urbino. Giovanni Gonzaga wrote from there on that day to the Marquess of Mantua that, as requested by the Marquess, he had spoken to Santi about "the portraits," and that he had answered that, not having recovered from the illness he contracted at Mantua, he had been unable to finish them, but would do so as soon as he got a little better. See Luzio and Renier, *u.s.*, p. 21, n. 2.]

treatment of her stepson Raphael, and of the relations of her husband's first wife, form an interesting part of the early life of the greatest Italian painter.[1]

* [1] Among the works of Giovanni Santi's school we may here notice a Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Peter Martyr, dated "Adi 2 de luglio MCCCCLXXXVIII.," at one time above the altar of the chapel in the Ducal Palace of Urbino (see Calzini, *Urbino*, p. 167), and now in the Budapest Gallery (No. 85); and an Annunciation in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook, at Richmond.

A pupil of Giovanni Santi was Evangelista da Pian di Meleto, who is first mentioned on October 16, 1483, when he witnessed a will at Urbino, and died in that city on January 18, 1549. In 1500 and 1501 he co-operated with Raphael in executing for the Church of Sant' Agostino at Città di Castello the altarpiece representing the Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, of which some fragments only survive. Various works have been ascribed to him of late, but on no satisfactory evidence. Compare A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., part ii., p. 188 *sqq.*

Another pupil of Giovanni Santi was Bartolommeo di Maestro Gentile, born probably about 1470, and mentioned as dead in 1538. We possess the following authenticated works by him:

Lille. Gallery. No. 24. The Virgin and Child (painted for S. Agostino of Pesaro; signed "Bartolommeus M. Gentilis de Urbino pinxit ann. MCCCCLXXXXVII").

Montecicardo (*near Pesaro*). *S. Sebastiano.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine, Sebastian, Paul, and Francis, signed "Bartolomeus Gentilis de Urbino pinxit anno MCCCCCVIII."

A Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine and another female saint, signed "Bartholomeus Mi Gentilis de Urbino pinxit a° MCCCCCIIII die 21 mensis octubris," till 1802 in a church near Pesaro, is now untraceable. (It is not in the Budapest Gallery, as stated by Calzini in Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, ii. 571, to whom the reader must be referred for further notices of this artist.)

CHAPTER IV

LUCA SIGNORELLI

LUCA SIGNORELLI was born, as there is reason to believe, in 1441, at Cortona;[1] but he imbibed his earliest notions of art from Bonfigli, Fiorenzo, and Pinturicchio, all of them masters at Perugia.[2]

We may conceive it possible that a man of his talent should, in the course of time, have curbed the impetuosity of his nature and assumed the staid tenderness of the Umbrians, but he did not remain long enough in the country of his birth to endure the process, and by wandering to other lands he rendered it unnecessary.

Cortona and Arezzo were both inhabited in the middle of the fifteenth century by branches of a family to which Luca was related, the family of Vasari, from which the clever, gossiping, and delightful historian of Italian art descended.

Lazzaro Vasari, the son of a potter, inherited the skill of his father, and carried on the trade of a painter.[3] By thrift he gained a respectable station at Arezzo, which enabled him to help

[1] The date of Signorelli's birth is not ascertained. But Vasari says he died aged eighty-two (VASARI, iii. 695); and the death is all but proved to have occurred in 1523. [* It certainly occurred in that year (see *postea*, p. 108, n. 3).] Signorelli's full name is Luca d' Egidio di Ventura. [* It should really be Luca d' Egidio *di Luca* di Ventura.]

[2] There is every reason for accepting RUMOHR's belief (*Forschungen, u.s.*, ii. 333) that Signorelli studied with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. At all events, we may consider that he derived from a Perugian the small portion of Umbrian feeling apparent in the character of his curly-headed children or in the type and action of angels. [* It is to be noted that Fiorenzo di Lorenzo was of about the same age as Signorelli, and that Pinturicchio was by several years his junior.]

[3] Vasari has written a short Life of his great grandfather, whom he describes as born in 1380 and deceased in 1452. The works of Lazzaro, who is said to have imitated Piero della Francesca, have all perished. (See VASARI, ii., pp. 553 *sq.*)

his brothers at Cortona. His sister, who was married to Egidio Signorelli of Cortona, became indebted to his acquaintance with Piero della Francesca for an apprenticeship for her son Luca in the atelier of that painter.[1]

That Signorelli owes his style principally to this great Umbro-Florentine is not for a moment to be doubted. Under his tuition he paid more than usual attention to the study of anatomy, which at that time was carried on almost openly in the burial-grounds of great cities, and though he probably did not fathom the depths, he introduced into the stiffly and geometrically correct forms of that master a greater liberty and force. He inaugurated a new phase in the science of Uccelli and Piero della Francesca, and prepared the way for its perfection in Michael Angelo. Signorelli, in fact, learnt to display the structure and mechanism of nude in immediate action with a power unattained in his day, and even went so far at last as to overstep the bounds of Nature, and substitute for it unreal and conventional calculations of probabilities. We judge of his daring play with the greatest difficulties of position that art can pretend to render, not merely by his pictures, but by the remains of his original drawings from the naked model or from anatomical subjects, in which a successful effort is made to suggest the internal formation, as well as imitate the external appearance, of flesh, muscle, and bone. These drawings are still preserved in the Louvre, and might easily be confounded with similar ones by Michael Angelo; their carefulness and accuracy reveal a knowledge of the laws which Leonardo reduced to a system in his treatise. If Signorelli recalls the first by his vigour and by his passion for overstepping the bounds of truth, he may remind us of the second by his familiarity with the rules which guided Da Vinci and Piero della Francesca.

What Signorelli thus early strove to attain was the truth; but truth in art, as in the daily intercourse of men, frequently and justly offends, unless taste or tact soften its asperities. At the

[1] VASARI, ii. 555. [* It is now proved that Luca's mother did not belong to the Vasari family, but was called Bartolommea Schiffi (see MANCINI, *Vita di Luca Signorelli*, Florence, 1903, p. 4). But there is no reason to doubt that the Vasari and Signorelli families were related in some other way.]

Photo, Alinari

THE FLAGELLATION

By Luca Signorelli

From a picture in the Brera Gallery, Milan

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school of Piero, Signorelli learnt no more than faithful realistic reproduction. He remained deprived of one of the elements which produces unity in the works of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, or Andrea del Sarto. He became a painter of nude—excellent in its parts, powerful in bone and muscle, but unselect and academical.

Signorelli's inclination led him to prefer large to small spaces. He is therefore great in mural design. He sets much less value on charm of colour than upon the exhibition of feats in drawing, and the roughness of his red lights or brown-red shadows indicates contempt for the exquisite feeling for tone displayed by Piero. His harshness is apparent in lights and shadows, which are sharp, defined, and violently contrasted. Some of his panels in the mixed system are of a gloomy olive tinge, full of character and power, whilst others finished at one painting are slightly scumbled with opaque brown in the shadows. There is a striking similitude between the later works of Piero della Francesca and the earlier ones of Signorelli. In a Nativity which Piero painted late for a church at Borgo San Sepolcro,[1] we notice the same vulgarity of mask and sombreness of colour which characterize Signorelli's Flagellation at the Brera of Milan, a picture remarkable not only for isolated points of resemblance like these, but throughout for peculiarities that recall Francesca. The conception, types, and action, the very architecture, are those of the great Umbro-Florentine. The pillar to which the Saviour is bound, supports an idol.[2] A scourger, in the act of fastening one of the ligaments, is a nude conceived in the spirit of Piero, and academically rendered with the energy of Signorelli. Another, whose back is to the spectator, reminds us of the powerful creations of Michael Angelo. Pilate sits on the left in an intercolumniated distance enlivened with statues, friezes, and entablatures. The care with which the drawing is carried out, and the repetition of Piero's Leonardesque forms, are proofs of Luca's education under della Francesca; whilst the bold muscular movement, the Herculean frame, and unselect shape of the Redeemer, reveal how completely

[1] See *antea*, p. 26 *sq.*

[2] As at Urbino. The piece is No. 476 in the Brera Catalogue. Wood, 0·82 m. h. by 0·60. Inscribed: "Opus Luce Cortonensis."

Signorelli thus early made his teacher's style subordinate to the evolution of his own.[1]

We have no means of ascertaining at what time the Flagellation was completed, nor the person or corporation for whom it was ordered.[2] We only know that Signorelli painted in 1472[3] at Arezzo, and in 1474 at Città di Castello,[4] but he was then in the prime of life, thirty-three or thirty-five years of age, if the tradition of his birth be correct, and of matured experience; nor can we conceive that one of his temper, and taught by an artist who owed so much to Florence, should have attained to that age without paying a visit to the pictorial capital of Italy.[5]

He was no stranger, it would seem, to Lorenzo de' Medici, who is said to have accepted presents from him of pictures representing both mythological subjects then in fashion, and more sacred themes.[6]

It was natural that a man of Signorelli's spirit should treat poetical incidents derived from the books of ancient Greece with peculiar pleasure, at the period when Greek literature was studied with so much interest, and that he should prize the occasions of doing so in proportion to their rarity. The attraction which such incidents might have for educated people was confined to the highest and wealthiest class, and we know of no one for whom

[1] Thus, though Vasari does not exaggerate when he says that Luca "imitated" the manner of Piero, he exaggerates when he adds that "it was difficult to distinguish the works of either."

[*2] It came to the Brera from the Church of Santa Maria del Mercato at Fabriano. The Virgin and Child, now also in the Brera (No. 477), was, in all likelihood, formerly attached to the back of this picture, being of identical size and provenance. *Cf.* MÜNDLER in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.*, ser. i., vol. iii., p. 929, and *postea*, p. 114.

[3] VASARI, iii. 684. [* Two years earlier, in 1470, Signorelli is known to have painted the organ of the Compagnia delle Laudi, which used to meet in the Church of San Francesco at Cortona (VASARI, iii. 684).]

[4] MUZI, *Memorie civili di Città di Castello*, ii., 48 *ap.* annot. to VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, vi. 156). That fresco has since perished.

[*5] As a matter of fact, Signorelli appears not uninfluenced by Florentine painting even in the Flagellation. It distinctly recalls the style of Antonio Pollaiuolo, for instance, in the rendering of the vigorous movements of the nude figures and in such details as the striped loin-cloths. Compare CRUTTWELL, *Luca Signorelli* (London, 1899), p. 33.

[6] VASARI, iii. 689.

Photo, Hanfstaengl

THE SCHOOL OF PAN

By Luca Signorelli

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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Signorelli might hope to paint them, except a Lorenzo de' Medici or a Pandolfo Petrucci. Vasari states that Luca presented to Lorenzo a canvas in which groups of naked gods were represented.[1] A reproduction of a canvas, answering his description, will be found annexed to these pages. It was discovered at Florence in 1865, and now belongs to the Berlin Museum. The subject seems to be the School of Pan, most poetically conceived and beautifully arranged. Pan sits on a rocky throne, with the leopard's skin on his shoulders, the pipes in his left hand, a staff in his right. The horns on his head are idealized in the prettiest manner. A finely-posed Olympus stands in profile at his side, turning his back to the spectator and playing, whilst two shepherds on each hand listen with intense attention. The sounds are supposed to be wafted away by the reeds which are held united by a man lying on the ground, and a nymph erect near him. This nymph, who is probably no other than Echo, rests her hand on a cane, to which a tablet is affixed, bearing the words "Luca Cortonen." Two other nymphs are in the distance of trees and rocks. It is almost the same subject as that painted by Signorelli on the walls of the Petrucci Palace at Siena—a masterpiece of grouping and action. Had the execution been equal to the design, this would have been one of Signorelli's most exceptional easel pieces. The nude is, unfortunately, coarse, particularly in the extremities, and not even the beauty of the composition can compensate the absence of all charms of colour.[2]

Signorelli's Madonnas also are not wanting in Florentine galleries, and one of them, a round of a Virgin and Child, with two

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Berlin Museum, No. 97A, formerly at Florence (Marquis Corsi). The colour is very hard, red in light, green in shadow. The flesh is made out with a searching dryness. To blemishes of this kind we may add others due to time. There are spots abraded in the back of Olympus, in the elbow of the shepherd to the right, and in the right leg and hip of Echo. Some damage has been done by removing a modern drapery thrown round the nymph's hips. The trees to the left are damaged. [* As shown by Mr. FRY (in the *Monthly Review*, December, 1901, p. 110), the conception of Pan in this picture is based on a passage in Servius (in VERG., *Bucol.*, ii. 31). The female figure in the foreground to the left is probably Syrinx, and the four male figures may typify "four phases of the activity of natural man, of human life as it would be if Pan were the supreme god." Compare also VISCHER, *Luca Signorelli* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 239 *sqq.*]

prophets in monochrome medallions in the upper angles of a circumscribing square, has ceased to be the ornament of the villa of Castello, and is in the Uffizi.[1] Of the same period and class, the Virgin and Child at the Pitti,[2] the Nativity in the late Mr. Barker's collection,[3] the Virgin and Child between the kneeling St. Jerome and a Benedictine in the Corsini Palace,[4] and two rounds belonging to the Ginori family at Florence, all prove Signorelli's study of Botticelli, and Filippino.[5]

The Madonna at the Uffizi is painted in a grand style; the nudes in the distance are admirable studies, and the prophets in the medallions are precursors of those of Michael Angelo. A noble gentleness marks the Virgin and Child at the Pitti. Mr. Barker's Nativity—a bold, clever picture—is in Signorelli's gloomy olive tone.

The Medicean was not the only princely family for which

[1] No. 74, Uffizi. Wood, under life-size. Four nude shepherds are in the distance. A well-preserved piece (VASARI, iii. 689).

[2] No. 355, Pitti. The Virgin holds the Infant on a cushion on her lap. He dictates to St. Catherine, who stands before Him writing in a book. This also is in good condition. Wood, round, half-length.

[3] The Virgin adores the Infant asleep on the right. St. Joseph is on the left. The distance is a landscape. According to tradition, Lorenzo de' Medici gave this picture to a lady of the family of the Guiducci. It was purchased from that family for the Metzger collection, and thence passed to Mr. Barker. [* This picture now belongs to Mr. A. E. Street, of London. When shown at the exhibition of works of Luca Signorelli at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1893, it was recognized as a work by Piero di Cosimo (see the Exhibition Catalogue, pp. xvi and 6). The type of the Virgin, the shape of her hands, the folds of drapery, and many other features point, indeed, to him beyond mistake. Compare, also, KNAPP, *Piero di Cosimo.* (Halle a.S., 1899), p. 40 *sqq.* (with reproduction).]

[4] No. 157. The Virgin's blue dress injured.

[5] In one of these the Virgin supports the Infant Christ and Baptist, who embrace each other. In a rich landscape distance, to the left, St. Jerome kneels in prayer, with the lion at his side. To the right kneels St. Bernard. There is a reminiscence of the works of Bazzi in the children. This picture is probably the most pleasing in tone that was produced by Signorelli. [* It is now in the Strassburg Gallery (No. 216A). Here, again, as in the picture belonging to Mr. Street (see *antea*, n. 3), Piero di Cosimo has been confused with Signorelli. (Compare KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 64 *sqq.*).] The second of these rounds is less good. The Virgin, seated, with joined hands, turns towards the Infant near her. The youthful Baptist in distance to the right is in the act of fastening a sandal. The figures are more slender, the tones cooler, than in the immediately foregoing example. [* This picture is now in the Pinakothek at Munich (No. 1,561).]

Signorelli laboured. He was employed by the Della Roveres, painted in the sanctuary of Loreto, and competed in the Sixtine Chapel with Perugino and the Florentines. It would be easier to determine which of these great undertakings was first completed, were the frescoes in S. Maria di Loreto in a better state of preservation. Local writers affirm that Girolamo della Rovere was protector of the sanctuary at Loreto in 1478,[1] and that he caused the marble pavement of the Holy Chapel to be laid at that time. Vasari says that Signorelli was liberally paid by Sixtus IV. for the frescoes.[2] He certainly deserved liberal treatment for the most chastened work he ever produced on wall. The triangles of the octagon ceiling contain eight angels in various attitudes, playing instruments. The four doctors of the Church and the four Evangelists fill the upper; the twelve Apostles, in couples, six spaces of the lower course; and the two remaining fields comprise the incredulity of St. Thomas and the conversion of St. Paul. A reminiscence of Fra Filippo's ceiling at Prato is evident in the four Evangelists, and confirms the supposition that Signorelli had

[1] See TORSELLINO and the *Guida di Loreto*, published at Ancona in 1824, quoted in RICCI (*Memorie stor. degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*, i. 196).

[2] VASARI, iii. 691. [* We possess no records of Signorelli's existence between November, 1474, when he is known to have finished a fresco of the Madonna on the tower in the piazza at Città di Castello (*cf. antea*, p. 86, n. 4), and September 6, 1479, when he was elected member of the Consiglio dei XVIII. at Cortona, where, during the next two years, he filled various municipal posts (November 28, 1479: elected one of the Conservatori degli ordinamenti del Comune; February 22, 1480, elected one of the Priori for two months; August 26, 1480, elected member of the Consiglio Generale, as again on August 25, 1481. See VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 338). As noted before (p. 50, n. 3), Girolamo Basso della Rovere was appointed protector of the sanctuary of Loreto on February 8, 1477. He took, after that date, an active interest in the work of rebuilding and embellishment of the sanctuary, and hence it seems likely that Signorelli's frescoes in the "Sagrestia della Cura" were executed between February, 1477, and September, 1479. As for the date of Signorelli's activity in the Sixtine Chapel, it is to be noted that he is not one of the painters who, on October 27, 1481, promised to continue their work in that building. He must therefore have joined the Sistina painters after that date (*cf.* STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, i. 187 *sqq.*). When he did so is not known. On October 16, 1482, he, apparently at Cortona, agreed to come within ten days to paint the doors of a press containing a reliquary in the Church of San Francesco at Lucignano in the Val di Chiana (see MANCINI, in *Rivista d'arte*, ii. 187 *sqq.*). No record of Signorelli dating from 1483 is known, but in 1484 we find him at Cortona. The first service had, however, been held in the Sixtine Chapel already on August 9, 1483.]

been at Florence, and tempered his Umbrian feeling with the more masculine elements of its art. His angels, which are least injured by dirt and smoke, are done with great carefulness and patience. But most of the Apostles and the two subject pieces are dimmed to incomprehensibility.[1]

A single fresco at the Sixtine is the work of Signorelli. One feels on looking at it that the painter knew he was competing with men great in the art of composition and in the science of light and shade. His conception and arrangement of incidents are grand and suitable. To the right Moses reads from a book. His rod is in his hand. He sits and tells of the promised land to the Hebrews. To the left he transfers the rod to Aaron. The people are gathered on a grassy slope, which rises as it recedes into a rocky distance interspersed with trees. In the centre background the angel shows the promised land; and far off to the left the body of the patriarch is buried. The grand choice of nude in some of the figures about the sitting Moses is like that of Piero della Francesca in the frescoes of Arezzo. Great spirit is thrown into the draped figure to the right leaning on a staff. There is vigour and Umbrian grace in the back views of the men in the tight costume of the period. The females are heavy in type and stiffly angular in form, as might be expected from a pupil of Francesca, whilst the children are clumsy and aged in frame and head; but the group of women and children may be due to Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, who, according to Vasari, was at Rome with Signorelli and Perugino, and laboured as their assistant at the Sixtine. But as to this we shall see that the presence of Don Bartolommeo at the Sixtine is now contested, whilst amongst the inferior painters who laboured in that chapel we have to number Fra Diamante, the assistant of Fra Filippo Lippo.[2] The drawing is bold and broken,

[1] In the great aisle of the church are twenty-six monochrome figures completely renewed by Pomarancio.

[2] Vasari, ii., p. 641. [* The doubts as to whether Don Bartolommeo worked in the Sixtine Chapel, or rather as to whether such a painter at all existed, are now proved to be devoid of foundation (see *postea*, p. 125, n. 1). Vasari expressly states that Don Bartolommeo "lavorò una storia" in the Sixtine Chapel in company with Signorelli and Perugino. The peculiarities of his style are certainly traceable in extensive parts of the fresco now under discussion. For an elaborate attempt to distinguish the shares of Signorelli and Don Bartolommeo in it, see Steinmann, *u.s.*, i. 540 *sqq.*]

Photo, Anderson

THE LAST DAYS OF MOSES

By Luca Signorelli and Don Bartolommeo della Gatta

From a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome

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in contrast with carefulness of general handling and a patient application of gold in the dresses.[1]

Signorelli holds an honourable place in the Sixtine chapel. He is second to Ghirlandaio in the great law of balance, in propriety and objectiveness; but he compensates these failings by lively action. He is grander and more dignified than Botticelli. He stands in marked contrast to Perugino, whose serenity is the direct contrary of his energy and impetuosity. He is naturally much above Cosimo Rosselli. We believe that most of these painters met and laboured together at Rome. Their rivalry was friendly, and each of them probably had commissions from Roman patrons. Of these, however, Signorelli's share has not been preserved. If he furnished altarpieces to wealthy cardinals, they are not forthcoming;[2] if he did more than one fresco at the Sixtine his successors obliterated it,[3] and the journey of Moses and Zipporah, usually attributed to him, must be resigned to Perugino.[4] Signorelli's stay at Rome may have lasted from about 1478 to 1484.[5] At the latter date he was already residing in Cortona.

A subscription had been made about that time for the erection of S. Maria del Calcinaio outside the town, and the promoters of the scheme were desirous of obtaining plans and models from competent hands. On application to Signorelli, who seems to have been diffident of his own powers, he suggested the name of Francesco di Giorgio, at that time on duty for the Duke of Urbino at Gubbio. Signorelli was sent there to meet him, and the matter was speedily settled to the satisfaction of all parties. S. Maria

[1] Some portions of the flesh tints, which are generally reddish, and the lower part of the foreground, are retouched.

[*2] The Holy Family in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome (see *postea*, p. 114) and the *Tondo* formerly in the Palazzo Patrizi in the same city, and now at Berlin (see *ibid.*), may, however, belong to the class of works now referred to.

[*3] VASARI states (iii. 691) that, in addition to the one dealt with above, Signorelli executed another fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, representing the Death of Moses. This painting (the subject of which was really St. Michael and Satan fighting over the dead body of Moses) adorned the entrance-wall of the chapel, and was painted over in the sixteenth century, probably by Matteo da Leccio (STEINMANN, *u.s.*, i. 516).

[4] See *postea*.

[*5] *Cf. antea*, p. 89. n. 2.

del Calcinaio is one of the few edifices in Italy really planned by Francesco di Giorgio.[1]

To Signorelli's labours in the year 1484 we owe the altarpiece in the Cathedral of Perugia, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned under a garland of fruit and flowers in the Paduan fashion, between SS. Onofrio, John the Baptist, Ercolano, Stephen, and angels, whilst a nude seraph tunes a stringed instrument on the pediment of the throne.[2] In spite of the realism of the seraph and of the aged and bony S. Onofrio, the picture is a fine one, shorn of beauty by heavy repainting and horizontal splits.[3]

Cortona was now Signorelli's home, and it may be assumed that he usually remained there, attending to the numerous commissions for altarpieces and church standards which poured in upon him. He was presented with the freedom of Città di Castello in 1488 in return for a banner.[4] At Cortona he was frequently elected to municipal honours.[5] The extent of his reputation at Florence may be conceived from the fact that he was one of those called upon to decide the competition for the models of the front of S. Maria del Fiore in 1491.[6]

No city of Central Italy at this time was more sensible of

[1] The records of this affair, in which Signorelli took so conspicuous a part, are published in the *Giornale arcadico di Roma* for the year 1823. Two of them are republished in PASSAVANT'S *Raphael*, *u.s.*, i. 420, one in VASARI (ed. Le Monnier) com., vi., p. 156. The date of Signorelli's visit to Francesco di Giorgio at Gubbio is June, 1484.

[2] CESARE CRISPOLTI in *Perugia Augusta*, lib. i., fol. 63, and lib. ii., fol. 270, gives the following as the inscription on the picture: "Jacobus Vannutius nobilis Cortonensis, olim Episcopus Perusinus, hoc Deo maximo et divo Onofrio sacellum dedicavit; cui in archiepiscopum Nicænum assumpto, nepos Dyonisius successit, et quanta vides impensa ornavit æqua pietas MCCCCLXXXIV." [* This inscription is apparently now hidden by the frame (see VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 308). A study for the head of St. John the Baptist is in the National Museum at Stockholm.]

[3] MANNI (*Vita di Luca Signorelli ap.* VASARI *com.*, iii. 692) alludes to a contract of January, 1485, by which Signorelli binds himself to paint a chapel in S. Agata of Spoleto. We cannot ascertain whether the date is calculated according to the old or to the new style, and whether to place it after or before the journey to Gubbio. At all events, there is no trace of Signorelli's work in S. Agata.

[4] Com. in VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, vi. 156).

[5] *Ib.* Luca held the magistracy for two months in the years 1488, 1495, 1497, 1502, 1504, 1508, 1520, and 1524. [* Compare on this last date *postea*, p. 26, n. 3. For a complete record of all the municipal posts filled by Signorelli, see VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 337 *sqq.*]

[6] See the records of this competition in com. VASARI, iv. 308.

Signorelli's merits than Volterra, and Vasari describes as a marvel of beauty a Circumcision painted there for the company of San Francesco, which was afterwards injured by the retouches of Bazzi.[1] This fine composition, damaged by the total renewal of the infant Christ, is now in the Hamilton Palace near Glasgow, a masterpiece of distribution. The life-size figures are bold in action, yet unstrained; shaded in brown, and of a strong olive tinge. Firmness and truth of drawing are combined with a judicious distribution of light and shade. The high-priest raises his eyes and stretches his hands to heaven with a benevolent glance, whilst a person of lower rank in front of him bends over the form of the infant Christ, held by the Virgin on her lap. Her face is cast in Signorelli's well-known mould, and expresses kindly softness, whilst that of the operator is on the model of those of Piero della Francesca and Leonardo. A graceful female of Umbrian character to the left of the high-priest touches the Virgin's shoulder. St. Joseph, on the same side, a grandiose apparition in full drapery, contemplates the ceremony, and leans on a short staff. Behind him a female of sweet features, with an air recalling Giovanni Santi, is accompanied by a turbaned male. To the right of the principal group, a man in converse enforces his speech by the touches of his fingers upon each other, explaining something to a young female in front, who pauses in the act of departing, and turns her head towards the infant Christ.[2]

Volterra boasts of other portable works by Signorelli, one of which, an Annunciation, dated 1491, in the Cappella S. Carlo of the Duomo, is reminiscent of a similar piece by Giovanni Santi in the Brera at Milan. The Virgin has been reading under

[1] VASARI, iii. 685.

[2] Hamilton Palace. Vasari errs in supposing that this picture was a fresco. It is a panel executed in oil-colours, and signed "Lucas Cortonensis pinxit." The scene is laid within the niche of a temple, with yellow ornament on a blue ground in the borders. A prophet in a medallion fills the angles of the niche. A ribband, vase, and book are on the floor. The annotators of VASARI (iii. 685) say that MS. records by Ormanni in the library of Volterra mention the existence of a Circumcision by Luca de Cortona, on panel in S. Francesco, and the same subject on panel in the Company del Nome di Gesù. The panels forming the surface are laid transversely, and have slightly bulged outwards. The infant Christ is a piece of modern repainting, quite out of keeping with the rest. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,128).]

a colonnade, and in her surprise at the appearance of the angel in the court, has dropped her book, the Eternal in glory appearing as usual in the heavens to the left. The perspective is good, the colour powerful, and the handling masterly, but the types and character of the figures, and the cast of the drapery, are more than usually Umbrian, and the picture is one of those in which Signorelli most displayed an amiable and kindly spirit.[1]

A tabernacle altarpiece in S. Francesco of the same city, dating from the same year as the foregoing, represents the Virgin enthroned amongst saints, with a predella of feigned bas-reliefs, unfortunately ruined. No earlier one by Luca so fully develops his grand boldness. The hardy energy of the infant Saviour's gesture as He raises an arm, which is seen from beneath, like the Redeemer's in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment at the Sixtine, is truly startling. The two saints nearest the spectator are very fine, and the angels have again the Umbrian affectation of grace. The draperies are massed with considerable breadth, and the colour is as usual full of texture and high in the shadows.[2]

Luca's return and residence at Cortona, in 1493 and 1494, are certified by records of payments for two altarpieces at Città di Castello;[3] and a peculiar interest attaches to his movements in the latter year, because it has been supposed that he visited Urbino on the occasion of a contract for a banner to be delivered after a specified time to the brotherhood of S. Spirito in that place.[4] Signorelli is evidently well known to Giovanni Santi, who calls him "il Cortonese Luca, d'ingegno e spirto pellegrino."

[1] The architecture is good and highly ornamented. On the nearest pillar of the colonnade is a scroll, containing the inscription: "Lucas Cortoneñ pinxit MXDI." The head and hands of the Virgin have been retouched.

[2] This is on the altar of the Maffei, second to the right as you enter the portal. On the step beneath the Virgin's feet are the words: "Mariæ. Virgini. Petrus. Bella Domna. hujus. religionis. professor. posuit. Lucas Cortoneñ pinxit M.CCCCLXXXXI." There are three vertical splits in the panel, which is much injured, the colour scaling in parts, and altered in the flesh shadows. The figures at the Virgin's sides are (left) SS. Francis, John the Baptist, and an angel, (right) Anthony, Joseph, and an angel. On the foreground seated are St. Jerome and a Bishop writing. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery of Volterra.]

[3] MANCINI, *u.s. ap. com.* VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, vi. 157). [* Compare MAGHERINI-GRAZIANI, *L'Arte a Città di Castello* (Città di Castello, 1897), pp. 202 and 217, and *postea*, p. 115.]

[4] See the contract in PUNGILEONI, *Elog. stor. di Gio. Santi*, p. 77.

Pungileoni inquires whether so distinguished an artist might not have been of some influence on the career of the youthful Raphael, or have taught him something when at Urbino in 1494.[1] But there is no proof whatever in the records which he adduces to justify the belief that Signorelli came to Urbino on the occasion in question; and Giovanni Santi, who died in August of that very year, was cognisant of his talents and fame long before. The banner of S. Spirito is still preserved in the edifice of that name in Urbino, representing on one side the Crucifixion, with great animation in the principal and episodic scenes, and on the other a grey and not pleasing Descent of the Holy Spirit.

A Nativity and a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, ordered severally for S. Francesco and S. Domenico of Città di Castello, mark the year 1496.[2] The latter, still in the church for which it was commissioned, shows an exaggerated vigour in the crossbow-men like that which characterizes the subject as painted by the Pollaiuoli in the National Gallery. The distance is equally full of figures and classic edifices, but the execution generally is somewhat dry.[3]

In 1497 Signorelli left Cortona and commenced a progress abroad, during which he produced some of his finest and grandest works. We shall have occasion to ascertain how the art of Siena continued its retrograde course during the fifteenth century. Its absorption into the Perugian school occurred a little later. In the meanwhile Signorelli, who sustained at least the Umbrian fibre of the old school, appeared at Siena, the precursor of Pinturicchio and Bazzi, and found his way to the Olivetine convent of Chiusuri, in one cloister of which he carried out part of a vast decorative series illustrating the life of St. Benedict.[4] To enjoy the fulness of Luca's power from the remnants of his wall paintings in this edifice is, however, difficult because of the injury which they have sustained.

[1] Pungileoni, *Elogio stor. di Raffaello Santi*, 8°, Urbino, 1829, pp. 13, 14, 15.

[2] As to the Nativity, see records in *com.* Vasari (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 157.

[3] Vasari notices the picture (iii. 686), and Mancini states that it was inscribed in the predella: "Thomas de Broziis et Francisca uxor fieri fecit 1498" (*ap.* note to Vasari, iii. 686. The date is wrongly given, being 1496. The picture has lost its liveliness of colour, and has greatly suffered. [* It is now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello.]

[4] Vasari, vi. 381

Eleven spaces are filled with paintings on the cloister wall to the right of the entrance. The first is one of those which Bazzi completed in 1505,[1] the last is by Riccio, whilst the penultimate is completely gone. There remain, therefore, eight frescoes by Signorelli, representing (1) After that of Bazzi near the door, Totila's genuflexion before Benedict;[2] (2) the shield bearer's coming to Benedict in place of Totila (injured in parts); (3) the temptation of the abstinent monk (injured and renewed in the lower part); (4) the conviction of two brethren for breaking the fast-vow; (5) the resurrection of a monk on whom Satan had pitched a stone (much blackened); (6) Benedict exorcising the devil who prevented the stone from moving; (7) the overthrow of the idol (damaged); (8) the fall of a house and crushing of a youth (much injured and retouched).

These frescoes date from 1497.[3] They prove that Signorelli was still under the influence of Piero della Francesca. They embody all his energy and fancy. The drawing is cleanly pounced on very smooth surfaces. It defines not only the outlines of the forms, but the respective parts in light and in shade with geometric precision. The technical system is also perfectly clear, a local water-colour of a yellowish tinge for light, stippled with yellow-red for half-tints, with red for shadows, always in one direction on the plan pursued by Leonardo in his drawings.

A prolonged stay in Siena during 1498 resulted in Luca's completion of an altarpiece for the chapel of the Bicchi in S. Agostino, of which the wings alone, representing life-size figures of SS. Catherine of Siena, Mary Magdalen, and Jerome, Augustin, Catherine of Alexandria, and Anthony of Padua, are in the Berlin Museum, and must be classed amongst the fine productions of the master.[4] His chief occupation at this time was, however, the adornment of the Palace of Pandolfo Petrucci, a wealthy patrician who in a long course of years succeeded in usurping supreme power at Siena,

[1] The record vouching for this date is in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 184.

[2] Several of the drawings for this fresco are in the gallery of the Louvre.

[3] *Guida all' Arcicenobio di Monte Oliveto*, Siena, 1844, p. 20.

[4] No. 79, Berlin Museum. Wood, each part 4 feet 7 inches h. by 2 feet 5 inches (from the Solly collection). The date of this piece is given by Tizio (in MS. *Hist. Sen. ap.* Pungileoni, *Raph. u.s.*, pp. 64 and 56), who says: "Lucas . . . in S. Augustino tabulam peregrinam [peregregiam, Vasari, iii. 688] pinxit anno abhinc (1513) decimo quinto." The centre of the altarpiece, as described by Vasari (iii. 687), was a St. Christopher, the saint to whom the chapel of the Bicchi

had wellnigh brought a new palace to completion.[1] In one of the rooms in that edifice Signorelli represented Midas angered at the discovery of his ass's ears,[2] the school of Pan, almost similar in composition to the canvas of the same subject in the Berlin Museum,[3] and the torments and triumph of Cupid,[4] and Corio-

was dedicated, and, according to Tizio, the portraits of the Bicchi were also there. [* Tizio really makes no such statement. In saying of the "tabula peregregia" "cuius imagines vivos præ se ferunt vultus," he surely only wishes to praise the life-likeness of the figures. This polyptych was dismembered before 1759, but while still intact, an elaborate description of it was made by the Abate Galgano Bicchi (in a MS. belonging in 1879 to the Conte Scipione Bicchi Borghese of Siena). According to this description (published by VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 243 *sqq.*), the St. Christopher in the centre was a statue (ascribed in another place of the MS. to Jacopo della Quercia); and, as a matter of fact, also VASARI (iii. 688) speaks of the saint as being "di rilievo." Behind this statue were painted, on panel, various figures in the act of dressing or undressing close to a river, this being an allusion to St. Christopher's occupation of carrying people across a stream. Two magnificent groups of nude figures, in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond, are, in all probability, fragments of this central compartment, though their height is somewhat greater than that given by Bicchi. The polyptych also contained a predella, in which were depicted the Feast in the House of Simon, the Deposition of Christ, and the Martyrdom of St. Catherine. Bicchi describes all these panels minutely. The Feast in the House of Simon is now in the National Gallery of Ireland (No. 266, see *postea*, p. 116), the Deposition in the collection of Sir John Stirling Maxwell (see *ibid.*), and the Martyrdom of St. Catherine in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley (see *ibid.*). For further details see BORENIUS, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxiv., p. 32 *sqq.*] We only mention as a duty a Nativity in S. Domenico of Siena cited by TAJA, *Guida di Siena*, 1822, p. 149, as by Signorelli. We shall note this piece in the Life of Francesco di Giorgio. The Nativity, however, exhibits an animation and movement from which we might infer that some influence was wielded by Signorelli on the painter.

* [1] According to the commentators of VASARI (vi. 316, n. 1), the Palazzo Petrucci was only just finished in 1508. Of the other painters who worked in this building, neither Genga nor Pinturicchio is known to have been at Siena in 1498, whereas the former, who was long in the service of Petrucci (VASARI, vi. 316), certainly was in that city in 1510. Pinturicchio, again, is known to have been at Siena in 1506 and 1509, and so is Signorelli. It seems, therefore, probable that the frescoes in the Palazzo Petrucci were executed at some time between 1506 and 1509 (*cf.* VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 93 *sqq.*).

[2] Inscribed: ΛΟΥΚΑΣ Ο ΚΟΡΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. [* As set forth in the German edition of this work (iv. 17, n. 51), the subject of this fresco was really the Calumny of Apelles.]

[3] Inscribed: "Luca da Cortona."

[4] It was inscribed: "Lucas Coritius." [* The subject of this painting is really the Torments of Cupid and the Triumph of Chastity.]

lanus listening to the prayers of his mother and wife.[1] In the same room were a Flight of Eneas from Troy, a Ransom of Prisoners, and a Penelope or Lucretia at her loom, the latter by Pinturicchio.[2] The triumph of Cupid and the Coriolanus, transferred to canvas and injured, are now in Mr. Barker's collection, and are grand compositions, with figures quarter the life-size.[3] The rest of Luca's frescoes have been lost, whilst the Flight of Eneas and the Ransom are still preserved in the Academy of Arts at Siena, and display a mixture of the styles of Signorelli and Pinturicchio, with something of the character appertaining to the Bolognese, Ercole Grandi, which might point to Girolamo Genga.[4] Genga is known to have been in Pandolfo's employ, and is even said to have laboured with Signorelli at Orvieto, yet we cannot find his hand in the Cappella S. Brizio, and if he did anything there, his attention must have been confined to ornaments.[5]

From Siena Signorelli now proceeded to Orvieto, where the council of the cathedral, after waiting nine years for Perugino, and dismissing Pinturicchio, had finally resolved that Luca should decorate the chapel of S. Brizio.[6]

[1] Also signed: "Lucas Coritius."

[2] See DELLA VALLE'S *Lettere sanesi* (iii. 320–21).

[* 3] The former painting is now in the National Gallery (No. 910), and the latter in the collection of the late Dr. L. Mond. The execution is no doubt largely due to Girolamo Genga, to whom some critics definitely ascribe these frescoes; yet it seems to thee ditor that he must at least have been working on some cartoons by Signorelli.

[4] Nos. 334 and 333, Academy of Arts, Siena. [* Yet another painting by Genga, stated to be part of this series, is now in the Strassburg Gallery (No. 262). It represents the Rape of the Sabines (?)].

[5] These are, indeed, executed with less accurate care than the rest of the work; but see VASARI, vi. 315 *sqq.*

[6] The contract was signed on April 5, 1499, and comprised at first only the ceilings and windows. When Signorelli had completed these he was ordered to proceed with the remainder, receiving for the whole 780 ducats. He was furnished besides with the necessary ultramarine and free quarters. On obtaining the second commission, he further received monthly a certain measure of wine and corn, and two beds, one being no doubt for his assistant, supposed to have been Girolamo Genga. The walls of the chapel were completed between April, 1500, and the close of 1501. See DELLA VALLE'S *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, *u.s.*, pp. 316, 319. [* The whole sum Signorelli received for his work in this chapel was 755 ducats. See the full documents relating to them published and commented by VISCHER, *u.s.*, pp. 95–105, 346 *sqq.* Genga's name never occurs in these records.]

It would be curious to ascertain what the painter's reflections may have been as he contemplated the unfinished masterpieces of Angelico on one of the ceilings of the chapel. The last great artist who embodied the essentially religious element had left the traces of a mighty talent behind. How was the equally mighty representative of new principles and of modern modes of thought to reconcile his creations with those of his precursor? We can understand a debate in the Orvieto Council if the members discussed the relative merits of Pinturicchio and Signorelli. Would not the tender, perhaps affected, Perugian be better suited to continue the work of the mystic Dominican than the fiery follower of Piero della Francesca? But Signorelli prevailed. Pinturicchio, whose art was that of Perugino minus his best qualities, was not fit to compete with the gigantic power of one whose *opus*, following on that of his teacher, was necessary to the development of Italian painting; who left at Orvieto his mark for all time. Not but that his frescoes there may in the course of centuries perish like so many others that have gone that way before, but they were in their path suggestive and grand, and had their influence on the growth of Michael Angelo.

Looking round him at Orvieto, Signorelli might see not merely the comparatively small production of a ceiling by Angelico; his imagination might feed on the examples of great bygone sculptors. He could leisurely examine the bas-reliefs of the time of the Pisan revival, the Giottesque ones of Andrea Pisano. He might perhaps still see mosaics by Orcagna. He certainly followed the ideas of Dante in the conception of an Inferno. What Signorelli did in S. Brizio at Orvieto, how he adorned the walls, and with what taste he combined his pictures with the architecture which surrounds them, must, however, now be told.

The Cappella S. Brizio is a rectangle in two subdivisions, each subdivision having three lunettes and a groined ceiling. An entrance leads through the lower side. The upper naturally holds the altar. Each of the lunettes is one picture, vast in size. All the pictures are at a certain height, their lower borders resting on fictive marble skirtings, adorned in the centre with square panels inclosing portraits, and medallions as satellites, with scenes derived from Dante's Purgatorio, or subjects taken from mythology.

In the first lunette to the left of the entrance, Antichrist falls, head downwards, from heaven, pursued by the archangel, sword in hand. An innumerable crowd peoples the world below. The heavenly wrath confounds a mass of mortals in every sort of action, on foot, on horseback. They are hurled to the ground, or fall on their backs, faces, sides, in such variety of attitude as one can scarcely imagine. On the foreground to the left stand Luca Signorelli, with Angelico, according to tradition, by his side; they look on whilst Antichrist, on a pedestal, inspired by the devil, preaches to the multitude, who listen, commune, or distribute to each other the wealth which is the reward offered with full hands by the tempter. In front of a splendid temple, occupying the right distance, episodes too numerous for description are depicted.[1]

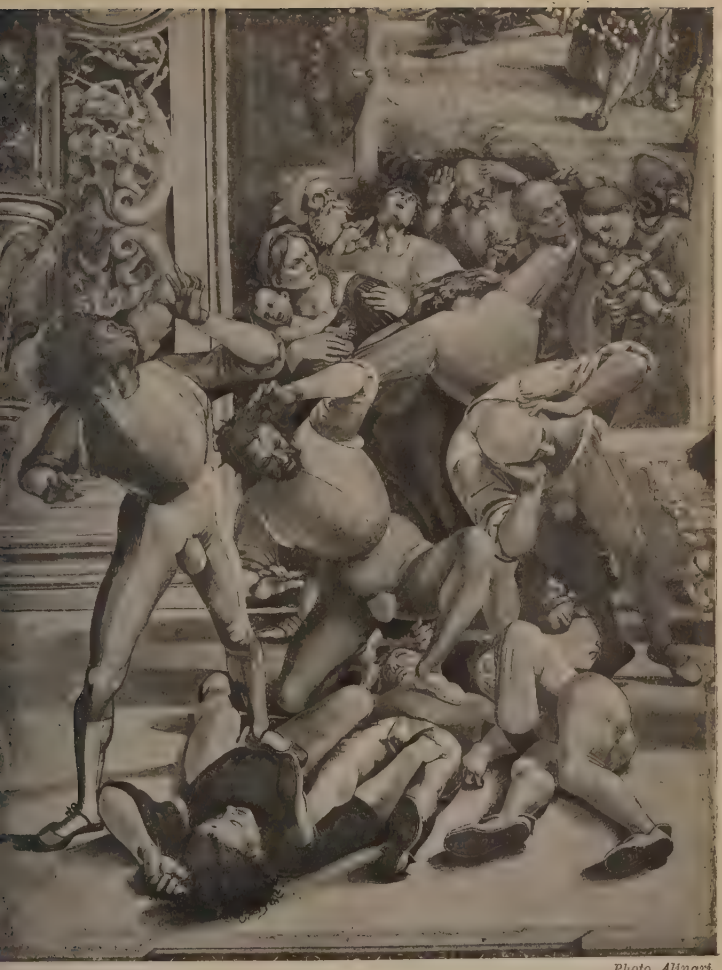
The next lunette on the same side represents Paradise. The happy of both sexes stand in ecstasy, attended by angels, who deposit crowns on their heads, and point out to them the way to the more distant abodes of bliss, whilst others in flight play instruments or cast flowers in most graceful motion.[2]

On the wall pierced by the window, the embrasure of which contains two angels and two canonized bishops, an altar covers the lower part. To the left the elect proceed upwards to heaven, guided by angels, and other celestial messengers, in a higher space, rush down with crowns, or float in ether, playing lutes and casting flowers.[3] In contrast to this scene, the menacing archangels, with St. Michael at their head, occupy the right of the pointed window above the altar. The fires of hell encompass a mob led by one holding a flag. Charon in his boat

[1] On the centre of the skirting below this fresco a likeness of Dante fills a square panel. The medallion in dead colour beneath its base represents Dante and Virgil meeting Cato; the opposite one vertically, Dante and Virgil examining the rock, and the meeting of Dante with Manfred; the medallion to the left, Dante and Virgil awaiting the approach of the angel on the waters, that to the right the poets ascending the rock, Virgil showing Dante the sun, and Dante recognizing Belacqua. The lower part of the fresco of the Fall of Antichrist is damaged, and the colour a little abraded.

[2] On the centre of the skirting below this piece the portrait is that of an unknown person; but the subjects in the medallions about it, in the same order as above, are—Dante led by Virgil, then meeting with the souls singing *Miserere*; the meeting of Dante and Sordello, and the embrace of Sordello and Virgil; again, the embrace of Virgil and Sordello; Virgil and Dante observing the "esercito gentile," the two angels with drawn swords guarding the hill, and Dante talking to Nino Visconti of Pisa.

[3] A small window in the midst of these groups has in its embrasure an angel expelling Satan, and St. Michael weighing the souls.



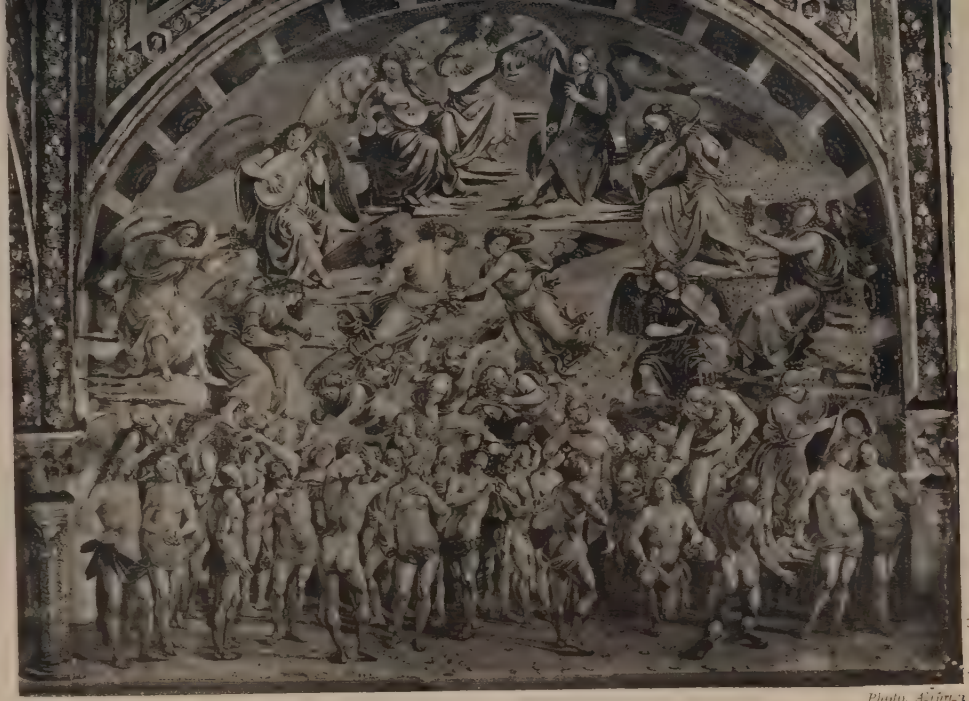
Photo, Alinari

"I FULMINATI": DESTRUCTION OF THE WICKED

By Luca Signorelli

Detail of a fresco in the Duomo, Orvieto

V.—*To face page* 100*a*



Photo, Alinari

PARADISE
By Luca Signorelli
From a fresco in the Duomo, Orvieto

V.—*To face page* 100*b*

rows with his hideous wings. Groups await his pleasure for a passage of Acheron; and spirits assail the forms of the damned.[1]

Pursuing the course of the story, in the opposite side (right) of the chapel the infernal regions are on the lunette nearest the altar. The archangels, on high to the right, winged, and in armour, stand by, as the ministers of Satan drive the sinners down, carry them on their backs, repel them panting and despairing, or strangle them with cords.[2]

The next lunette near the door (right) is devoted to the Resurrection. Two angels, amidst clouds alive with cherubs, blow the last trump, their draperies and ribbands flying in the wind. Beneath them, the people rise from their tombs, in the flesh or as skeletons. In the centre of a lower skirting, an arch confines the dead Christ, resting his head on the Virgin's lap, and watched by a standing Apostle on the right. A grieving figure is at his feet. The kneeling Magdalen between him and the spectator kisses his lifeless hand; and in the rear, in the shape of a bas-relief on a tomb, the body of the Redeemer is carried by three bearers to the grave.[3]

At the side of the door is a continuation of the destruction of the wicked. Beneath on each hand are two portraits, one of them probably that of Signorelli, the other that of Niccola di Francesco, who ordered the frescoes. To the ceiling of Angelico, which is that of the subdivision nearest the altar, Signorelli added one section, left empty by the Dominican, depicting Michaelangelesque figures sounding trumpets, and others carrying the emblems of the Passion. In the four sections

[1] In the sides of a little window in the midst of this group the words "Ave Maria" are inscribed. In the skirting to the left of the altar a vertical chain of two rectangular panels, with a medallion between them, represent: (1) Dante asleep, with an eagle above him; (2) Dante followed by Virgil and seeing the bas-relief of the Annunciation; (3) Dante's meeting with Oderisio da Gubbio. In the same order on the skirting of the right side of the altar: (1) Unknown subject; (2) Perseus and Andromeda; (3) Marriage of Perseus and Andromeda.

[2] In the skirting the central square panelling contains a portrait of Claudian; and in the medallions around, all on gold ground, are Juno, Venus, Minerva, and Proserpine.

[3] On the skirting to the left of this, a central square panelling, as before, contains a portrait of Virgil. In the four medallions are—(1) Orpheus with his lyre recalling Eurydice; (2) the descent of Eneas to the infernal regions; (3) Eurydice taken away after the disobedience of Orpheus; (4) Hercules chaining Antæus. The skirting on the right of the Pietà is partly covered by it. The centre portrait is still there, with an upper and side medallion representing wrestlers. The fresco of the Resurrection is abraded chiefly in the sky. A large salt stain damages the centre of the picture.

of the second ceiling, Luca painted a choir of eight virgins, fifteen doctors of the church, thirteen patriarchs, and seven martyrs.[1]

Nothing can be more hardy than the angel pursuing with his drawn sword the falling form of the demon. The innumerable figures in the episodes of Antichrist's miracles are distributed with a skill equal to that of Michael Angelo. The architecture is in the best classic style. The angels in the paradise charm by nobleness and grace, those who guide the elect upwards to Paradise are also beautiful, and the very finest ever designed by the master. The archangels and the condemned, expelled from the sky, are grandiose and truly admirable. The animation and life in the lower scenes are as great as those in Michael Angelo's Battle of Anghiari, the nudes like those of the Sixtine, and the foreshortenings are the perfection of those originally conceived by the daring of Uccello and Piero della Francesca. The struggles of the imps and souls are scientifically rendered with extraordinary truth and with an energy well suited to the subject, and the spaces filled by the parts are perfectly divided. The angels in the Resurrection remind one of the Hercules in the Sixtine Chapel, whilst the groups below, though somewhat affected, are still effective. The grinning skeletons, varying the array of souls rising to the judgment, partake of the general vehemence; they move as living things, and are wonderful as studies of action. The Christ in the Pietà, though muscular, is not depicted without feeling, but the relief figures carrying the Redeemer betray Luca's Umbrian nature, one of them, indeed, recalling those of Raphael in the various drawings of the same subject at Oxford and Florence, and suggesting that Sanzio had seen the masterpieces of Orvieto.[2] The composition, like so many others by Signorelli, is Michaelangelesque.

Here, then, on the classic ground trod before by so many Italian artists, Signorelli, at the age of threescore, was enabled to satisfy his instincts to the full by delineating scenes of a highly dramatic character. Had it been the fortune of Angelico to

[1] At the sides of the portrait in the right-hand medallion the initials "L. S." are twice repeated. [* For further details concerning the subjects depicted in these frescoes, see VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 285 *sqq.*, and F. X. KRAUS, *Luca Signorelli's Illustrationen zu Dantes Divina Commedia*, Freiburg i. B., 1892.

*[2] On the influence of Signorelli upon Raphael, compare FISCHEL, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxiii. 216 *sqq.*

complete the Chapel of S. Brizio, he would no doubt have painted the same subjects in the grand, but kindly solemn, spirit which pervades those in the ceilings, a spirit the very reverse of that which marks the colossal, and often vulgar, forms of the Cortonese. Both men were great in their path, but they pursued different ways and aims; the one wafting the spectator into an atmosphere of calm, the other with difficulty convincing him that he is not hovering over a field of battle. Unavoidable, indeed, is the reflection that Signorelli, whilst he challenges our admiration, does so by a medley of conflicting and not always pleasing impressions. The pleasure which he creates is not entirely unalloyed. Like Michael Angelo, he fascinates and crushes; he extorts applause by his extraordinary vigour, and hardly leaves a moment for the analysis of the sensations which crowd together at sight of his masterpieces. Cold reason supervenes. We admit the daring conception and its successful realization, but we feel less sympathy than surprise. The athlete has taken away our breath by the performance of his feats; he has not touched one of the softer fibres of our heart. But the character of Signorelli was eminently calculated to strike the mind and to rouse the attention of Michael Angelo; nor is it a marvel that, having visited Orvieto, he should be pleased by the art of Luca, and consider some of his groups worthy of reproduction in the Last Judgment of the Sixtine Chapel.[1] As for the rest, it would be repetition to enter further into the details of the style and execution of these frescoes, their characteristic features having been already generalized for the sake of presenting to the reader a compact sketch of Signorelli's manner.

His first stay at Orvieto did not exceed two years, for though he painted in 1503 two fine bust portraits of himself and of Niccola di Francesco, with a boldness and freedom of hand seldom surpassed,[2] he had already (if we believe an inscription which we have

[1] See as to this VASARI, iii. 690.

[2] The two men face each other. The names "Luca" and "Nicolaus" are engraved on the dress of each figure on a tile, 15 inches by 13. That of Nicholas is grave in pose, reminiscent of Piero della Francesca. On the back of the tile, which is in the opera of the Duomo at Orvieto, are the words: "Lucas Signorellus, nationo Ytalus, patria Cortonensis, arte eximius merito Apelli comparandus, sub regimine et stipendio Nicolai Francisci de nationis patrie (urbeve) tane, camerario

not seen) returned in 1502 to Cortona, and delivered to the church of S. Margherita a dead Christ, wailed by the Marys and Apostles, with but slight variations like the fresco in the chapel of S. Brizio, with a predella representing the Agony in the Garden, the Last Supper, the Kiss of Judas, the Capture, and the Flagellation.[1] He returned, however, to Orvieto in 1504, perhaps to finish some parts of the chapel in the Duomo, and a picture of St. Mary Magdalen of that date.[2]

From this time forward Signorelli resided frequently in Siena,[3] where Pinturicchio, Bazzi, and himself, assisted by Genga and others, competed with the Pacchiarottos, Pacchias, and their local guild-brethren. There was plenty to do for them all in a city where such enterprising persons as the Piccolomini and the Petrucci contended with each other in display as well as in wealth and power. The cartoons which Signorelli completed there in 1506 for the pavement of the Duomo were never put in hand,[4]

fabrice hujus basilice3 sacellũ hoc Virgini dedicatũ judici finalis ordine figuratum perspicue pinxit cupidusque immortalitatis viriusque effigiem a tergo litterarum harum naturaliter mira effisit arte. Alexandro VI pon. M.M. sedente et Maximiano IIII°. imperañt. año salutis M.cccc° tertio Kalendas Januarias." The colour of this piece is liquid on the white ground, with the lights in body and the rest stippled, all of a ruddy tone.

[1] This picture is now in the choir of the Duomo, having been transferred from its original place (noticed in VASARI, iii. 686). The annotators of Vasari give the following inscription, not visible to the authors of this work: "Lucas Ægidii Signorelli Cortonensis MDII." The composition is very animated, reminiscent of one by Botticelli. The drawing is free and bold, the colour sharp and red. [*In the background are seen, to the left, the Crucifixion, to the right, the Resurrection. A picture by Signorelli in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond closely resembles the first-mentioned scene.]

[2] The Magdalen is now in the "opera." It is inscribed: "Conservat pa. pacis conservatrici ex se consueto MDIIII." There is a record of the payment to Signorelli for this piece. Yet the rude handling of it might suggest the exclusive employment of an assistant.

[*3] As a matter of fact, records testify to his presence at Siena only in 1506 and 1509. As before, his chief place of residence was Cortona, though he travelled about a good deal. In June, 1508, he was at Arcevia (*cf. postea*, p. 105, n. 1); in July of the same year he was sent as representative of the Municipality of Cortona to Florence to ask for permission to reorganize the administration of Cortona; and in 1512 he was one of the ambassadors sent by the Municipality to congratulate the Medici on their return to Florence (VISCHER, *u.s.*, pp. 357, 359).

[4] GAETANO MILANESI. *Discorso*, etc., *u.s.*, p. 131 and annot. VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 158.

but they would occupy his leisure hours, and leave him time to compose, paint, and set together the numerous panels which form the great altarpiece of 1507 in S. Medardo at Arcevia. There are not many finer or more pleasing creations of his than this, although it has suffered so much from scaling and from dust. The central Virgin and Child are still Umbrian, but the five predella pieces—Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration, Flight into Egypt, and Massacre of the Innocents—have a peculiar charm on account of their grace and carefulness, and a Peruginesque feeling in the fine proportions and movement of draped or naked figures, which remind one of the youth of Raphael.[1]

[1] Arcevia is near Fabriano in the heart of the Umbrian country. The altarpiece is in courses, with pilasters containing seven half-lengths of saints apiece. In the principal course the Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. Sebastian, Medardus, Andrew, and Roch. In the upper course the Eternal is between the Baptist and three Apostles. The arms of the "comune" of Arcevia are on panels at the extremities of the predella. One reads on the step of the throne: "Lucas Signorellus pingebat MDVII."

In the Cappella del Sacramento of the same collegiate church of S. Medardo is an altarpiece, in the centre of which is a Baptism of Christ inscribed on a scroll: "Lucas Signorelli da Cortona." Yet it looks like a feeble imitation of the master's style by a pupil. Four incidents fill each of two pilasters, and are painted by a rude hand of the school of Alunno. The base of the altarpiece is by an artist of the seventeenth century. [* The subsequent discovery of records has confirmed the judgment passed by the authors on this work. It was ordered from Signorelli at Arcevia on June 5, 1508, but the master promised to execute himself only the figures of God the Father, Christ, and St. John, whereas the rest was to be painted "ab aliis suis discipulis melioribus." Signorelli also agreed to retouch such parts of the ancona as already existed, by which, no doubt, the two pilasters are meant. Only nineteen days later Signorelli received the final payment for his works. (See Anselmi, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. v., p. 196 *sqq.*) On the same day Signorelli promised to paint a large cross, free of charge, for San Medardo (*idem.*, *ibid.*, ser. i., vol. iii., p. 217). Signorelli also executed other pictures for Arcevia. One was a St. Medardus, ordered by the Municipality of Arcevia, and formerly placed over an altar in San Medardo, but now lost. Another was an altarpiece, painted in 1508 by commission of Giacomo di Simone Filippini for the Church of San Francesco. The principal panel of this altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child between SS. James the Greater, Simon, Francis, and Bonaventura, is now in the Brera Gallery (No. 505). It bears a fragmentary signature and a long dedicatory inscription, with the date 1508. This panel was originally accompanied by a lunette, stated to have contained a figure of God the Father, and a predella, with scenes from the life of the Virgin (see Anselmi, *u.s.*, vol. v., p. 202 *sqq.*). The lunette is perhaps identical with one representing the Coronation of the Virgin, which now belongs

An affecting incident, which occurred about this period, contributes greatly to our knowledge of Signorelli's character. We have seen how energetic, how gloomy at times, he could be in his pictures. We now remark of what a stern and masculine stuff he was made. His favourite son, having met his death suddenly and apparently by accident, Signorelli caused him to be stripped, "and with great constancy, without repining or tears, painted from his corpse, that he might at leisure contemplate, in the work of his own hand, the treasure which Nature had given him, and envious fortune taken away." [1] The body of the boy was buried at Siena.[2]

In the meanwhile Pinturicchio had finished the Piccolomini library, and gone to set up the altarpiece at Spello (April, 1508).[3] Signorelli had been to Cortona to fill an office in the municipal council for two months (July and August, 1508).[4] Just then Julius II. determined to readorn the Vatican Camere. He engaged Signorelli,[5] Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Bazzi to perform this duty. They all went up to Rome about the same period, and began their labours. Most of them were old and tried hands, Signorelli and Perugino famous. They used to meet in the house of Bramante, and even dined there with Giambattista Caporali, who remembered the occasion,[6] but they were all obliged to yield the palm to the youthful Raphael, whom Bramante their host, introduced to the Pope, and they all had the mortification of receiving their dismissal, and of seeing part of their work

to Mrs. Goodden, of Compton House, Yeovil, Somerset, and was acquired in 1860 by the late Sir B. Samuelson from Bardini of Florence, who is said to have obtained it from Arcevia. It is reproduced in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of Old Masters at the Grafton Galleries, 1911 (Plate XL.).]

[1] VASARI, iii. 691.

[2] In 1506 annot. VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, vi. 143). [* Vasari mentions this incident immediately after having spoken of Signorelli's frescoes at Orvieto. In the first edition of the *Lives* he writes: "Dicesi che a la tornata sua in Cortona gli morì un figliuolo"; and even in the second edition he speaks of the son as having been killed at Cortona. Now, we know that a son of Signorelli, called Antonio, died at Cortona in July, 1502, and it seems probable that it is him Vasari alludes to (VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 103).]

[*3] *Cf. postea*, p. 408, n. 1.

[4] Annot. VASARI, iii. 709.

[5] VASARI, iv. 329 *sqq.*

[6] CAPORALI'S *Vitruv.* in VERMIGLIOLI, *Vita di Pinturicchio*, 8°, Perugia, 1837, p. 5; TEMANZA, *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, p. 6; VASARI, vii. 490.

taken down.[1] Signorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio returned together to Siena, where the latter was presented in January with a son, whom the former held at the baptismal font,[2] and both closed their careers without any further incident of mark. Signorelli remained chiefly in and about Cortona, where several undated pieces prove the untiring industry with which he attended to the orders of his patrons.[3] The Communion of the Apostles, commissioned for the Compagnia di Gesù at Cortona, was produced in 1512; the altarpiece of Montone, now at Città di Castello, a Virgin and Child for the Bishop of Cortona, now in S. Domenico, and the Deposition from the Cross for La Fratta, near Perugia, in 1515; a Madonna and Saints for the Company of S. Girolamo at Arezzo, in 1520. Vasari states that the person who ordered the latter was an advocate named Niccolo Gamurrini, auditor of the Rota, whose portrait was painted by Signorelli in a kneeling attitude before the Virgin and Child. He was recommended by St. Nicholas, besides whom SS. Donato, Stephen, Jerome, David, and two prophets, occupied places around. When the brothers of the company carried the altarpiece on their shoulders from Cortona to Arezzo, they were accompanied by Signorelli, who lodged during his stay in the house of the Vasari. As this occurred, Giorgio, the historian, being then eight years of age, saw Luca, much stricken in years, but full of benevolence and amiability, and heard him tell his father not to check the child's propensity for the pursuit of art.[4] The impression which his own observation and the traditions of his family had left was that Signorelli was of the best manners, sincere and loving in his social intercourse, mild and kindly in conversation, and above all courteous to those who wished for the product of his pencil. His teaching of disciples was easy. He lived well, and liked to appear in fine attire, and his good qualities caused him to be venerated abroad as well as at home.[5] He continued to exercise the duties of his profession to

[1] VASARI, iv. 361; vi. 385.

[2] *Doc. sen.*, iii. 65; and GAETANO MILANESI, *Discorso, u.s.*

[*3] From a letter sent by Michael Angelo to the Capitano of Cortona in May, 1518, we know that Signorelli in 1513 was at Rome, where he borrowed some money from Michael Angelo, who in the letter in question complains that it has not been paid back (VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 110 *sqq.*, 359 *sqq.*; MANCINI, *u.s.*, p. 162 *sqq.*).

[4] VASARI, iii. 693.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 695.

the very last, and Vasari states that he was paralytic when he began a fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the chapel of Cardinal Passerini's palace near Cortona.[1] That his hand was still firm, though slightly tremulous from age, in 1523, is proved by the receipt for payment of an altarpiece in the Pieve of Foiano, of which Gaye has preserved the facsimile.[2] In 1524 Signorelli sat for the last time in the Magistracy of Cortona, and it is believed that his death took place either in that year or shortly after.[3]

The following is a detailed register of the authentic works indicated as having been furnished between 1512 and the date of Luca's death :

The Communion of the Apostles, originally in the Compagnia del Gesù, now in the Duomo of Cortona, is in oil, and signed on a pilaster: "Lucas Signorellus Corthuniensis pingebat, 1512." The Saviour, in a fine attitude, without any excess of weight in frame, gives the host to the disciples erect or kneeling in threes at each side. Judas, as Vasari says, puts the host into his scrip.[4]

The Virgin, standing with the Child in her arms, crowned by two angels, and in the midst of four saints, is a picture of life-size figures in oil, for a long time at Montone, and now in possession of Signor Mancini at Città di Castello.[5] It is signed: "Egregium quod cernis opus Magister Aloysius Physicus ex Gallia et Thomasina ejus uxor ex devotione suis sumptibus poni curaverunt. Luca Signorelli de Cortona pictore insigni formas inducente. Anno D . . . MDXV." Much injury from darkening of the shadows, from restoring and repainting, is

[1] This piece exists, but so entirely repainted as to defy criticism.

[2] See in plates to *Carteggio*, vol. ii.

[*3] As a matter of fact, his death occurred towards the end of 1523. On October 13 of that year he made his last will, adding a codicil two days later. On December 8, Severo di Giovanni de' Vannotti was appointed superintendent of the Chapel of St. Margaret at Cortona, "loco magistri Luce Egidii magistri Venture de Signorellis premortui pro residuo temporis" (VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 365 *sqq.*). There must, therefore, be some error in the statement of the commentators of the Le Monnier edition of VASARI (vi. 158) that he sat in the magistracy of Cortona during January and February, 1524. In two ballots for municipal posts in 1525, Signorelli's name was drawn, but because of his being dead, yet another name was drawn (VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 367).

[4] VASARI, iii. 686.

[5] SS. Jerome and Sebastian (right), Nicholas of Bari and Cristina (left). See MARIOTTI, p. 274. and ORSINI'S *Guida d'Ascoli*, p. 79 *sqq.*, which states that the predella of the piece was in casa Odoardi at Ascoli.

pparent.[1] The predella, with six scenes from the life of S. Cristina, is ot to be found at present.[2]

Signorelli's picture of 1515 is not mentioned by guide-books or uthors generally, yet exists on the altar of S. Vincenzo in S. Domenico f Cortona, with the following inscription: " Io Serninius eps Cortoneñs onam et ornatum p. p. facieri A. D. CIↃIↃXV. Hæredes vero D. sdrubalis ejus ex fve ab. nepotis P. S. instauran. curaverunt. A. D. IↃ.IↃ.CXIX." This fine panel represents the Virgin, life-size, holding he Infant Saviour, resting her feet on three cherubs between two angels, t. Peter Martyr, and another Dominican, the bust of Bishop Serninius, good portrait, being visible in the right-hand corner. The panel is rrounded by a painted canvas framework. The draperies of the irgin are scaled off.

The Descent from the Cross of 1515, commissioned for the church f the brotherhood of S. Croce at La Fratta near Perugia, is in Signorelli's sual style, but inferior as to grandeur of composition to that of the Duomo at Cortona, yet the conception is that which many subsequent ainters repeated, as Daniel of Volterra in his picture in S. Trinità di Ionte at Rome; Bazzi, in that of S. Francesco at Siena, Correggio, the aracci, Rubens, and Van Dyck. Three scenes from the life of St. Helen the predella are very graceful, but somewhat dryly painted.[3]

The altarpiece of 1520 (*circa*), the transfer of which to S. Girolamo of rezzo gave occasion to Vasari to see Signorelli, is now in good preserva- on in the church of the nuns of S. Spirito, and is composed of life-size gures, in oil, in the master's broad and powerful style; but the colour of a low key in tone, the half-tints red, and the shadows black.[4]

The picture of Foiano (1523) was a Virgin and Child with saints and ngels, and a predella containing incidents from the life of St. Martin.[5]

* [1] This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,847). It was executed ring July and August, 1515 (see VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 360 *sqq.*).

* [2] It is identical with one in the Brera at Milan (No. 506), as the authors emselves hint (*postea*, p. 120).

[3] The expenses incurred and the date are preserved in original records printed GUALANDI, ser. vi., 36, 37–38. [* They are reprinted in VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 362 *sqq.* e picture was finished in 1516. La Fratta is now called Umbertide.]

* [4] This picture, now in the public museum of Arezzo (Sala III.), was ordered om the artist on September 19, 1519 (see VISCHER, *u.s.*, p. 363). It was to have predella, and Dr. RICHTER suggests (*The Mond Collection*, London, 1910, ii. 90 *sqq.*) that this may be identical with one now in the collection of the late r. L. Mond in London, representing Esther before Ahasuerus, and three scenes om the legend of St. Jerome.

* [5] This picture, which is still in the Collegiata at Foiano, is, according to r. VISCHER (*u.s.*, p. 270), an inferior atelier-piece.

The following list will comprise all the works of Signorelli seen by the authors in addition to those in the body of the narrative:

Cortona. Compagnia S. Niccolò. High-altar; with subjects on both sides, in oil. The body of Christ held up on the edge of the tomb by an angel, is exhibited by him to the adoration of several saints. St. Francis, on the left, kneeling, shows the stigmata. St. Dominic, kneeling likewise, is at St. Francis's side, whilst in rear of them two saints stand. St. Jerome is on the right with three angels. The picture is a fine and chastened one in Signorelli's Umbrian manner, purely designed in comparison with other works. The flesh tones are yellowish, the high surface shadows strong and brown.

The Virgin and Child, between SS. Peter and Paul on the obverse, is a grand composition reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo, the infant more pleasing and amiable than usual.

Some frescoes in this church were in 1847 recovered from whitewash, but are ruined by retouching. They represent a tabernacle enclosing a Virgin, Child, and saints, and are said, on the strength of old records, to have been painted by Signorelli without charge, because he was a member of the brotherhood of S. Niccolò.[1]

Cortona. Chiesa del Gesù.[2] Conception of the Virgin, with six figures at each side, Adam and Eve in the distance—a hard picture of cold general tone and dark shadows. The nude is feeble, and the handling dry.[3] The Nativity, the Virgin adoring the Infant, St. Joseph on the opposite side, three angels above, singing, and the shepherds in background feeble. This and the following in the Chiesa del Gesù, show indeed, the extensive use of assistant's labour, and possibly the hand of Turpino Zaccagna.

Cortona. Chiesa del Gesú. Panel, representing the Virgin and Child between S. Francis and a bishop in friar's dress, reading, Bruno and a saint with a tree in his hand (a half-length of the Eternal in the upper part seems of a later date, and to be of the school). This is a dry, hard production, better on the whole than the two others in the Chiesa del Gesù; but the tone is low and dim, and some parts are scaled.

[1] See com. in VASARI, iii. 699 *sqq.* [* Compare on these frescoes MANCINI, *u.s.*, p. 202.]

[2] VASARI, iii. 686.

[*3] This picture was ordered from Signorelli on July 10, 1521 (MANCINI, *u.s.*, p. 226).

Cortona. An Ascension of the Virgin, formerly in the Pieve of Cortona,[1] is said to be in the hands of the heirs of Signor Luca Tommasi.[2]

Cortona. Signor Carlo Tommasi has a small allegory of the Crowning of Plenty (five figures). In possession of the heirs of Signor Agostino Castellani in Cortona also is a half-length of St. Stephen, and a small Nativity; the latter in the better manner of Signorelli, the former careful, but less in the grand style.[3]

Borgo S. Sepolcro. Compagnia di S. Antonio Abate.[4] The church standard of this brotherhood by Signorelli represents on one side a Crucifixion, marked by the usual boldness of action and vigour of colour. The Saviour is not of a noble form, however, but somewhat mannered. The Virgin lies faint in the arms of the Marys. The distance is rich in episodes, Calvary and the Passion. St. Anthony and St. Eligius are on the reverse side of the canvas, with the brethren of the company at their feet.

Castiglione Fiorentino (of old Aretino).[5] *Cappella del Sacramento.*[6] Here is a fresco of Christ taken from the cross, in the broad manner, the composition a replicate of that in the picture in Cortona Cathedral (eleven figures). A piece has been added, apparently in the last century. Some of the high lights are gilt in the Umbrian fashion. The sky is renewed.

Città di Castello. Convent Church of S. Cecilia.[7] The Virgin holds the Infant, who crowns St. Cecilia on the left, behind whom are St. Francis and a bishop. The Virgin's face is turned to the right towards St. Chiara, behind whom are SS. Anthony and Louis of Toulouse. SS. Catherine and Margaret kneel in the foreground, whilst between them angels gather roses which have fallen from the Virgin's left hand. The composition is overcharged, and the tone generally brown and dim.

[1] Vasari, iii. 687 *sq.*

[*2] The Assumption, which was ordered from Signorelli on March 12, 1519, is now in the Duomo of Cortona. The authors refer to it (*postea*, p. 119 *sq.*) under Turpino Zaccagna. The picture, formerly in possession of the heirs of Signor Luca Tommasi, now belongs to the Contessa Giulia Baldelli of Cortona; it is a *gonfalone*, representing on one side the Virgin and Child with saints, and on the other St. Anthony the Abbot (*cf.* Mancini, *u.s.*, pp. 215 *sqq.*, 174 *sq.*).

[*3] The Nativity is perhaps identical with one now belonging to the Contessa Giulia Baldelli of Cortona (Mancini, *u.s.*, p. 225). I have been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of the other paintings mentioned in this paragraph.

[*4] Now Communal Gallery.

[5] Vasari, iii. 687

[*6] Now in the Communal Gallery at Castiglione Fiorentino (No. 11).

[*7] Now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello (No. 115).

But the panel is injured by flaying; the Virgin's mantle is repainted anew, and the whole upper angle to the left damaged.

The predella, in the interior of the convent, contains figures of SS. Margaret, John the Evangelist, Bernardino, Jerome, Lucy, and the archangel Michael.[1] In this convent are also two pictures of the school of Signorelli.[2]

Città di Castello. Signor Mancini owns a Nativity, much better than the altarpiece of Montone previously described, signed on the frieze of a round temple. "Ł. Luce de Cortona P. O." This is a good picture in which the influence of Piero della Francesca may be traced. The Virgin kneels in adoration before the Infant on the ground, with the shepherds on the left; and the attendant angels, in the eagerness with which they take part in the scene, recall the works of Filippino Lippi. A shepherd on a hill in the distance plays on a pipe, and a market is held near the temple in the background. The annunciation to the pastors in the landscape completes the composition. This may be the piece noticed by Vasari in S. Francesco of Città di Castello.[3] It is well preserved, of a marked brown tone, and entitles Signorelli to be called the Caravaggio of his time.[4]

An Annunciation in the hands of the same proprietor is not by Signorelli, but by Francesco of Città di Castello.[5]

Arezzo. Public Museum, Sala III. Virgin and Child between SS. Francis, Monica, and angels. Three angels playing on the throne step (injured). Right and left in the foreground are SS. Mary Magdalen and Margaret. This altarpiece, with figures of life-size, was originally in S. Margareta of Arezzo, and is probably that which Vasari describes (iii. 692) as a work of Signorelli's old age. It is in a bad state of preservation, but genuine.

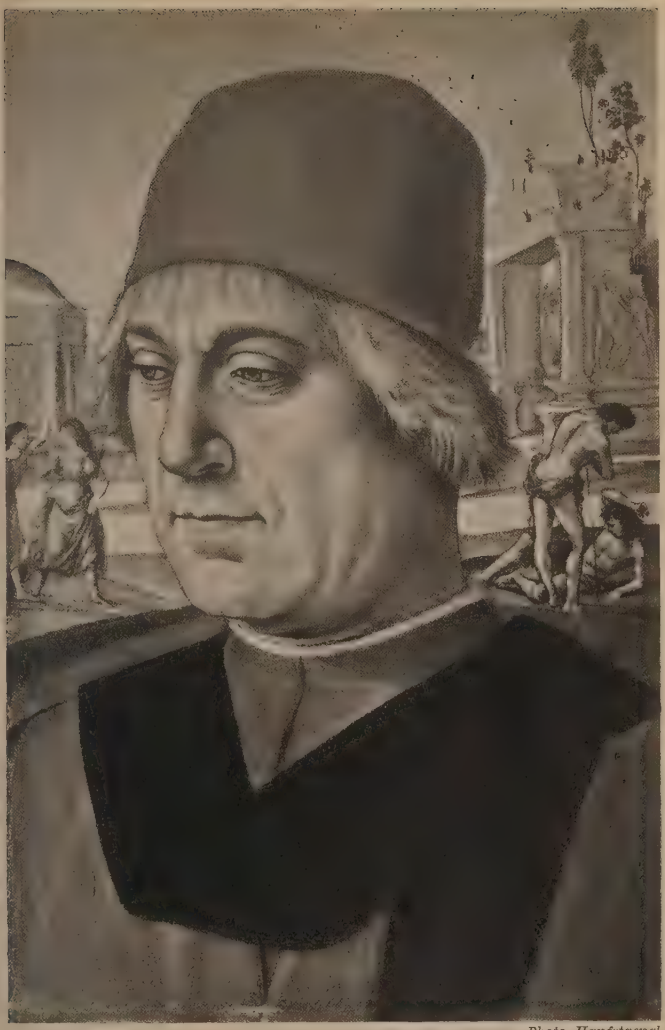
*1 These panels are now in the Communal Gallery of Città di Castello, Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90). They did not serve as a predella, but formed the pilasters on each side of the chief subject. This altarpiece had, however, a predella, containing scenes from the legends of SS. Cecilia, Valerianus, and Tiburtius. It was until lately in possession of the Paci family of Città di Castello, and was then purchased by Signor Volpi of Florence (MANCINI, *u.s.*, p. 196).

*2 I am not sure as to the identity of these pictures. Perhaps the authors alluded to a *gonfalone*, showing on one side the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, and on the other Christ in Glory, now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello.

3 VASARI, iii. 686.

*4 This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,133).

*5 Judging from a reproduction, the editor should certainly say that this picture (now belonging to Mr. Johnson, of Philadelphia) is by Signorelli.



Photo, Hanfstaengl

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

By Luca Signorelli

From a picture in the Kais r Friedrich Museum, Berlin

V.—*To face page* 112

Perugia. Galleria Penna.[1] Small round representing the Virgin nd Child between St. Jerome, John the Baptist, a bishop, and two or hree female saints. A dusky brown production of Signorelli's old age.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 164. From S. Trinita of Cortona. In ignorelli's grand manner, representing the Virgin and Child between he archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the sitting SS. Augustine and thanasius, with a Trinity in the upper space.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 65. Canvas, assigned to Andrea el Castagno.[2] Christ crucified, with a kneeling Magdalen, and a leposition from the cross in the distance. This, no doubt, was a church tandard by Signorelli.[3]

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 164 *bis.* A predella, with the ast Supper, the Entrance into Jerusalem, and the Flagellation, boldly nd freely handled. These scenes are not very pleasing. The neglect nd colossal nature of the figures are peculiar to the master's latest reations.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,291. Wood, life-size. A well-preserved ound of the Holy Family, all intent on the contents of a book read by he Virgin. In Signorelli's broad, forcible style.

Same Gallery, No. 1,298. Originally in S. Lucia of Montepulciano. redella, containing the Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Iagi—a fine original.[4]

Florence. Galleria Lombardi. Once belonging to the Albergotti amily at Arezzo.[5] A Virgin and Child, with four angels above the roup—a feeble production, so much below the mark of the master hat we might believe it executed by a pupil.

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani, No. 8.[6] Magnificent life-size portrait f a man in a red cap and vest, three-quarters to the left. It is described s a portrait of Signorelli himself, but seems to be that of a person of igher condition. It is very broadly modelled, a little grey in tone, nd is one of Signorelli's Florentine creations. An antique arch adorns distance to the right. In front of it are two nude figures, one of which eans on a staff. The red cap is a little restored.

*1 Present whereabouts unknown.

*2 Now to Signorelli.

*3 Originally in the convent of Annalena.

*4 Signor MANCINI (*u.s.*, p. 177 *sq.*) thinks that a picture of the Virgin and Child hich is still in the Church of S. Lucia at Montepulciano was the principal panel f the altarpiece to which the above-mentioned predella belonged.

*5 Present whereabouts unknown.

*6 Now Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 79c).

Milan. Brera, No. 477. Wood, 0·82 m. high by 0·60. The Virgin, Child, and angels, in Signorelli's softer mood, as illustrated in the altarpiece of Arcevia. Finely and carefully drawn, and copiously ornamented with gold.[1]

Rome. Marchese Patrizi.[2] *No.* 92, *Room V., in the Exhibition of* 1870. Round with the Salutation on the right, and in rear to the left St. Zacharias presenting the Infant Baptist to St. Joseph, who holds the Infant Christ. On a scroll: "LVCHAS SIGNORELLVS DE CORTONA." This also is of Signorelli's old age, perhaps even a school piece.

Rome. Galleria Rospigliosi. Arched panel. Virgin, Child, and young Baptist, with St. Joseph in rear to the right. This is a pretty picture, with figures of delicate, somewhat dry, mould, in Signorelli's most chastened feeling. (Half-lengths, under life-size.)

Rome. S. Gregorio. In this chapel to the right of the choir is a predella representing St. Michael and the Dragon between fourteen half-length saints. The treatment shows that the work was done, not by Signorelli, to whom it is assigned, but by a disciple of Pinturicchio. The colour is brown and dingy.[3]

Dresden Museum, No. 20. Wood, round, 5 feet 11 inches in diameter. Holy Family, originally in Pisa, and afterwards in possession of Mr. Woodburn. The Virgin holds on her knee the naked Infant Saviour who plays with the young Baptist. St. Joseph points to the cross in the latter's hand. Distance, rocks. In the upper part of the picture two angels playing and singing. This picture has much of the Florentine of Botticelli and Filippino. It is boldly handled at one painting, and of a dusky warm tone.[4]

Altenburg (in the Saxon Duchy of that name). *Town Museum.* Bequeathed by the late Herr von Lindenau. Five parts of a predella by Signorelli (wood), representing: No. 138, Christ on the Mount; No. 139, the Flagellation; No. 140, the Crucifixion; No. 141, the Entombment; No. 142, the Resurrection. This predella is said to have been originally at La Fratta, near Perugia. The subjects are slightly but rapidly handled, in oil. The figures generally are Herculean.

*[1] *Cf. antea*, p. 86, n. 2.

*[2] Now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 79B).

*[3] For reproductions of this picture, see *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 227 *sq.*

*[4] As Dr. FRIZZONI was the first to point out (*Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii. 86), this is really a work by a purely Florentine artist—namely, Piero di Cosimo, who frequently has been confused with Signorelli (*cf. antea*, p. 88). The facial types, the hands, the folds of drapery, the landscape, etc., point to him with absolute certainty. Compare also KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 50 *sqq.*

The movement of the Christ in the Resurrection is bold, as in the later works of Michael Angelo, and the scourgers in the Flagellation are remarkable for the coarse energy of their action, and the vulgar development of muscular strength.

Same Gallery, Nos. 143-146. Four small panels, in the form of pointed niches, about 1 foot high, containing each a saint—SS. Bernardino, Louis of France, and two females of the Franciscan Order. These are painted in oil, in the style of the foregoing, and were perhaps part of the same altarpiece.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,525. Wood, 0·33 m. high by 0·70. Predella, representing the Virgin's birth.[1] This is one of the best examples of Signorelli. The composition is fine; the figures are dignified without mannerism.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,526. Ex-Campana. Wood, 3·26 m. high by ·43. Adoration of the Magi, rude; said to have been (see Catalogue of Ex-Campana Collection, anno 1859) commissioned in 1482 for S. Agostino of Città di Castello.[2]

Same Gallery, No. 1,527. Wood, 1·03 m. high by 0·70. Knee-piece (fragment), comprising seven life-size figures. Less rude than the foregoing, but poorly handled and of a red tinge. But both give a right idea of Signorelli's talent.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,662. Wood, 0·87 m. high by 0·58. Classed as "nameless." Virgin reading, with the Child in her lap. This injured production looks as if it might have issued from Signorelli's shop. It is, however, feeble.

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 40. 5 feet 1 inch high by 5 feet 1 inch tempera. Nativity, half life-size, transferred to canvas, and thereby somewhat injured. Although we trace the stamp of Signorelli in this piece, it lacks the master's own grandeur and power. The figures are somewhat paltry in drawing and execution.

London. Late Barker Collection.[3] A small and injured but genuine St. George and the Dragon, in Signorelli's Michaelangelesque style.

Same Collection. Two pilasters, on one of which are SS. Bernard,

* 1 The subject of this picture is the Birth of St. John. Zacharias is seen in the foreground to the right, writing the name of his son on a tablet.

* 2 This picture was executed in 1493; it is one of the two mentioned *antea*, 94.

* 3 Subsequently in the collection of Sir William Farrer, and bought at the Farrer sale (March 23, 1912, No. 63) by Messrs. Agnew. Another version of this composition is in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard.

Onofrio, and Dorothy; on the other, SS. Bernard and Jerome, and the Angel and Tobit. Fine genuine works.[1]

London. Lord Taunton (Ex-Stoke Park).[2] Martyrdom of St. Catherine; a good example, full of life and animation, and with but a few and slight retouches.

Scotland. Glentyan, seat of the late Captain Stirling.[3] Small panel of about twenty-nine figures, representing the Pharisees' feast; the Magdalen approaching the Saviour with the ointment, on the right; Martha, Mary, and curious bystanders, at the entrance. It is spirited and of Signorelli's fine time, well composed, full of variety, animation, and nature, and, with the exception of a repainted figure at the end of the left wing of the table, in fair preservation.

Keir (seat of W. Stirling, Esq., M.P.). No. 90 at the Manchester Exhibition. A genuine Pietà by Signorelli.[4]

Liverpool. Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe Collection, No. 26. Panel, 1 foot 9 inches high by 1 foot 4 inches. Virgin seated, with the infant Christ in her arms. Distance, a landscape. Assigned to Cima da Conegliano, but by Signorelli, though not one of his best, and damaged.[5]

St. Petersburg. Collection of H.I.H. the Grand Duchess Marie, widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg (round, wood, figures half life-size).[6] Nativity. The Virgin kneels, attended by an angel, near the Infant on the ground. St. Joseph descends some steps. The character is Signorelli's, the composition and execution below his. This is a school work.[7]

The following noticed by Vasari are not forthcoming at this time:

* [1] These panels are now in the Dresden Gallery (Nos. 36 and 37), and can only be considered as atelier-pieces. They were originally on each side of the high-altar of the Church of San Donnino di Villamagna, near Florence.

* [2] Now in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley, of Quantock Lodge, Bridgewater (*cf. antea*, p. 96, n. 4).

* [3] Now Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, No. 266 (*cf. antea*, p. 96, n. 4).

* [4] This splendid picture is now in the collection of Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, of Pollock House, Pollockshaws. No such work is mentioned in the Manchester. Exhibition catalogue (*cf. antea*, p. 96, n. 4).

* [5] The quality of this work is hardly up to that of Signorelli himself. The group of the Virgin and Child is similar to that which occurs, set off against a rich background of red and gold ornaments, in a most beautiful picture by Signorelli, now belonging to Mr. Robert Benson of London (formerly in the Casa Girolamo Tommasi, Cortona).

* [6] Now collection of Prince Nicholas of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

* [7] This picture offers one more instance of a confusion between Signorelli and Piero di Cosimo. Compare L. Venturi, in *L'Arte*, xv. 127 *sq.* (with repro-

Photo. Hollyer.

The Virgin and Child.

By Luca Signorelli.

From a picture in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London

Arezzo. Standard for the company of St. Catherine (VASARI, iii. 684); standard of the company of the S. Trinità (*ibid.*); frescoes and an altarpiece in S. Agostino (*ibid.*); altarpiece in Cappella degli Accolti at S. Francesco, representing the Virgin and Child, four saints, and two angels playing instruments, the patron and some of his relatives. The predella was filled with scenes from the life of St. Catherine (*ibid.*).

Volterra. Altarpiece in S. Agostino (*ibid.*, 685 *sq.*).

Monte S. Maria. A dead Christ (*ibid.*).

Città di Castello. S. Francesco, a Nativity, executed, it is said, in 1496 (*Ib.*, *ib.* and CERTINI *ap. annot.* to VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, vi. 138 and 157).[1]

Cortona. Frescoes in Vescovado (*ibid.*, iii. 686 *sq.*).

Lucignano. S. Francesco, doors of a church press (*ibid.*, 687),[2] pictures at Montepulciano (*ibid.*, 689).[3]

Signorelli was clearly not a man fitted to give an impulse to a school. His own skill was such that he merely required the simplest aid from his assistants; and most of those, whose works have been preserved, proved themselves unworthy of being remembered. Maso Papacello, Francesco Signorelli, Turpino Zaccagna, and others, may therefore be comprised in the following short notices:

Vasari does not mention Papacello as a pupil of Signorelli. On the contrary, he calls him a disciple of Giulio Romano and Benedetto (error for Giambattista) Caporali.[4] But Papacello's remaining panels betray

duction). The following should be added to the number of extant works by Signorelli:

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, Nos. 521-523. St. Roch; the Virgin and Child; St. Sebastian (Morelli collection).

London. National Gallery, No. 2,488. Holy Family (Salting bequest). *Mr. Robert Benson.* The Journey to Emmaus; the Supper at Emmaus (from the Casa Girolamo Tommasi, Cortona). *Sir Kenneth Muir-Mackenzie.* Man on ladder (fragment of a Descent from the Cross). *Mrs. Donnell Post.* The Virgin and Child.

Morra (near Città di Castello). *S. Crescenziano.* The Flagellation; the Crucifixion (frescoes).

New Haven, U.S.A. Jarves Collection, No. 67. The Adoration of the Magi.

Paris. Louvre. St. Jerome. *Jacquemart André Collection.* The Holy Family with the Infant St. John (*tondo*).

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. Profile of Niccolò Vitelli.

*1 *Cf. antea*, p. 95, n. 2; and p. 112.

*2 Ordered in 1482 (*cf. antea*, p. 89, n. 2).

*3 *Cf. antea*, p. 113, n. 4.

4 VASARI, iii. 694.

the influence of Signorelli. His real name is Tommaso Barnabei. The earliest frescoes with which he is connected are those of Giulio Romano at Rome, after the death of Raphael, and before the Mantuan period.[1] In these it is natural that the assistant's hand should not be discerned. We next see Papacello, about 1523–24, helping Giambattista Caporali at the villa of Cardinal Passerini near Cortona,[2] but in a subordinate capacity, and leaving no trace of his own style. In 1524 we first find a genuine production from his hand—a Conception, in S. Maria del Calcinaio, near Cortona—in which there is a reminiscence of Signorelli, combined with raw chalky tones and leaden shadows.[3] Two other pictures of the same class—an Adoration of the Magi, and Annunciation, dated 1527—are in the same church, and suffice to characterize the low rate of Papacello's talent.[4] He finally settled at Perugia. Mariotti notices frescoes commissioned of him at Cesi, in the diocese of Spoleto, by the brethren of the Church of S. Maria.[5] Vasari alludes to others in the fortress of Perugia;[6] and we learn from the will of Giambattista Caporali, dated July 27, 1553, that Maso was witness to that instrument.[7] In the same year, a Trinity with Saints by him was placed on an altar in S. Francesco of Perugia (now missing),[8] and in 1559 he died.

Papacello's was a kindred spirit, as regards manner and execution, to that of Francesco Signorelli, a nephew of Luca,[10] who may have helped him to some extent in the Chiesa del Gesù at Cortona. His nearest approach to the manner of his uncle is in a somewhat damaged round of the Virgin, Child, and saints in the Palazzo del Comune at Cortona, and in an Incredulity of St. Thomas (injured and feeble) in the

[1] VASARI, v. 533.

[2] VASARI, iii. 693 *sq.*

[3] At the sides of the principal group are four prophets, and two sitting saints in the foreground, on the edge of which are busts of the patrons in profile; above, an Eternal and two angels. A predella represents the sacrifice of the Mass. Inscribed: "Intacta XPI mfis Vanutius heros. Baptista hoc supplex pigere jussit opus. MDXXIIII."

[4] These pictures are all assigned to Papacello, on the authority of records discovered by Pinucci (*ap. annot.* to VASARI, iii. 694).

[5] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt., u.s.*, p. 239, note.

[6] VASARI, vi. 227, destroyed in 1848.

[7] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt., u.s.*, p. 238.

[8] *Ib., ib.*

[9] At Perugia. See copy of the register in VASARI, iii., note to p. 694. [* For further notices of him, see MANCINI, *u.s.*, pp. 189. n. 1, and 223.]

[10] *Ib.* See for Francesco, MANNI'S *Signorelli*, and excerpts in note to VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 148. [* According to MANCINI (*u.s.*, p. 223), Francesco Signorelli died in 1559, "*senectute confectus.*"]

choir of the Duomo. In the Monastery Church of the Trinità at Cortona, a picture is preserved of which it is doubtful whether it be by Francesco or by Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. The subject is St. Michael weighing the souls, and St. Benedict at the side of a tomb, behind which the Virgin sits enthroned, in prayer, and surrounded by angels. The long lean figures are coloured with cold tones shadowed in bluish-green. A Conception in the choir of S. Francesco at Gubbio, in the style of the foregoing, bears the signature: "Franciscus de Signorellis de Cortona pingebat." The drawing is defective, the draperies are festooned, the colour is dull and black in shadow, and the arrangement of the personages betrays an absence of perspective science.[1] We may give to Francesco a church standard in the sacristy of the brotherhood of S. Giovanni decollato at Città di Castello, under the name of Pinturicchio, painted on both sides, and representing on one, St. John the Baptist, and episodes of his life in a distance; on the other, the Baptism of Christ.[2] In the same character as the above, a Tiberius Gracchus, on a pedestal, killing a snake with a lance, and incidental episodes in a landscape: No. 49, Gallery of Prince Esterhazy at Vienna; assigned to Pinturicchio.[3]

A Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch, in S. Maria del Calcinaio near Cortona, is said by local authorities to have been by Antonio, a son of Luca Signorelli, but it is now not forthcoming.[4]

Another workman of the school is one whose coarse Madonna and saints in the sacristy of S. Girolamo al Seminario in Città di Castello is signed: "Hoc opus fecit Johēs Bfa 1492." A predella contains St. Jerome drawing the thorn from the lion's paw, St. Jerome in prayer, the Adoration of the Shepherds.[5]

Turpino Zaccagna, the last of these subordinates,[6] is the author of a Burial and Ascension of the Virgin in the choir of the Duomo at Cortona,

* [1] This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Gubbio.

[2] Vermiglioli, p. 79, gives this to Pinturicchio. [* Now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello.]

* [3] This picture is now in the Budapest Gallery (No. 67). It forms part of a series of paintings by the same artist representing heroes and heroines of the antiquity; other parts of this series are an Alexander the Great, in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond, and a Claudia in that of M. Gustave Dreyfus, of Paris. The three paintings of the story of Griselda in the National Gallery (Nos. 912–914) are by the same artist as the three above-mentioned works. In addition to the influence of Signorelli, that of Pinturicchio is noticeable in these pictures.

[4] Pinucci, *u.s.*

[5] See *postea*, Gio. Bat. Caporali.

[6] Vasari, iii. 695, in comment. [* Died in 1542. Mancini, *u.s.*, p. 243.]

which, like one by Francesco Signorelli, is dark in outlines and shadow, and unprepossessing in every sense.[1]

The list of inferior school pieces may be closed as follows:

Cortona. S. Francesco, choir. Nativity, roughly done in Signorelli's shop by a pupil entrusted with the master's design. Split in half, and the four shepherds repainted. The predella, which probably once belonged to another picture, represents scenes from the life of St. Benedict. The handling is the same as that of the Nativity.

Cortona. S. Francesco, choir. Virgin and child between SS. Anthony, Michael, Bernardino, and Bonaventura—longitudinally split in three places; also from Signorelli's shop, and better than the immediately foregoing.

Cortona. Spedale. A Circumcision in the apartments of the Rettore (nineteen figures), with some of the heads retouched, seems to have been by an assistant in Signorelli's atelier. A predella, with scenes from the legend of St. Anthony of Padua, in the same place, is better.[2]

Perugia Gallery, Sala VII., No. 22. Formerly in the convent of S. Antonio at Pacciano, province of Orvieto. The most striking example of school-work is an altarpiece in the choir of the church at this place, representing the Virgin enthroned with the Child, between SS. Michael, Lawrence, Anthony the Abbot, and Sebastian, erect; and SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua kneeling. Eight angels surround the Virgin. On the pilasters are the words: "Lucas de Signorellis de Cortona pingebat." The predella, which is now alone on the altar, comprises amongst others figures of SS. Bernardino and Anthony. Were it not for the signature, the name of Signorelli would be out of the question. The types and forms, as well as the handling, coarse and feeble, and of the same kind as in the Papacello's of S. Maria del Calcinaio near Cortona.

Milan. Brera, No. 506. Predella, representing scenes from the life of S. Cristina. (The same as those in the lost predella of the Madonna and saints, belonging to Signor Mancini at Città di Castello.) We note the spirit of Signorelli without his power.

Ireland. Marquis of Lothian. Panel, arched at top, representing the life-size SS. Peter and Stephen—mannered drawing, defective forms,

[1] *Cf. antea*, p. 111, n. 2.

[2] This altarpiece was ordered from Signorelli on April 27, 1521. (MANCINI, *u.s.*, p. 221). The pictures of the predella represent St. Francis, a miracle of St. Anthony of Padua, the scene known as "The Blood of the Redeemer," the miracle at Bolsena, and St. Anthony of Padua.

and heavy extremities. This is a rude tempera of Signorelli's school. It is well preserved.

Oxford. University Gallery. The following, presented by the Hon. W. Fox Strangways, are assigned to Luca Signorelli. Salutation, a small panel, by some Umbrian follower of Gentile da Fabriano. St. Paul, by the Ferrarese Marco Zoppo, a half-length. Holy Family round, feeble production of a painter later than Lorenzo di Credi, the colour and handling reminiscent of that of Pier di Cosimo.[1]

A few remarks, in conclusion, may be necessary to characterize two Nativities which claim, on account of their inscriptions, to be works of Luca Signorelli.

Genoa. Al Terragio. Belonging to Dottore Ettore Costa.[2] The Virgin adores the Child. She is accompanied by Joseph, and attended by four angels. In the distance, the shepherds receive the message from heaven. On a cartellino, fast to a pilaster, are the words " Luce Opus." Originally in oil on wood, and not free from restoring.

Milan. Professor Molteni.[3] This also is a Nativity, with the Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and an angel, on wood in oil, and inscribed: " 1501 Luce opus."

Signorelli generally signs " Luca Cortonensis " or " Coritius." The name is given without indication of country on the two panels under examination. They are Umbrian, with a stamp of art related to that of Signorelli's disciples, distantly reminiscent of Signorelli himself in the character of the Infant Christ, in the architecture and landscape. But the technical handling and colour are different from those of the master; his power and style are alike wanting. They date from the year 1501, at which period Signorelli was in his greatest vigour. They seem the creation of a third or fourth rate craftsman, who unfortunately bears the name of Luca, and is an Umbrian in manner, but who lacks even the share of grandeur which may be discerned in the least favoured of the assistants in Signorelli's atelier.

*[1] These pictures are now no longer officially ascribed to Signorelli.
*[2] Present whereabouts unknown.
*[3] Present whereabouts unknown.

CHAPTER V

DON BARTOLOMMEO, PECORI, SOGGI

VASARI, in his Lives, devotes a special chapter to Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, Abbot of San Clemente, miniaturist and painter, of whom he affirms that he was a monk in the Camaldole Monastery of the Angeli at Florence who first became a professional miniaturist. He adds that there was evidence in his time of Don Bartolommeo's proficiency in this art in certain illuminations of religious books belonging to the monks of Santa Fiora e Lucilla in the Abbey of Arezzo and the Cathedral of Lucca,[1] as well as in a missal with a fine Passion of Christ on the first leaf, once in possession of Pope Sixtus.[2] Having been promoted to the rank of Abbot in San Clemente of Arezzo, Don Bartolommeo is said to have gradually extended his practice from miniatures to large figures, and thus to have produced, after the plague of 1468, for the Rectors of the Brotherhood of Arezzo, a S. Roch recommending the Rectors to the Virgin Mary, in which the square of the city and penitents returning from a funeral were represented, and for the Church of San Piero and the Pieve St. Roch in two different compositions. To these pictures he successively added an Archangel Raphael and a Beatified Jacopo Filippo of Faenza for the Church of San Piero.[3] From Arezzo Don Bartolommeo removed to Rome, where he painted a "Story" in the Sixtine Chapel "in company with Luca Signorelli and Pietro Perugino," returning subsequently to Arezzo to complete the following large series of works:

1. St. Jerome Penitent, fresco in the Gozzari Chapel of the Episcopal Palace of Arezzo.
2. A Coronation of the Virgin, fresco in Sant' Agostino of Arezzo.

[1] VASARI, iii. 213. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*, p. 216.

3. An Assumption of the Virgin (altarpiece), likewise in Sant' Agostino.

4. The Virgin and Child between St. Dominic and San Giovanni Gualberto in the Church of San Donato, within the fortress of Arezzo.

5. Frescoes illustrating the life of St. Benedict in a chapel of the Abbey of Santa Fiora.

6. A dead Christ, commissioned by Gentile Urbinate, Bishop of Arezzo, in a chapel of the Episcopal Palace of Arezzo.

7. A portrait of Gentile Urbinate accompanied by his Vicar, and attended by his Notary, Ser Matteo Francini, reading a Bull in presence of Don Bartolommeo himself and some Canons of the city—all in a loggia of the same Episcopal Palace.

8. A picture of the same Bishop preparing a chapel for his own burial, in another loggia of the palace, which, however, remained imperfect.[1]

9. Paintings in a large chapel of Arezzo Cathedral.

10. Three figures in the Carmine of Arezzo.

11. The chapel of the nuns of Sant' Orsina of Arezzo.

12. A Virgin and Child with St. Michael the Archangel and St. Julian, altarpiece in tempera in the Chapel of San Giuliano of the Pieve of Castiglione Aretino.

13. A St. Michael on one of the organ-doors of the same church.

14. A chapel of the nuns of the Murate in Arezzo.

15. A tabernacle opposite the palace of Cardinal di Monte at Monte San Savino.

16. A chapel in the Episcopal Palace of Borgo San Sepolcro.

17. The choir of the Abbey of San Clemente, with St. Roch and St. Bartholomew in its central niche.

We shall presently see that several of the pictures noticed by Vasari are still in existence, whilst the miniatures are not to be traced; the only works of that kind attributable to an illuminator of the name of Bartolommeo being certain leaves of a choral now in the Convent of San Marco at Florence, containing subjects taken from the legend of St. Giles (Egidio), one of which bears the name of the draughtsman, "Pictor Bartolomeus ornat . . . anno

*[1] The authors have misunderstood Vasari on this point. He states that Don Bartolommeo designed a loggia for the episcopal palace, and that the Bishop had planned to have his tomb in the middle of this loggia, which, however, remained unfinished.

Domini . . . Millesimo Quadringentesimo XXI.," a date apparently too early to warrant the attribution of it to an artist whose later works were executed much later in the century.[1]

It seems indeed impossible to assign to the same hand miniatures of 1421 and pictures such as the St. Roch at Arezzo, which we shall see bears the date of 1479, the Beatified Philip of Faenza, inscribed with the three first ciphers of 1480, the frescoes at the Sixtine, which, if executed by Don Bartolommeo, would have been painted in 1483,[2] and the altarpiece of San Giuliano at Castiglione Aretino, which was finished in 1486.

But these are not the only incongruities which may be detected in Vasari's Life of Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. The facts which the great biographer transmitted to us have been sifted with great industry by competent examiners of old records, and the result is stated to be this:

The registers of the monks of the convent of the Angeli contain one entry of a member bearing the name of Bartolommeo, and he left the monastery in 1439, and was subsequently Abbot of Montenuovo in the Diocese of Fiesole. Other monks of that name are registered at a period when, according to Vasari's account, Don Bartolommeo must long have been affiliated to the Order.[3] The annals of the Abbey of San Clemente of Arezzo, on the other hand, show that the only abbot of that community known to have existed at the period mentioned by Vasari did not bear the name of Don Bartolommeo.[4] There is no evidence beyond the assertion of Vasari that a monk of the name of Don Bartolommeo ever laboured in the Sixtine Chapel,[5] and although negative evidence of this kind can scarcely be considered conclusive, the fact taken in connection with others above mentioned have led modern critics of historical records to doubt the existence of Don Bartolommeo altogether.[6]

Vasari, we may repeat again and again, is often at fault in

[1] See VASARI, *u.s.*, iii., note to p. 214, where these miniatures are assigned to Bartolommeo di Frosino.

[2] See RAPHAEL VOLATERRANO in MURATORI and SCHMARSOW's *Pinturicchio* for this important date. [* Compare also *antea*, p. 89, n. 2.]

[3] VASARI, iii. 228.

[4] *Ib.*, *ib.*

[5] *Ib.*, *ib.*

[6] *Ib.*, *ib.*, p. 230.

respect of names and dates. His pictorial instinct never leads him astray. And this much appears to be absolutely correct in his views respecting paintings at Arezzo, that the author of them was at some period of his life under the influence of Signorelli, though in his earliest style he proves not to have been an immediate follower of the master of Cortona, but displays from the very first a certain originality peculiarly his own.[1]

Of the three panels representing the Invocation of the Plague Saint, St. Roch, commissioned for religious houses at Arezzo, which still exist as Vasari describes them, one, originally in the Brotherhood of Mercy and now in the Town Hall, bears the date of 1479. It presents to our view the square of the city, on which the tile-coloured house of the Brotherhood of Mercy is erected. Three grave-diggers at the foot of the doorsteps stand on the parti-coloured marbles of the pavement. They have just returned from burying some plague-stricken corpses. St. Roch is on the foreground, a thin slender figure in a gentle attitude, looking up bareheaded to heaven and his hands joined in prayer. A long staff rests on the inner bend of his arm and supports his hat. He wears yellow buskins, a blue tunic, and grey mantle lined with green. The Virgin appears above the house between two angels in white vestments, and resting on a cloud supported by cherubs' heads. There is very little relief in the flat red tone, which pervades the dry surface of colour on the panel. A certain gentleness

*[1] The mystery surrounding Bartolommeo della Gatta has now been dispelled. The name of the painter whom Vasari in the second edition of the *Lives* calls Don Bartolommeo della Gatta was really Piero d'Antonio Dei; and in the first edition of the *Lives* (i. 468 *sqq.*) Vasari speaks of him as Don Piero della Gatta. "Della Gatta" must have been some nickname of his; and the name "Bartolommeo" came, perhaps, to be given to him through Vasari's confusing him with a citizen of Arezzo called Bartolommeo del Gatto, who died in 1520. He was born in 1447 or 1448 at Florence, and belonged to a family of goldsmiths. On December 14, 1453, his father caused him to be matriculated in the Goldsmiths' Guild at Florence. In 1457 he was still living in the paternal home, while his brother Giovanni in that year joined the monastery of the Angeli at Florence. Vasari probably confuses the two brothers; in any case, Piero's name does not appear on the registers of the monastery of the Angeli. In 1470 we find Piero at Arezzo, as monk in the convent of Santa Maria in Gradi. By 1487 he is known to have been Prior of the Convent of San Clemente of Arezzo. His death occurred in 1502 or 1503. See Vasari, *Vita di Don Bartolomeo Abbate di S. Clemente* (ed. by A. Del Vita, Florence, 1912).

marks the aspect of the Virgin and Saint, an eel-like quickness of motion the angels, which are reminiscent of the Lippi. The figures are slender, the drawing a little mannered, but the execution is very careful, and proves that Don Bartolommeo was not as yet far advanced in his pictorial career.[1]

The second of these pieces represents the Saint in a kneeling posture, looking up, and the Eternal floating on the heavens, supported by angels who throw plague-darts. It is apparently that which Vasari describes in S. Piero of Arezzo, being adorned in the distance with a view of that city. It conveys no other impression of Don Bartolommeo's talent than the previous one, and seems to date from the same period.[2]

A third production of this time, and quite in the abbot's manner may be found in a damaged lunette-fresco of the Vision of St. Bernard above the outer portal of S. Bernardo of Arezzo.[3]

[1] This picture is noticed by VASARI, iii. 215 *sq.* It is on wood, and the principal figure has the size of life. At the feet of St. Roch one reads: "Tempore . spectabilium . virorum . rectorum . Guidi Antonii de Camajanis . Ser Baptiste Catenaci de Catenaciis . Tomasi Rinaldi de Cozaris . Ser Pauli Nicolai de Gallis . Johannis Vincentii de Judicibus . Ser Baptiste Johannis Colis . Ser Fini Bernardini de Azzis Zacharie . Ser Johannis Baptiste de Lambertis . MCCCLLXXVIIII." [* The picture is now in the public Museum at Arezzo, (Sala II.). Don Piero d'Antonio Dei received payment for it on February 28, 1479. DEL VITA, in VASARI, *u.s.* p. 9.]

[2] This is also in the Town Hall of Arezzo [*now in the Museum of Arezzo (Sala II.)]. The saint is of life-size, and wears a light blue tunic, purple mantle, and yellow socks. His form is bony and raw. The commentators of Vasari do not believe this to have been the original in S. Piero of Arezzo, which they cite as having been transported to Campriano, near Arezzo. They add that the figure of St. Roch has been repainted and turned into a St. Martin. If this be true, we must believe that the third St. Roch seen by Vasari in the Pieve of Arezzo at the altar of the Lippi is that described in the text. We must consequently assume that the panels of S. Piero and of the Pieve were replicas. [* The picture formerly in San Piero at Arezzo has not been transported to Campriano. The identification proposed by the authors is in all probability correct (DEL VITA, *u.s.*, p. 47 *sqq.*)].

[3] The Virgin appears (to the left) surrounded by angels. A stream parts her from the kneeling St. Bernard (right), who interrupts his labours at a desk to wonder at the vision. Two friars kneel in the centre, and fill the middle ground, a meadow stretching to the front of the picture. The distance is a rocky landscape, lighted from a pure sky. Two medallions above the lunette contain the Virgin and the Angel annunciate. Parts of the fresco are gone, and others are daily disappearing. There is no lack of feeling in the group of the Virgin and angels, which in character is like that in the Invocation of St. Roch. A certain grace may be conceded to the slender figures.

Photo, Anderson

ST. ROCH

By Don Bartolommeo della Gatta

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Arezzo

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These are all examples of a time when Don Bartolommeo, or the person known under that name, was free from contact with Signorelli, and delineated form of a delicate, slender, and not ungraceful appearance, without much relief by light and shade. They show a painter of a gentle turn, full of application and of patience, clever in details and in landscape, but without great powers, and essentially devoid of feeling as a colourist. A man of this sort evidently fitted to act under masters of superior attainments, might and possibly did afford assistance to Signorelli and Perugino by his fitness for working out, with their orders, the minutiæ of landscape and of ornament. Whether or not he helped them in the Sixtine Chapel, the absence of pictures at Arezzo between 1479 and 1486 might indicate a period of absence at Rome. He may, as Vasari says, "have served at the Sixtine in company with Signorelli and Perugino[1] . . . and left marks of his industry in the rooms of the Vatican."[2] Nothing that suggests his participation is to be found in the Camere, but he may have had a share in Signorelli's and Perugino's frescoes. In the former one might attribute to him a group of females and children in various postures in front of the sitting Moses, which are too angular in drawing, unrefined in action, and coarse in features for Signorelli, and some of the landscape, gilding, and embroideries. In such minor parts as these we might also consider him to have aided Perugino.[3]

The picture of 1486 in the Pieve di S. Giuliano at Castiglione Fiorentino, which Vasari assigns to Don Bartolommeo, is separated by an interval of six or seven years from those previously noticed. It reveals the influence of Signorelli, and a study of the works of the Florentines and Umbrians who are known to have been in the service of Sixtus IV. in 1483 at Rome.

The life-sized Virgin, enthroned, is guarded by angels and seraphs. The Infant Christ lies in her joined hands. At her sides St. Peter and St. Julian, St. Paul and St. Michael, attend. A most careful handling distinguishes the whole piece; and the ornaments are so finished that they court the closest examination; the raw and reddish lights, the dark grey shadows, are both hatched in one direction as in engravings, and are parted by a sharp line of

[1] Vasari, iii. 216 and 578 *sq.*

[2] Vasari, iv. 330.

[3] See also *antea*, p. 90, n. 2.

demarcation. A tenuous contour defines the parts with great precision, producing bony and angular forms. The coarse and, in some instances, affected personages are clothed in draperies of hard and broken folds. The Virgin's head is an overcharged imitation of those common to Signorelli, Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi. The limbs and extremities display a study and rendering of anatomy that betray the influence of Luca. Two children at the foot of the throne holding flowers rival in vulgarity those in the history of Moses at the Sixtine.

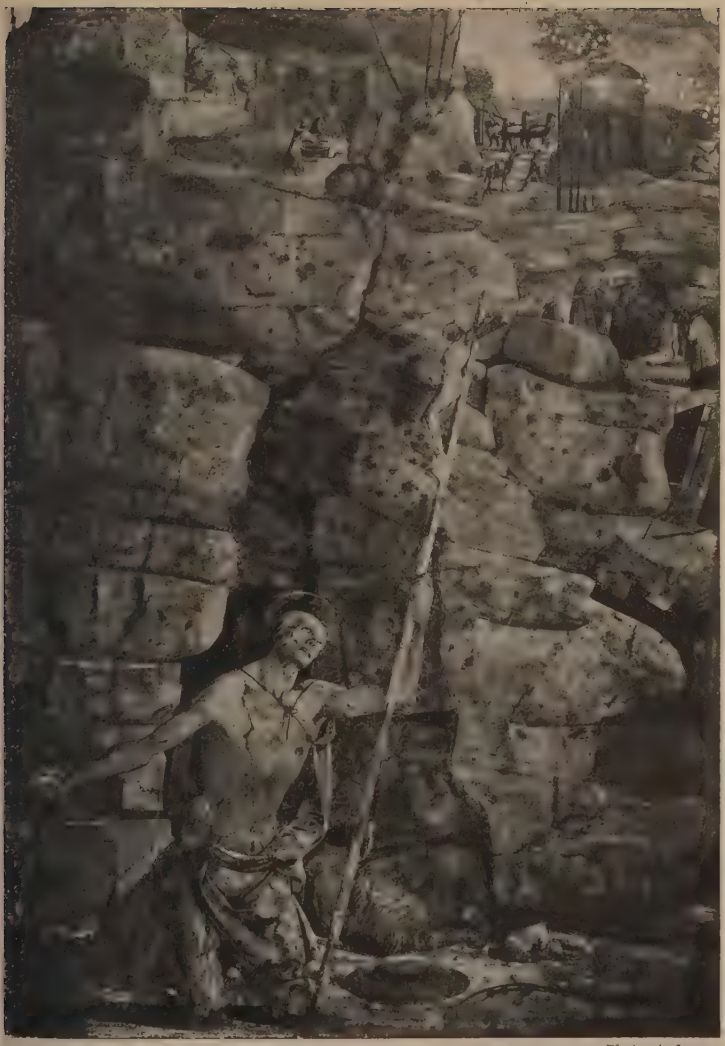
In the predella, four scenes from the life of St. Julian are fairly composed of slender and animated figures, the small size of which no doubt conceals some usual deficiencies.[1]

Looking at this production as a whole, one sees that the original source from which its peculiarities are derived is that of Piero della Francesca; but it is evident also that the painter has sunk irrevocably into the common, and acquired some of the vehemence of Signorelli.

Other panels in the Pieve of S. Giuliano at Castel Fiorentino illustrate this form of Aretine art. In the sacristy a female of noble family is represented with an infant in arms, kneeling before an erect archangel Michael, who tramples on the dragon. Grotesque and affected as the saint appears, his shape and air still remind one of Signorelli, whilst the head of the lady is Peruginesque in form.[2] But the handling of this and of two other pictures

[1] This altarpiece contains life-size figures, and is painted on wood in oil, but on the tempera system of hatching. A vertical split divides it through the centre, and the surface is bleached and dirty. The background is gold. The St. Julian kneels on the flowered foreground to the left, and the archangel stands on the dragon, driving a lance into his jaws with affected air on the right. One reads on a border: "Cristian ^{di} Piero di cecho ma^{ri} scalcho da castigl^{ion}e retino M...CLXXXVI." The predella is in the sacristy of the chapter-house. VASARI praises the whole piece very highly (iii. 218). [* One of the compartments of the predella was stolen some time ago (DEL VITA, *u.s.*, p. 51).]

[2] A scutcheon at the feet of the female bears the arms of the Visconti, and the annotators of Vasari (last edition) state that the lady is Teodora Visconti. A scroll on the picture contains the words: "Laurentia fecit fieri." St. Michael, in armour, wears a white jacket over his breastplate. He gives a benediction with his left hand. The colour is lighter than in previous examples, and the execution is feebler. VASARI mentions the panel (iii. 218). [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery of Castel Fiorentino. It was ordered by Lorenza di Guiduccio, wife of Paolino Visconti (DEL VITA, *u.s.*, p. 51).]



Photo, Anderson

ST. JEROME PENITENT

By Don Bartolommeo della Gatta

From a fresco in the Duomo, Arezzo

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in the same edifice already points to the artist's declining powers.[1]

In other pictures of the same class we observe the exaggerated imitation of the energetic style of Signorelli, as, for instance, in a St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, which stands on an altar in the right transept of S. Francesco of Castiglione Fiorentino, and in a wasted St. Jerome Penitent, a fresco now in the chapter-house of the episcopal palace at Arezzo. In both a rugged landscape is the scene of the action, reproducing from Nature, one should think, a nook in the rocky and wooded wilderness, which still exists in the neighbourhood of the monasteries of Vallombrosa and La Vernia. The figures, however, only reveal the intention of violent and rapid motion. They are hard, and wooden, low and grey in flesh tone, and shaded abruptly with olive brown.[2]

But it is useless to pretend to give a perfect history of this form of art, which ends in 1491 at Arezzo.[3] One picture, in addition to those already mentioned, may be assigned to the same hand. It is an Assumption on the high-altar of S. Domenico at Cortona, very much injured by retouching, and perhaps finished by two

[1] (1) In sacristy a Virgin of Mercy; (2) in the church, on the second altar to the right as you enter, a Virgin and Child and angels, and in front SS. Stephen and Bartholomew. The first of these is much damaged; the second is all repainted, but is still reminiscent of Don Bartolommeo, and shows a mixture of Peruginesque elements, with the more usual ones of his later style.

[2] St. Francis (life-size, on wood, in oil) is seen striding and looking up to the vision of Christ crucified, whose loins only are shown. On the right foreground a friar looks up. An owl perches on a tree at St. Francis's side. The form of the Saviour is moulded on the types of Signorelli. The drawing is broken, as in the altarpiece of 1486. The drapery is wooden. The lights are hatched in one direction. Time has bleached the surface of the picture, and particularly the head of St. Francis. [* This picture was ordered from Don Piero d'Antonio Dei on October 2, 1486, and the final payment for it was made on September 22. 1487. See the records printed in the Italian edition of this work, viii. 537, n. 2.]

In the fresco, which has been injured by time and repainting, and perhaps by its transfer from the Gozzari Chapel, in which it originally stood, to the chapter-house, several small episodes are given in the distance. The saint is long, lean, and bony, and praised beyond measure by VASARI (iii. 216). The colour is dulled to a chocolate tinge.

[3] Vasari gives the date of Della Gatta's death 1461. The printer seems to have turned the third cipher upside down (see VASARI, iii. 224). [* *Cf. antea*, p. 125, n. 1.]

hands.[1] The greater number of the frescoes noticed by Vasari have perished or disappeared, and although some things may be found, and have, indeed, been described in these pages, recalling Signorelli, yet in the manner of the abbot, their value is hardly more than nominal.[2]

It would be unjust, however, to keep silence respecting the painters of Arezzo, who embodied the traditions of Aretine art at the close of the fifteenth century, not because they reflect any lustre on it, or tend to raise it in the estimation of posterity, but because they afford mementoes of a school which has furnished pages to the history of Vasari.

Domenico Pecori di Piero di Vanni was doubtless seldom heard of outside Arezzo. His pictures, as still shown there, are a fourth-rate mixture of a manner taken from Signorelli and Perugino.[3] Looking at his Adoration of the Virgin in the sacristy of the Pieve,

[1] The Apostles about the tomb look up to heaven, towards which the Virgin is taken in a double glory of cherubs and of angels playing instruments. Four of the latter, with viols and harps, kneel at her sides in graceful action. In the lower foreground a Dominican nun and a Dominican friar are on their knees in prayer. The upper part of the picture is better than the lower. It is arranged and handled in the spirit of Della Gatta's early pieces in the Town Hall and at S. Bernardo of Arezzo, and reminiscent of them in the types, the drawing, and the drapery. It is, however, a later work, with something of Piero della Francesca and Signorelli's manner, and in so far recalls the Virgin and Child of Castiglione Aretino. The lower part exhibits the hardness and rigidity of vehement action of the later St. Francis and St. Jerome. No painter is better entitled to the authorship than Della Gatta and his assistants, yet we must remember that much injury has been done by repainting. A large piece in the upper curve of the glory is new.

[2] The following have already been noticed (see Signorelli and Francesco Signorelli): Cortona, S. Trinita, Virgin, SS. Michael and Benedict. [* The picture of the beatified Jacopo Filippo of Faenza mentioned by VASARI (see *antea*, p. 122) still exists in the Church of San Piero at Arezzo. It has suffered very much, and the head of the figure is no longer to be seen. An inscription on this picture reads as follows: "Beatus Jacobus Philippus de Faentia . . . Messer Belichino ha fatto fare 148 . . ." (see DEL VITA, *u.s*, p. 48). A full-length of St. Julian, belonging to the late Mr. Charles Brinsley Marlay (reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Umbrian Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1909-10, Plate XXIII.), should also be added to the number of extant works by "Don Bartolommeo."]

[3] Pecori is not otherwise mentioned by Vasari than as a pupil of Della Gatta. The addition to his name is in records noted in VASARI, iii., p. 221. [* He died at Arezzo, probably of the plague, on May 28, 1527. See DEL VITA, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vol. xi., n. 2, p. iii.]

and considering the pretty way in which the Infant Christ is held on the Virgin's lap, as she looks down from a glory of cherubs to four saints in a portico, one fancies that he studied under the master who executed the earlier works assigned by Vasari to Della Gatta.[1] A Virgin of Mercy in S. Maria della Pieve is remarkable for confused composition and the monotony of its pallid colour. Dry and defective drawing and want of relief repel the spectator, who sees the younger Spinelli's faults carried on to the sixteenth century.[2] It is no wonder that the designs of such a man, when transferred to the glass windows of the chapel in the Episcopal Palace, should be abused, and that Stagio, Pecori's partner, should afterwards have preferred the talents of William of Marseilles.[3] Nor is it matter for surprise that Pecori should seek assistance from a draughtsman of more experience than himself in the Circumcision of S. Agostino. The mere fact that an artist engaged on a subject involving architectural detail should employ another to line out the perspective of an interior, is indeed no proof of his want of ability; but this ambitious work of Pecori contains a large assemblage of people placed at random on a sloping plane in advance of an altar, on which the Infant lies, and behind which Simeon stands. No attempt is made to compensate the defects of linear perspective by atmosphere. Chiaroscuro is all but absent. The paltry personages that should animate the scene are drawn with wiry outlines, betraying insufficient study of the nude; and their affected airs remind one of the Peruginesque

[1] Originally in S. Antonio, and mentioned by Vasari (iii. 222), a dark picture, perhaps dimmed by restoring. The saints on the marble floor of the portico are SS. Satiro, Lorentino, Pergentino, and Donato. The Virgin's hands are joined in prayer. In the Duomo of Arezzo St. Mary Magdalen between two saints of the Dominican Order is by Pecori.

[2] The Eternal, between two angels, launches His arrows, which are supposed to be intercepted by the Virgin's mantle. Under its folds, as they are looped back by two angels, kneel the males to the right under the guard of a canonized Bishop, with a dragon at his feet, the females to the left under that of St. Mark. The panel is painted in oil; the composition, a reproduction of Parri Spinelli's. Vasari says Pecori was helped by a Spaniard in the completion of the work (see Vasari, iii. 222). [* This picture is now in the public museum of Arezzo (Sala III.). The "Spaniard"—who, according to Vasari, also assisted Pecori in the Circumcision painted for S. Agostino at Arezzo (*cf. postea*)—is in all probability Lo Spagna. *Cf.* A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, vol. vii., part ii., p. 445.]

[3] Vasari, iii. 223, and iv. 422 *sq.* These windows were put in about 1513.

style in the inferior productions of Tiberio d'Assisi. The flesh is of a grey-brown colour, with high surface shadows; and tasteless ornament covers the arches and panelled ceiling of the temple in which the ceremony is performed.[1]

The person who is said to have done the perspective for Pecori is Niccolò Soggi, his friend and contemporary,[2] the same who afterwards painted for him a Virgin of Mercy attached to a baldaquin belonging to the brotherhood of Arezzo. This baldaquin was burnt in S. Francesco during a sacred play in which Paradise was represented. The lights set fire to the hangings, and a friar who sat as the Eternal was burnt to death, together with sixty-six of the congregation.[3]

One is led naturally to inquire whether Soggi, who afforded such frequent assistance to Pecori, was not the person to whom the latter owed the Peruginesque in his manner; for Vasari states that Soggi was Perugino's pupil at Florence.[4] Without entering at any length into this question, it is sufficient to remark that Soggi has a local Aretine stamp and something of the Umbrian of Perugino, but that his talent does not justify Vasari in saying that "after Raphael no one was more studious or diligent than he."[5] Soggi is indeed but little superior to Pecori, and only preserves a humble cento of Signorelli and Perugino. His life is only interesting in conjunction with Pecori's, because it contains authentic dates and certified facts, and we thus become acquainted with the time when both laboured. He was born at Arezzo in 1480,[6] but was taken at an early age to Florence, where he studied

[1] This picture is noticed by VASARI (iii. 222, and vi. 19 *sq.*). It was commissioned for the Compagnia della Trinità at Arezzo on May 15, 1506, for eighty ducats, was to have been executed in four months, but was not delivered for three years (VASARI, iii., p. 222).

[2] VASARI, vi. 19.

[3] This event reminds us of one that lately [* *i.e.*, shortly before 1866] took place in South America. It occurred on September 29, 1556 (see annot. VASARI, iii. 223).

[4] VASARI, vi. 17.

[5] *Ib.*

[6] This date is derived from the income return of 1480–81 made by Donato di Jacopo Soggi at Florence. Niccolò is registered in it as one year old. (See *Tavola alfabetica delle vite degli artefici descritte da Giorgio Vasari*, published separately, 8°, Florence (Le Monnier), 1864).

Photo, Alinari

THE CIRCUMCISION

By Domenico Pecori, aided by Niccolò Soggi and Lo Spagna

From a picture in S. Agostino, Arezzo

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the Medici Garden.[1] After giving some proofs of his skill there e was sent by his father (*circa* 1512) to Rome under the patronage f the Cardinal di Monte, for whom he furnished arms and pictures ith varying success.[2] He was for a long time secure of the relate's interest, and accompanied him to Arezzo, settling there nd doing much for the churches and companies of the town.[3] he same interest no doubt insured him commissions (1522) from aldo Magini, a chamberlain of Pope Julius II., who had under- aken works of some importance in the Church of the Madonna elle Carcere at Prato. There he had the audacity to measure imself against Andrea del Sarto, offering to wager any sum he ould beat him at any picture. Andrea contemptuously retorted e would back his help Puligo to do better.[4] The favour of Baldo Iagini was, however, proof against these taunts, and Soggi emained at Prato until he had finished an altarpiece[5] and a ortrait of his patron. On his return to Florence he encountered lively opposition from the friends of Andrea del Sarto.[6] The uality which had recommended him to Pecori at Arezzo made him seful for a time in the capital, and he traced the perspective of an nnunciation for Giovanni Francesco Rustici;[7] but he could not ng withstand the rivalry of numerous and better masters than imself, and after 1527 he lived chiefly at Arezzo, where he painted escoes in the Compagnia della Nunziata,[8] in the convent of the

[1] VASARI, iv. 258. [* That Soggi was the pupil of Perugino cannot, however, e doubted. He was matriculated in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali at Florence n January 9, 1507, as "Nicolaus Jacobi Johannis Soggi pictor cum Petro Peru- no" (VASARI, vi. 17, n. 2).]

[2] The arms of Leo X. were placed by him on the front of the Cardinal's palace, and e finished a St. Praxedis, martyr, and a Holy Family, which have since been lost ASARI, vi. 18 *sq.*). [3] VASARI, vi. 19. [4] VASARI, vi. 23 and com. 32 *sqq.*, and v. 44.

[5] The altarpiece was ordered in August, 1522, and the contract for it is in uasti's com. (VASARI, vi. 33 *sqq.*). It adorned a tabernacle by Antonio da S. allo, in the Madonna delle Carcere, but has since disappeared.

[6] VASARI, vi. 23. [7] VASARI, vi. 602 *sq.*

[8] The frescoes of the Nunziata at Arezzo are under whitewash. The date of eir execution is about 1527–30, as Vasari says they were in hand when Lappoli nd Rosso came to Arezzo from Rome, and when the latter precipitately left rezzo in 1530. (See VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, ix. 75, x. 204 and 215.) [* The escoes in question were ordered from Soggi on May 24, 1527 (VASARI, ed. Sansoni, . 24, n. 1), but as his work did not please the Compagnia, he never painted ore than a fresco of Augustus and the Sybil which has recently been freed from hitewash. See DEL VITA, in *Bollettino d' arte*, vii. 320 *sqq.*]

Murate[1] in S. Benedetto,[2] besides canvases and panels for othe places; and the comedy of the Intronati, performed at Arezzo i 1534 before Alexander de' Medici, was given with his decorations His fortunes seriously declined as he grew older,and he travelle to Milan about 1546, anticipating sustenance or employmen from his own pupil Giuntalodi. His hopes were necessarily frus trated, because Giuntalodi, who would never have made a fortun out of the art communicated to him by Soggi, was then establishe as an architect, and refused to do more than assist his old maste with a small sum of money.[4] Soggi therefore resumed his wande ings, went to Rome again at the elevation of Julius III. in 155 received commissions from the Pope, and returned the followin year to Arezzo to die, and receive a decent burial in S. Domenico. Amongst the pictures completed during Soggi's first stay i Arezzo, the Nativity, originally at the Madonna delle Lagrime now in the SS. Annunziata at Arezzo, may be singled out as th most praised by Vasari.[6] It is dated 1522, and represents th Infant Christ leaning on a cushion in the centre of the foregroun between the kneeling Virgin and St. Joseph, whilst three angel sing from a long scroll in the sky. Two shepherds, whose head seem to be portraits, stand to the left behind the Virgin, and third bows, with his arms crossed and one knee on the ground, i an attitude of great humility. The most remarkable feature is a effect of light like those of Hondthorst, with a low red monotonou colour unrelieved by strong shadow. The Umbrian character i the angels and kneeling shepherd does not extend to the othe figures, of which the types and angular forms, as well as the straigh and broken drapery, seem inspired from the older manner o Piero della Francesca. Careful and patient handling is naturall allied to want of atmosphere.[7]

[1] The fresco of the Murate is said to represent the Pietà (Vasari, vi. 25), and i invisible to all but the nuns themselves, on account of the *clausura*.

[2] Vasari, vi. 25. These frescoes have perished. [3] Vasari, vi. 12.

[4] Vasari, vi. 28. Guasti defends Giuntalodi from the charge of ingratitud towards Soggi with success. (See his comm. Vasari, vi. 43 *sq.*)

[5] Vasari, vi. 29. [6] Vasari, v. 164, vi. 20 *sq.*

[7] This picture is mentioned by Vasari, vi. 20 *sq.* and v. 164. It bears an in scription as follows: "Francs: D. Ricciardis P. C. A. MDXXII." A recent clean ing has injured the surface.

A nearer relation to Perugino may be discerned in the damaged mnants of a fresco of the Virgin, Child, and saints in S. Francesco Arezzo; but the local style of Della Gatta and Pecori is still parent in the mechanical drawing of the long and ungraceful ures.[1]

In the Duomo at Prato, Soggi was spurred to greater exertion. e painted the likeness of Baldo Magini, erect under an arch, with ore natural colour and better relief than usual. He produced mething broader and better in every sense than at Arezzo,[2] but lmitting this, it is still improbable that he should be the author an Annunciation dated 1523 (or 1526) in the Hospital of S. onifacio at Florence. It suggests the name of Sogliani rather an that of Soggi,[3] whereas the Virgin and Child between two ints and angels at the Pitti really does betray Perugian character *x gr.* of Manni), in the angels, and a relation to the style of ecori.[4]

The following list classifies under one head some unimportant eces at Arezzo which bear the impress of Soggi and of ecori.

Arezzo. S. Domenico. Chapel to the rear of the choir. St. Mary agdalen between two male saints of the Dominican Order in a land-ape distance. Wood; much injured. The figures are paltry, and miniscent of those in the Virgin and Saints by Pecori in the Sacristy the Pieve.

[1] Bits of the outline of the Virgin and Child, together with the contours of a eeling Baptist and an erect friar on the left; and three angels singing from a long roll, in the sky, the saints on the right, are obliterated. VASARI (vi. 20) notices is work, which seems to have been prepared, as usual, with verde, and hatched, d to have been subsequently varnished.

[2] The sky is visible through the arch. The figure holds in one hand a model a church, to which it points with the right. On a stone to the right is a bas-lief of a fight. Wood, oil.

Vasari justly doubts the genuineness of a Virgin and Child between SS. Peter d Jerome, formerly on the high-altar of the Church of the Cappuccini, now in Piero Martire at Prato. It is a very rough production (VASARI, vi. 23).

[3] On the pedestal of the desk one reads:

"A. D. M. orate pro pictore.
. . . CCCCCXXIII. . . ."

ee VASARI, vi. 18.) [* This picture is now in the Uffizi (No. 72).]

[4] Pitti Gallery, No. 77. The figures are paltry, the Child heavy, with a large ead. The general tone is reddish, which may, however, be due to restoring.

Same church. Lunette, above outer portal. Virgin and Chil and seraphs, St. Dominic and another saint. Same class as th foregoing.[1]

Arezzo. S. Michele. Cloister of old Badia S. Fiore, and now public school. The lunettes above the doors contain frescoes: (1) Virgi and Child and two angels; (2) two saints; (3) the Saviour, blessing These and other bits are executed with some Peruginesque feeling; th manner being local, and akin to that of Pecori and Soggi. We know o the latter that he painted in this place a Christ on the Mount whic has perished (VASARI, vi. 25).

Arezzo. Duomo. A number of altarpieces hang in a passag leading from the Duomo to the Episcopal Palace. Amongst them one of many figures (saints and angels), commissioned, it is said o Vasari's authority (VASARI, iii. 223), by one Donato Marinelli, an finished, with the assistance of Capanna of Siena, by Pecori. Th may truly be the picture described by Vasari, who restored the altar o which it stood (see note 1 to VASARI, iii. 223); but there is no proof its genuineness.

Arezzo. S. Agostino. An altarpiece of the Virgin and Child en throned, in a niche in this church, might be considered more in Pecori manner, as, *e.g.*, in the ornaments; but the surface is much repainte A Bishop, and a St. Mary Magdalen in the choir, repainted likewis seem to have been part of this picture.

The following works by Pecori are said to exist: Campriano, outsi Arezzo; Virgin and Child; SS. Sebastian and Fabian, described b VASARI (iii. 221 *sq.*) as in S. Piero of Arezzo; Badia S. Fiore at Arezz garden, damaged Noli me tangere, the chapel containing it bei now used by a gardener for his tools (VASARI, iii. 222 and note 7 *ibid.* S. Margarita of Arezzo, Annunciation (VASARI, vi. 8).—The followi works have perished: Fresco in S. Giustino of Arezzo (VASA iii. 222); panels and canvases at Sargiano (VASARI, iii. 22

* [1] This painting is mentioned by VASARI (iii. 224) as the work of Angelo Lorentino, a pupil of "Don Bartolommeo della Gatta." As shown by Sign DEL VITA in *Rassegna d' arte*, x. 196, the picture of St. Mary Magdalen betwe two saints in this church, mentioned *antea*, p. 135, and a fresco of the Virgin a Child, with SS. Bernard and Benedict, in the sacristy of San Bernardo at Arez (dated 1512; see *antea*, p. 27), are by the same artist. He was the son Lorentino d' Andrea, the pupil of Piero della Francesca, and died of the plague August 23, 1527. For further notices of him, see DEL VITA, in *Rassegna d' ar* vol. xi., p. 111, n. 2, and p. 168 *sq.*; and SALMI, in *L'Arte*, xiv. 122 *sqq.*

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Angelo di Lorentino

From a fresco in S. Bernardo, Arezzo

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ezzo, S. Maria Maddalena; standard; Arezzo Pieve, S. Apollonia *id.*).

The following works by Soggi are said to exist: Monte Sansovino mpagnia di S. Maria della Neve—Incident from the legend of the adonna of that name (Vasari, vi. 21); same place, altar of Madonna lle Vertighe, Virgin, Christ, and two saints (*ibid.*, 28 *sq.*); Marciana Valdichiana, fresco (*ibid.*, 25 *sq.*); Sargiano, Zoccoli, Assumption d Gift of the Girdle (*ibid.*, 25). The following are lost: Arezzo, Agostino, Virgin of Mercy, fresco, and St. Roch, do. (Vasari, vi. 20).

CHAPTER VI

DOMENICO DI BARTOLO AND THE SIENESE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

TO one acquainted with the civil commotions which marked the decline of the Sienese Republic during the fifteenth century, the absence of eminence in professors of painting will appear neither strange nor unexpected. Repeated changes, accompanied by violence and a constant renewal of Governments in which the ambition of a few men invariably sought satisfaction at the expense of the masses, were necessarily productive of debility and languor. To these causes of feebleness were added those which sprang from the peculiar bias of the school in favour of antiquated tradition.[1] Yet, when we look back upon the history of the fifteenth century, we find that Sienese artists still wielded a respectable influence, and it is difficult to name a master or a picture in the northernmost parts of the land bordering the Adriatic that is not impressed with Sienese defects or peculiarities. The Boccati of Camerino, Matteo of Gualdo, even Bonfigli of Perugia, display them; and the only exception is to be found in the great Umbro-Florentines, Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Giovanni Santi, and Melozzo, whose equal Siena did not boast of at the time, and was not destined to boast of in the sequel.

The period filled by the Domenicos, Vecchiettas, and Sassettas, was a period of retrogression preparatory to the final absorption of the Sienese into the Perugian school; it was a period which produced in Siena no class equivalent to that in which Brun-

[1] Rumohr, speaking of the Sienese painters from 1430 to 1500, says he neglects them, partly because Della Valle and Lanzi have described them minutely, but chiefly because he professes to deal with the development of art, not with its diseased forms ". . . (*Forschungen*, ii., note to p. 313). Yet these "diseased forms" had an influence on the development of Italian art.

nelleschi, Ghiberti, Donatello, Uccello, Mantegna, or Francesca, were enrolled at Florence and Padua. But interest attaches still to men who clung to the traditions of earlier centuries, long after the fervent spirit of those centuries had expired; and we may indulge a melancholy pleasure in striving to fathom the causes or note the results of a transfusion of elements out of a worn and expiring into a nascent and growing body.

The painters who illustrate this last phase of Sienese art are numerous and prolific. They include Domenico Bartoli Ghezzi of Asciano, Vecchietta, Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Girolamo di Benvenuto, Matteo da Siena, and Cozzarelli. Holding a position in Siena resembling that of the Florentines from Brunelleschi to Ghirlandaio's time, they contentedly and leisurely followed ancient models of Sienese composition, as if repelled by the mere suggestion of innovation. They did not attempt to infuse new character into their impersonations. Their figures embodied errors similar to those of Taddeo Bartoli, without exhibiting the energy or earnestness which occasionally raised him above those less gifted than himself. They were, as colourists, inferior to the earlier men of their school; in the science of light and shade all but null.

By their side stood another branch, headed by Sassetta and Sano di Pietro. These not only clung to the old system of composition, form, and drapery, but to the old methods of tempera, and modelled their style, according to their ability, on that of Ugolino and Segna.[1]

Domenico di Bartolo was born at Asciano in the early part of the fifteenth century, and was free of the guild of Siena in 1428.[2] The records of his existence reach to 1444. His productions justify in part the criticisms of Vasari, who traces them from the school of Taddeo Bartoli.[3] His manner is Umbro-Sienese, deficient

* [1] The judgment passed by the authors on the Sienese painters of the fifteenth century is no doubt in the main true as far as it goes; but in fairness it should also have been emphasized what a great sense of beauty and charming poetical imagination many of these artists possess.

[2] Proof of his birth at Asciano is afforded by a contract in the Sienese archives (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 172), which shows that VASARI (ii. 40) errs in calling him Taddeo Bartoli's nephew.

[3] VASARI, ii. 40.

in balance and purpose, and unadorned with any of the charms of perspective or shadow. Tasteless dress, stilted movement, and unpleasant masks are common features of his works, but he is stiff and monotonous at first to an extraordinary extent. In a panel of 1433 at the Academy of Siena, inscribed with the name of "Dominicus," in which the Virgin sits on the ground amidst angels, and holds the Infant on her knee, the principal group hardly differs from that of a mother with her child in the less sacred subject of the Marriage of a Foundling at the Spedale.[1] In both pieces the head overweighs a slender neck and frame, and a meaningless grimace overspreads the face.

The Sienese seem to have attached less value at this time to pictorial than to architectural works. Domenico di Bartolo, though casually employed, was little known or considered by his contemporaries, and never rose to great notoriety. A short time after the Emperor Sigismund had visited Siena, on the way to his coronation at Rome, the council of the Duomo proposed to found a memorial of the event. The pavement of coloured marble in the cathedral, which had been in progress since 1369, still remained unfinished, and a suggestion that "the Cæsar's Majesty" should be represented there, in company of his chief Ministers, met with approval. Unhappily, the features of the Kaiser had not been authentically preserved, and though fancy portraits of Ministers might appear a tolerable liberty, an ideal of the Emperor, who but two years before had triumphantly shown himself to the Sienese, might have been ridiculed. The council of the Duomo was informed in this emergency that "one Domenico" (di Bartolo) was owner of "a statue or design," in which a resemblance to the face of the Cæsar's Majesty might be traced, and accordingly purchased it, ordering the artist (1434) to prepare a sketch for the group of the Emperor.[2] This commission led to others; and, at intervals between 1435 and 1439, Domenico

[1] No. 164. Siena Academy; inscribed: "Oh decus o speties o stella supremi eteris exaudi miseros famulosque deprecantes. Dominicus Domini matrem te pinxit et orat. anno. MCCCCXXXIII." A lustrous red tone pervades the surface of the panel.

[2] A proposal for this purchase (Oct. 30, 1434), an order for it (Nov. 13), and payment for the design, are in *Doc. sen.*, ii. 161–2.

painted the whole sacristy of the Duomo with scenes from the lives of SS. Ansano, Vittorio, and Savino,[1] and in 1437 an altar-piece for S. Agostino of Asciano.[2] By a curious coincidence, a picture hangs to this day in the church of this name, which might claim to be that contracted for by Domenico.[3] The Virgin is enthroned between four standing saints, and above the Eternal gives His benediction, whilst the Virgin and angel annunciate fill spaces at His sides. Scenes from the life of St. Catherine are enclosed in the small frames of a predella, in the centre of which the Saviour is crucified. The broken and angular draperies are full of superfluous folds. The Virgin sits on her throne with the languid grace of the Umbrian school. The angel annunciate moves with the liveliness to which we become accustomed in Vecchietta, and there is an effort at foreshortening in the Eternal. The colour, of an uncommon lustre, seems to disclose a change in the old system of tempera.[4] It is a work of a better class than the authentic Virgin and Saints of 1438 at Perugia; and some difficulties arise in the attempt to ascribe both to one hand.[5] The Perugian altarpiece, with the usual profusion of triangular gables, and a predella in five parts, is inscribed with the painter's name, dated 1438, and is usually invisible in consequence of the papal *clausura*, which isolates from the world the nuns of the convent of S. Giuliana. As compositions, the predella scenes,

[1] *Ib.*, ii. 172. Della Valle, *Lett. san.*, ii. 197. A fire destroyed these frescoes in the sixteenth century.

[2] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 172. It is from this contract that we learn the real name of the painter, which is Domenico Bartoli Ghezzi di Asciano.

[3] The central Virgin is on the high-altar, the rest of the picture on an altar to the right as you enter S. Agostino.

[4] The panels at Asciano are not unlike those by Vecchietta forming the presses in the Spedale at Siena. (See *postea.*)

[5] This is not the only production to be noticed at Asciano. An Ascension by Giovanni di Paolo hangs in a dark place in the Duomo above the door leading into the sacristy. Two saints, St. Michael and another, have been attached to the sides of the Ascension, and in spite of dim colour or damaged surface, they reveal the manner apparent in the picture of St. Agostino above mentioned. [* The authors suggest later (p. 180, n. 1) that these pictures might be the work of Matteo da Siena; and there can, indeed, be no doubt that both the altarpiece of S. Agostino and the Saints in the Duomo are early works by this master. (See Wagner, *Domenico di Bartolo Ghezzi*, Göttingen, 1898, pp. 40 *sq.*; Perkins, in *Rassegna d' arte*, viii. 199 *sqq.*; Hartlaub. *Matteo da Siena*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 37 *sqq.*)]

illustrating the life and martyrdom of the Baptist, are in better balance than the principal group of the Virgin, Child, and kneeling patroness; but the lean coarseness of males, and affected daintiness and tasteless dress of females; the wiry serpentine locks of the Benedict, or the frizzled hair of the Giuliana; the broken draperies generally, are not more natural or attractive than the low-toned flatness of the ruddy raw colour. Yet such a picture as this in such a place repays attention.[1] It is the production of a pure Sienese in an Umbrian city, destined to be the cradle of a reviving art. It offers occasion for comparison with other creations of the time; and proves that Giovanni Boccati, whose panel of 1447 is hard by in S. Domenico, was educated on the same principles, and struggled with similar defects. The Sienese school was, no doubt, superior generally to that of Umbria and the Marches up to this time. Still, it is not easy to determine whether Domenico shed an influence on the Boccati, or whether the converse proposition would hold good.[2] Gentile da Fabriano had already interposed both at Siena and in Umbria. If, however, Siena now ceased to wield supremacy over the neighbouring country, the effect was as yet hardly perceptible; and this is equally true at Camerino, east of the Apennine, and at Foligno, west of that chain, where local art was modified by the presence of Benozzo Gozzoli.

[1] The whole of this altarpiece comprises: the Virgin, Child, and kneeling donatrix, between SS. John the Baptist (pointing at Mary with his first and fifth finger) and Benedict (right), SS. Giuliana and Bernard (left). The Eternal gives a blessing in the central upper gable. The angel and Virgin annunciate occupy the gables at His sides, and right and left of these are SS. Paul and Peter. In the predella (left to right) are: (1) St. John's departure to the desert; (2) his sermon; (3) his execution and the dance of the daughter of Herodias; (4) the interview with Herod and (5) the Baptism of Christ. On a scroll at the Virgin's feet are the words: "Dominicus Bartoli de Senis me pinxit;" on a border below: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Domina Antonia filia Francisci de Domõ Bucholis, abbatissa istius monasterii innanno D:i M.CCCCXXXVIII. de mensis Mai." The colour is abraded and dimmed by time. Since the foregoing was written the altarpiece has found a place in the Galleria Comunale (Sala VI., No. 1). [* Closely allied to this work is a half-length of the Virgin and Child by Domenico, signed and dated 1437, in the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vi. 72, with reproduction.)]

*[2] There can be little doubt that it was Domenico who influenced Giovanni Boccati; and the same would *a fortiori* be true of Girolamo di Giovanni, only that there is hardly any marked affinity between his style and Domenico's.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS
By Domenico di Bartolo
From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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But Domenico's Perugian Madonna seems not a solitary Sienese example of its time at a distance from Siena. The Priory of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo S. Sepolcro, the inmates of which have parted with the Baptism of Piero della Francesca, still shelters the remains of an altarpiece, of which that episode was the centre, reminiscent of the Virgin and saints at S. Agostino of Asciano. An improvement upon the style of that piece may be conceded, but the SS. Peter and Paul combine the feebleness of figure, overweight of head, and peculiar draperies, which have been described as characteristic of Domenico. The angel and Virgin annunciate are stamped in his mould likewise; and Vecchietta's creations are recalled to mind in each case. A predella, comprising the Crucifixion and four scenes from the life of the Baptist, exhibit the essential liveliness and animation, the vehemence and grimace of the Sienese school. Certain types assume a family likeness to those of Piero della Francesca, whose Umbrian tendency they might explain and illustrate. The drawing is minute and precise, but the colour resembles that of the Asciano pictures.[1] Were it even recorded that this was the fruit of Domenico's labour, his stay at Borgo S. Sepolcro would still be uncertain. Yet a ruined fresco in a tabernacle at the corner of the Via di Mezzo seems to prove the presence at least of the artist who painted the greater part of the panels in S. Giovanni Evangelista.[2]

[1] The altarpiece described in the text remains, minus its centre, in the sacristy of S. Giovanni Evangelista. [* It now hangs on the left wall of the church itself.] St. Paul and St. Peter stand under a niche fringed with a leaf ornament in gilt relief, above which the pinnacles are filled with rounds enclosing the angel and Virgin annunciate. Three saints of not unpleasant aspect stand above each other in pilasters at the flanks. In the predella are: the Birth and Sermon of the Baptist on one side of the Crucifixion, the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of the precursor on the other. The heads of the principal saints are aged, their foreheads high, and their eyes extravagantly open. The large hands and feet are bony and skinny. The crucified Saviour is fair enough, whilst the dancing daughter of Herodias boasts a springy and slender form. One sees, in fact, a certain association of pictorial and sculptural qualities in her—an association already suggested by the SS. Paul and Peter, which resemble statues by Vecchietta. [* As in the case of the altarpiece in S. Agostino at Asciano, the authors later (p. 180, n. 1) suggest the possibility that these paintings are by Matteo da Siena—a name which also this time is fully justified. (See WAGNER, *u.s.*, p. 40; M. LOGAN BERENSON, in *Rassegna d' arte*, v. 49 *sqq.*; HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, p. 42 *sqq.*)]

[2] The half of a Virgin and Child appear in a painted niche, but the remains are in bad condition.

Domenico devoted five consecutive years (1435–1440) to the lost decorations of the sacristy in the Siena Duomo,[1] completing in the interval the orders for Asciano and Perugia. No knowledge is attainable respecting his occupations during 1440–1442. In the middle of 1444, he had finished seven subjects on the walls of the Pellegrinaio in the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala at Siena: a sick ward; alms-giving; marriage of the foundlings of the establishment; the Pope's indulgence for enlarging the hospital; the building of the annexes; and a Virgin of Mercy.[2] A passing interest may be created by some of these injured pieces, in an archæological sense, because the hospital, as represented in the fifteenth century, has undergone no change since then; but no single fresco can be selected in which the most conspicuous defects are not apparent. The rudest handling, a dull tempera on a rough wall, confused groups of heavy figures alike rigid and angular in shape and outline, tasteless costume extravagantly laden with relief ornament, absence of aerial or linear perspective in edifices either ill-copied from Nature or invented by a singular and unnatural fancy, form a total of unattractive features difficult to rival at this time. This was the latest example of Domenico di Bartolo.[3] But he was not the sole person employed at the

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 172.

[2] All these pieces except the Virgin of Mercy are preserved. [* It will be noticed that the authors speak of seven subjects as painted by Domenico in the Pellegrinaio, and describe only six. In the first document (of January 23, 1444) relating to Domenico's activity in the Spedale, and published by MILANESI (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 173), mention is made of five frescoes painted in the Pellegrinaio; the subjects are those mentioned in the text, excepting the Virgin of Mercy. On April 2 of the same year Domenico receives payment for two paintings. One is called "la limosina de la Chorticiela," and no statement is made as to where it is; but it seems questionable whether it is the "limosina" painted in the Pellegrinaio, which had been finished and paid for two or three months earlier. The other painting referred to in the document of April 2, 1444, is a Virgin of Mercy "sopra la gratichola di chiexa." Mr. PERKINS (in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 78, n. 1) and Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 162) ascribe to Domenico the following two frescoes in the Spedale beyond those in the Pellegrinaio: (1) Prayer of the Beato Sorosi in the Infirmeria di San Pio (monochrome); and (2) the Virgin of Mercy in the Deposito delle Donne (Infirmeria di S. Pietro), noticed by the authors (*postea*, p. 149, n. 2).]

[3] There is no record of Domenico after 1444, and we do not know the date of his death. [* His widow is mentioned in a document of February 18, 1447 (*u.s.*)

Pellegrinaio,[1] and a S. Agostino Novello, giving the dress to the

(see WAGNER, *u.s.*, p. 37). MILANESI is thus wrong in stating (VASARI, ii. 40, n. 1) that Domenico "apparently" died in 1449.]

Vasari knew but of two works by Domenico in S. Trinita and the Carmine of Florence, both absent (VASARI, ii. 41). In S. Niccolò di là d'Arno there is an altarpiece in Domenico's manner. It represents the Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and John the Baptist (left) and SS. Nicholas and Peter. In the three gables are the coronation of the Virgin (centre), St. Thomas receiving the girdle, and the Annunciation. The figures are one-third life-size, and on gold ground. [* This altarpiece is now in the Carrand collection, in the Bargello at Florence (No. 4). Compare as to the authorship, *antea*, iv. 201 *sqq.*]

[1] The catalogue of the Berlin Gallery assigns to Domenico di Bartolo a Burial and Ascension of the Virgin, with the gift of the girdle to St. Thomas; an Eternal at top amidst angels (No. 1,122). The arrangement of this piece is unmistakably Sienese, and may be found repeated by Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto, Fungai, and Giacomo di Bartolommeo Pacchiarotti. The technical handling is, however, different in some measure from that noted in Domenico. The upper part is by Sassetta as well for manner as for handling. The lower part is treated differently by some other Sienese, *e.g.*, the Benvenuti, etc. [* This picture is now officially ascribed to the Sienese school of 1450–1480.]

Frankfort. Staedel Gallery. No. 5, assigned to Domenico Bartoli, represents Christ going to Golgotha, the Crucifixion, and Deposition, and is by a later Sienese after the time of Neroccio. [* Ascribed to Girolamo di Benvenuto in the current catalogue of the Frankfort Gallery.]

Altenburg. Lindenau Museum, No. 46. Half-length St. Francis, of a time preceding that of Domenico di Bartolo, but Sienese of the period of Simone. [* Now catalogued under "Lippo Memmi" (?).] No. 60 in this gallery, Adoration of the Shepherds, is classed "unknown," and is really by Domenico, as well as No. 85, a St. Dominic. [* The former picture is at present, together with its companion piece, an Adoration of the Magi (No. 61), ascribed to Bartolo di Maestro Fredi.] In Mr. Ramboux's gallery at Cologne, a Virgin and Child (No. 171) was given to Domenico. Also No. 167. [* The Ramboux collection was sold by auction at Cologne in May, 1867.]

Edinburgh. National Gallery of Scotland, No. 117. Altarpiece in courses, with SS. Michael and John Baptist, a bishop and virgin martyr in the two principal compartments, the Virgin and angel annunciate in two medallions above, and a virgin and evangelist in two pinnacles. The whole confined by pilasters with six saints in each. This piece is assigned to Andrea del Castagno and his pupils, but is a poor work of the schools of Domenico di Bartolo and Vecchietta, injured by restoring. It was originally in a convent at Pratovecchio, and was purchased from the Lombardi collection. [* To the number of extant works by Domenico should be added a half-length of the Virgin and Child in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, Englewood, New Jersey (PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 78, with reproduction), and a most beautiful bust of the Virgin praying, in the Church of S. Raimondo (called Chiesa del Refugio), at Siena (*idem, ibid.*, iv. 22 *sqq.*, with reproduction). As to the share which Domenico apparently had in the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena signed by Sano di Pietro see *postea*, p. 172, n. 1.]

brothers of the hospital, is by Priamo, brother of the sculptor Giacomo della Quercia.[1]

This artist had been left heir to Giacomo by a will dated October 3, 1438, but the charges of the succession seemed likely to exceed its profits. Giacomo had been unable to complete the funeral monument of the Vari in S. Petronio at Bologna; and the superintendents required Priamo, or any substitute he might name, to finish it. Giacomo had subjected himself to heavy fines by staying at Bologna beyond the time allowed him by the authorities of Siena, and Priamo was called upon to pay them. Cino di Bartolo, assistant to Giacomo at Bologna, had applied to his own use the property of his master; and the dispute between Priamo and him had been submitted to umpires. In the midst of all this Priamo was reduced to beggary, and his income-paper of 1453 is but a doleful petition for consideration in favour of a miserable impoverished debtor.

An altarpiece, ordered of him in 1442 by the fraternity of S. Michele at Volterra, remained publicly exposed in its original situation till 1827, but has since disappeared.[2] It cost originally the small sum of forty lire, or ten Sienese florins, and was, no doubt, not more worthy of attention than the fresco of the same year at the Pellegrinaio of Siena, where Priamo rudely carried out a composition of the very poorest conception.[3]

[1] DELLA VALLE (*Lettere sanesi*, ii. 197) speaks of Luciano da Velletri as an assistant of Domenico in the Pellegrinaio, but he is alone in that statement, and no extant productions are assigned to him.

[*2] An oval picture of the Virgin and Child with six angels, still in S. Michele at Volterra, is supposed to be a fragment of this work. (See RICCI, *Volterra* (Bergamo, 1905), pp. 84 (reproduction), 122.)

[3] Giacomo della Quercia died October 20, 1438, having made (October 3) a will, leaving his property, a minus quantity, to Priamo. Yet Priamo, with little forethought, married, before the year expired, Bartolommea di Antonio (*Doc. sen.*, 178–9). Cino di Bartolo, assistant to Giacomo della Quercia at Bologna, had taken possession of his master's property there, and was at once claimed by the Sienese authorities (*ib.*, ii. 181), whilst at the same time Priamo wrote (December 1, 1438) to the superintendents of S. Petronio, demanding the rest of the sum due to his brother for the erection of the Vari monument. To the Signoria the superintendents replied (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 181), surrendering Cino, but asking that he or Priamo should be allowed to finish the Vari monument. To Priamo they answered, apparently, offering to pay him, if he came or sent some one to complete the work on hand (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 184). Priamo (*ib.*, *ib.*) declared his readiness to go

Giacomo della Quercia, whose bequests were attended with such melancholy results to his less talented brother, is one of a class which fills a considerable place in Sienese annals, but of which it is only necessary, in a history of painting, to say that its sculpture, in spite of apparent ability, invariably disclosed a fanciful and false conventionalism.[1] Giacomo's life fills half a century. He was born in 1371, and died in 1438, after a bright career marked by great industry. His practice fell afterwards principally into the hands of Sano di Matteo and Antonio Federighi, the rivals of Bernardo Rossellino, in the employ of the Piccolomini, to whom Siena and Pienza owed so much of their architectural improvements. In Antonio's plastic creations low classicism is strongly intermingled with a disagreeable swagger; and the mannerism of Giacomo della Quercia in action and drapery descends to him unimproved and unimprovable.

Partner in these defects, but more versatile in his pursuits, Lorenzo di Pietro kept a goldsmith's shop, and practised with varying success as an architect, sculptor, and painter. He was of the same age as Domenico di Bartolo, and a contemporary of Sano di Pietro; and he was nicknamed Vecchietta, perhaps because of the tottering frames and aged faces repeated with consistent pertinacity in every one of his works. He was born in 1412,[2] and free of his guild in 1428;[3] but no records allude to him before

to Bologna (February 11, 1439, old style) with Cino, but ultimately sent Cino alone thither (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 185), whose quarrels had in the meanwhile been submitted to an umpire (*ib.*, ii. 189). It seems obvious that the Sienese authorities desired to keep Priamo until he had settled the fines due by his dead brother; for we find him in April, 1440 (old style), presenting a petition for the revision of the sentence in accordance with which these fines were to be paid (*ib.*, ii. 191). The Volterra picture and the Pellegrinaio frescoes were both completed in 1442 (*ib.*, ii. 278–9 and 283), and in August of the same year Antonio Petri de Briosso was accepted by the superintendents of S. Petronio to finish the work which Priamo was clearly unable to undertake (*ib.*, ii. 209–10). Priamo's income-paper of 1453 is published (*ib.*, ii. 283).

Of Cino di Bartolo the records only notice that he was the son of Bartolo, a goldsmith of Siena (*Doc. sen.*, i. 284), that he was first employed by Giacomo della Quercia in 1428 at S. Petronio of Bologna (*ib.*, ii. 150), and that his death took place in 1475 (*ib.*, i. 284).

* [1] This is hardly an adequate criticism of an artist of indubitable power and originality.

[2] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 367.

[3] *Ib.*, i. 49.

1439, when he delivered to the authorities of the Siena Duomo a panel of the Annunciation, produced by the joint labour of himself and Sano di Pietro.[1] His frescoes in the Spedale at Siena, and a statue of Christ *risorto* on the high-altar of the Siena Duomo, were finished almost at the same period, the first in 1441,[2] the second in 1442.[3] He was thus early devoted to the sister arts, which he carried on simultaneously. We cannot, however, as yet discuss his power as a sculptor, because the Christ is not in existence;[4] but the frescoes of the Spedale are in part standing, and though we miss three scenes from the story of Tobit, and a crucified Saviour between the Virgin and St. John, in the hospital chapel,[5] a companion subject to the series afterwards completed by Domenico still fills the arch above the door of the Pellegrinaio, and bears the inscription, "Laurensius de Senis." A kneeling figure, no doubt intended for that of the founder of the hospital, occupies an advantageous position in the centre of a triple-arched space, of which the vaulting retreats with some show of perspective. Near him a ladder leads upwards to the presence of the Virgin, who awaits the hospital children climbing towards her. Another phase of the foundation's benevolence is the distribution of alms to the right of the kneeling patron, and a third incident is delineated on his left. To say that Vecchietta is better than Domenico in his last days is curt but sufficient praise. The false classicism of the Roman architecture, with its bas-reliefs and friezes in monochrome, the capitals of the columns overladen with detail, are not more calculated to satisfy a polished taste than the copious ornamentation of the dresses, with their tinted model wax-borders. Faulty arrangement of figures, false perspective, feeble frames, bewigged and aged heads, all repel the observer; whilst the colour, dimmed by time, it is true, yet still preserved, is flat and unrelieved. No mitigating circumstances alter the force of this necessary verdict, which condemns with equal justice the earlier as well as the later pictures of Vecchietta. The relic press in the Spedale, of which he painted the doors inside and out, in 1445, with twenty-five

[1] *Ib.*, ii. 369–388. [2] *Ib.*, p. 369. [3] *Ib.*, *ib.*

[*4] On Vecchietta as a sculptor, see SCHUBRING, *Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento* (Berlin, 1907), p. 77 *sqq.* [5] *Ib.*, *ib.*

different subjects, only serves to illustrate the decline of Sienese art since Duccio.[1] Were the frescoes of the sacristy in the same building yet extant, they would, doubtless, tell no other tale.[2] The decoration of four ceilings and part of the tribune of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Siena, which date from 1449–50, exhibit no change in the practice of previous years;[3] and panels or

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 369. DELLA VALLE (*Let. san.*, iii. 57) assigns these doors to Matteo di Giovanni. The outer side contains three courses of panels, the uppermost of which are: (1) The crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist; (2) the Resurrection of Christ, both between (3) the angel and (4) the Virgin annunciate, each of the latter attended by (5) and (6) a seraph. Twelve panels in the next two courses contain (from left to right) SS. Ansano, Ambrogio Sansedoni (beato), Bernardino, Agostino Novello (beato, giving the dress), Galerani (beato), Savino, Victor, Catherine of Siena, unknown, Galgano, and Crescenzio.

The inner side of the press-doors comprises (in a double course from left to right): (1) Christ before Pilate; (2) the Scourging; (3) the Last Supper; (4) Christ washing the feet of His disciples; (5) Christ crowned with thorns; (6) Christ carrying His cross; (7) the kiss of Judas; (8) Christ before Caiaphas. The inner panels are inferior to the outer, and perhaps by pupils. [* These doors are now in the Academy of Siena (No. 204).]

[2] Since the text was written the frescoes of the sacristy have been cleared of whitewash. They represent ten scenes from the New and Old Testament; Christ, evangelists, and saints in the ceiling. In a corner of one of the walls we read:

"VRBANO E. ITE PR. ÆCELLENTISSIMO HVIVS SANCT. [do] MVS PRÆF. TO LAVRENTIVS PETRI FILIV S. . ENSIS HOC SA [cr]ARIVM VNDIQVE VERSVM PICTVRIS HONESTAVIT· MCCCC XL VIIII."

These frescoes are much injured by scaling and fading. [* Compare on these frescoes, DE NICOLA, in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, vi. 76 *sqq.*] In the same room, now called Stanza di San Pietro, is a Madonna del Manto, damaged beyond repair. [* *Cf. antea*, p. 144, n. 2.]

[3] Two of these ceilings are by Michele Lambertini (see the first edition of this work, ii. 218); four by Vecchietta. In the central one, by the entrance, are SS. James, Philip, John Evangelist, and Matthias. In the next central one, by the tribune, are: the Last Judgment; Christ in Glory; the Limbo, and a symbolical picture of the communion. Right of this, as one stands in the centre of the church and looks towards the tribune, are: the Baptism of Christ; the Saviour and Virgin in Glory; Remission of Sins (damaged); and the Resurrection of the Dead. To the left, if one keeps the same position, the Flagellation; then an empty space; Christ in Glory; and the Annunciation. The frescoes in the tribunes are by other hands. That of the semidome (central tribune) representing the crucified Saviour, the agony in the garden, and the burial of Christ, attributed to one Gasparre d'Agostino, an artist following the manner of Giovanni d'Asciano, who laboured (1451–54, 55) in a style reminiscent of that which we shall find in Giovanni di Paolo (*postea*), but more rational than his. The colour is fair; the figures are long and lean, and in vehement action. To this Gasparre a small S. Bernardino,

frescoes alike disclose absence of aerial and linear perspective, flatness of tone, poor composition, lean, withered, and ill-proportioned figures of unselect shape, moving with a broken and fantastic action, involved draperies, trivial, vulgar, or grimacing heads, so incompletely modelled on Nature that eyes take a triangular shape, and noses, in three-quarter faces, are flattened down to profile; yet the contours and the technical finish are careful to a fault.

The mere employment of Vecchietta in numerous undertakings at Siena would not be surprising if it were granted that his talent was cheap as that of Neri di Bicci at Florence. But Lorenzo, in spite of the poverty apparent in his works, held a high place in the estimation of his townsmen. He and Sano di Pietro were the chosen umpires of the municipality for the valuation of Sassetta's unfinished frescoes on the Porta Romana in 1452.[1] Vecchietta complains, however, in an income-paper of 1453 that, although proprietor of small parcels of land and houses in Siena and its vicinity, his ailing health and the infirmity of his wife contributed much to his discomfort and indebtedness, "and if fortune were to plague him long, as it had hitherto done, he should be forced to sell his movables for bread";[2] but we may partially mistrust the statements of a man desirous to move the stern feelings of the tax-gatherer, and Vecchietta continued for many subsequent years to carve stone and bronze, and wield the brush. Amongst the altarpieces furnished in those days we notice the Madonna and saints of 1447 in the gallery of the Uffizi, and the Ascension of the Virgin, with four holy attendants, on one of the altars of the Duomo of Pienza. The former has been injured by partial retouching, but contains in its pilasters some slender and fairly thrown personages, after the manner of Domenico di Bartolo,[3] whilst the latter, one of the best examples of Vecchietta,

preaching, which hangs in the sacristy of the Siena Duomo, is assigned. There is a record of Gasparre's design for part of the pavement in the Duomo (1451) in MILANESI'S *Doc. sen.* (ii. 269), and he is noticed by the annotators of Vasari in a commentary to the Life of Gentile da Fabriano (iii. 18).

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 274–5, 6, 7. [2] See the paper in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 285.

[3] The Uffizi altarpiece (No. 1,542) is in a modern frame, and an inscription, repainted (it is said on the old one), runs as follows: "Opus Laurenti Petri Senensis, 1457. Questa tavola l' ha fatta fare Giacomo d'Andreuccio Setajuolo per sua

Photo, Alinari

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

By Vecchietta

From an altarpiece in the Duomo, Pienza.

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seems to date from the same time, and comprises, amongst the heavenly choir accompanying the Virgin, some not ungraceful angels.[1]

Vechietta's productions were now so highly valued at Siena that in March, 1460, the supreme Government took upon itself to address Messer Goro Loli Piccolomini with the prayer that he might recommend the "singular talent" of Lorenzo di Pietro to Pius II., as the most fitted to superintend the rebuilding of the Papal lodge at Siena.[2] Pius, however, had less confidence in the artist's powers than the lords of Siena. Perhaps he did not believe that the author of the Pienza altarpiece could turn out a great architect. Certain it is that he preferred Antonio di Federigo.[3] This contempt of his claims irritated or discouraged Vecchietta; and he formed the resolution to abandon his country for ever; whilst at the same time the members of the Sienese Council apparently felt that they had been slighted by the Piccolomini. We may conjecture, at least, that such was the course of events, because Antonio di Federigo, who had hitherto been employed to carve the statues in the Loggia della Mercanzia,[4] was relieved of all further duty there; and the two remaining ones were allotted to Vecchietta (April, 1460), "in order that he might have something to keep him busy in Siena, which he was tempted, nay, had determined, to leave."[5] He was consoled further by orders for frescoes in the public Palace, and we still possess that of St. Catherine, at the side of the entrance leading from the great hall to the chapel;[6] and part of a large Virgin of

divozione." The figures are life-size. To the right of the Virgin and Child are SS. Andrew and Lawrence and the kneeling Dominic; to the left, SS. Bartholomew, James, and a kneeling king. Four small saints are in the pilasters. Some heads, that of St. Lawrence, for instance, are new.

[1] The Pienza altarpiece, a gable, represents the Ascension, with SS. Pius, Agatha (part of her blue dress scraped off), Calixtus, and Catherine. It is signed: "Opus Laurentii Petri sculptoris de Senis." The colour is light and flat, and much gold or painted ornament is lavished in every part. The figures are three-quarter life-size.

[2] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 308.

[3] *Ib.*, *ib.*

[4] Now Casino de' Nobili at Siena.

[5] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 311.

[6] The St. Catherine was painted in 1460 (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 370), and is signed: "29. Junii 1461, Opus Laurentii Petri Senens." The S. Bernardino, close by at the other side of the door, only bears the mutilated date M.CCCCL . . . , and is more in the style of Sano di Pietro.

Mercy, lately[1] recovered from whitewash, in a room called "Sala dell' ajuto Bilanciere."[2] S. Bernardino, and St. Martin on horseback, sharing his cloak with the beggar, stand in the spandrils of an arched recess, in the centre of which the Virgin holds the Infant Saviour, and angels support the cloak which covers the people of Siena. SS. Savino, Jerome, Peter, Catherine, Lawrence, Ansano, attend to the right and left. Seraphs, sixteen in number, sing in the space between SS. Martin and Bernardino, and two messengers of heaven suspend the crown over the Virgin. Her head and dress and other parts of the fresco are renewed, the nimbuses are stamped and cut out with the exquisite care which marks those of Simone Martini; but the defects of Vecchietta are perfectly apparent, in spite of a family likeness in some parts to Sassetta or Sano di Pietro.

In 1462, Lorenzo had completed the statues of the Loggia della Mercanzia, both of which present to the spectator the disproportioned and decrepit forms conspicuous already at an earlier time. Nor does Vecchietta fail to lay stress on the versatility of his own talents, and whilst he signs himself in the Pienza picture "sculptor," he inscribes his carved work with the words "Opus Laurentii *pictoris* Senensis."[3] A recumbent image of Mariano Soccino (1467) at the Uffizi,[4] SS. Catherine, Bernardino, Paul, and Sebastian,[5] in silver for the Siena Cathedral, were produced at intervals up to 1478. Two years previous to this date Vecchietta, who at last had struck a vein of prosperity, proposed to furnish a bronze Christ and a picture of the Virgin, Child, and saints to the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, if the superintendents of that edifice should give him a chapel, and consecrate it with his name. Upon that consideration also he consented to leave all his property after his second wife's death to the foundation.[6] The proposal was accepted; and Vecchietta's best casting now adorns the high-altar of the hospital.[7] Its

*[1] *I.e.*, shortly before 1866. *[2] Now the Uffizio di Stato Civile.

[3] Vecchietta received 1,000 lire for these two figures (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 311).

[4] No. 394. Galerie des bronzes Modernes. [* Now in the Bargello.]

[5] Years respectively 1473, 1475, 1478 (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 350, 370).

[6] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 367–8.

[7] It is signed: "Hoc opus Laurentii Petri pictoris a[s]. Vecchietta de Senis. M.CCCCLXXVI (1476) per sua devotione fecit." The tabernacle in which it

broken action and coarse bony forms are not better than of old; nor is the altarpiece, which now hangs at the Siena Academy, entitled to any additional praise.[1] Both pieces are dated 1479, and are the last efforts of the artist, who died in the middle of the following year.[2]

The narrative of his career would be incomplete without an allusion to an occupation with which he varied his usual labours. Between 1467 and 1470 he was entrusted with the fabrication of models for the fortresses of Sarteano, Orbetello, Montacuto, and Talamone;[3] and his employment in this direction only ceased

stood was transferred in 1506 to the Duomo, where it now stands, by Pandolfo Petrucci (VASARI, notes to p. 76, vol. iii.). A sketch of the tabernacle, on panel, by Vecchietta, is No. 404 in the Siena Academy.

[1] No. 210. It represents the Virgin and Child, between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, the kneeling Cosmo and Damian, with the inscription: "Opus Laurenti, Petri alias Vecchietta ob suam devotionem." An altarpiece in San Nicolò di Valdorcia, signed with Vecchietta's name, is noticed by the annotators of VASARI (iii. 78, n. 3).

Old Siena guides speak also of terra cottas by him (*ib.*). The following numbers were assigned to him in Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne: No. 124–8, 164–5; but little value can be assigned to the pieces so catalogued.

A Virgin and Child enthroned amongst angels between SS. Catherine and Bartholomew in the Museum of Carlsruhe bears the name of Vecchietta. It is numbered 401, and is of the older period after Lippi and Barna. [* Now officially ascribed to the Sienese school of the fourteenth century.]

[2] * Among the extant paintings by Vecchietta we may further notice the following:

Castiglione d' Orcia (near Siena). S. Maria Maddalena. The Virgin and Child, with four angels (reproduced in F. BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Pienza*, Bergamo, 1911, p. 118).

Liverpool. Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe Collection, No. 20. The Sermon of S. Bernardino (see *postea*, p. 156, n. 7).

Philadelphia. Mr. Johnson. Sposalizio. Visitation.

Pienza. Museo. The Virgin and Child with saints; lunette: Annunciation; predella: the Crucifixion and the Martyrdom of St. Blaise (from the Castle of Spedaletto, near Pienza).

Siena. Academy. No. 205, S. Bernardino. *No.* 577, St. Lawrence. *Duomo. Capitolo.* Miniature in a Codex of 1464 (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 159, n. 1). *S. Ansano.* St. Ansanus baptizing (fresco). (*Cf.* PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, ii. 52.) *S. Francesco.* Pietà (fresco transferred to canvas). (See DE NICOLA, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vi. 72 *sqq.*, with reproduction.) *Archivio di Stato. Tavoletta di biccherna*, 1460. Coronation of Pope Pius II. (LISINI, *Le tavolette dipinte di biccherna egabella*, Siena, 1901, pl. xxxvii.). *Tavoletta di gabella*, 1460. Pius II. creating his nephew, Francesco Todeschini, cardinal (*ib.*, pl. xxxviii.).

[3] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 282, 370.

when Francesco di Giorgio abandoned all other pursuits for those of engineering and fortification.

The life of this ingenious and celebrated man would be out of place here; and it will not be necessary to do more than look back at the fruits of his early industry, and fix the limits of his acquirements as a painter. He was but twenty-four[1] when the superintendence of the conduits of the Fonte Gaia in Siena was given to him; but he kept a shop with Neroccio di Bartolommeo de' Landi, until the partnership was dissolved in 1475.[2] He seems to have combined most of the Sienese characteristics of his time with a fancy akin to that of Botticelli, and a fashion of drapery like that of the Pollaiuoli. He inherited defects already conspicuous in Vecchietta, such as slender, withered, and angular figures, the action of which is rendered in an awkward and often pompously affected manner. He may, therefore, have learnt the elements from that master. The strange conceits in his composition are surprising and unpleasant. Superabundance of ornament in dresses and buildings is another of his failings. His tone is cold, unrelieved, flat, and grey in shadow; but he exhibits some slight progress in the application of perspective to form. A disagreeable colour overspreads an injured Nativity, originally at Monte Oliveto, near the Porta Tufi at Siena, graced with his name, and now in the Academy.[3] The strangeness of his fancy is illustrated by a Coronation of the Virgin in the same museum, where the higher and lower spheres of a heavenly host are united by two angels resting on a cluster of three cherubs' heads.[4] His

[1] Born September 23, 1439, his first public appointment dates 1464 (*Tav. alf. u.s. ad litt.*, PANTANELLI, *Di Francesco di Giorgio Martini* (Siena, 1870), p. 48). *Doc. sen.*, ii. 337. His death took place in 1502.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 465.

[3] No. 437, inscribed: "Francisc. Georgii pinsit," dating from 1475 (VASARI, note to p. 70, vol. iii.).

[4] No. 440. Here the figures whose character is that described, have small heads and small eyes, with a mere point for the pupil. Copious hair is curved in successions of spirals. Colours, in distinct and sharp contrasts, have a hard, horny substance. The flesh lights are yellow, of thin impasto, and grey in shadow. The ornaments are copious. Every part is wrought with visible care and research. [* This picture appears to have been painted in 1472 for the church of the Monastery of Monteoliveto Maggiore, near Siena (ROSSI and FRANCHI, in *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, ix. 216 *sqq.*)]

Photo, Alinari

THE NATIVITY

By Francesco di Giorgio

From a picture in the Siena Gallery

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style may be further studied in seven or eight panels, unauthenticated by signatures, in the collection of his native city; in a Nativity at S. Domenico of Siena; and in a predella at the Uffizi of Florence.[1]

Francesco di Giorgio is connected with such brilliant successes in the laying out of fortresses, and the invention of methods for the attack and reduction of such works, that his talents became widely known throughout Italy.[2] In this novel and important field he preceded by a few years, and was only surpassed by, Leonardo da Vinci, and it is on record that they both met in 1490 at Pavia, whither they had been sent by Gian Galeazzo to report on the plan of the new cathedral. Francesco di Giorgio's

[1] *Siena Acad., No.* 277. Annunciation. The angel is in vehement and exaggerated action. The distance, architecture of fanciful form and decoration. *Same Gallery, No.* 291. Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul. *Same Gallery, No.* 288. Half-length Virgin and Child and an angel; one may note here how the lines of the cheeks in the Virgin fall to a small chin. The colour is rosy, but flat. *Same Gallery, Nos.* 275, 276, 274. Two scenes from the story of Joseph, and one of Susanna. *Same Gallery, No.* 293. Half-length Virgin and Child between two saints. *Same Gallery, No.* 428. Christ about to be crucified, with features assignable to a continuator of Francesco di Giorgio's manner. [* To the number of works by Francesco di Giorgio in this Gallery should be added the single figure of the Virgin annunciate (No. 306).]

Siena. S. Domenico, on an altar to the right. The Nativity seems composed in the spirit of Francesco di Giorgio, with his type in the angels, but with more animation in the action. In the distance is a Roman arch. The name of Signorelli has been given to this piece. Its lunette belongs to another picture, and is like a work of Matteo da Siena; whilst the predella shows the hand of Fungai. *Florence, Uffizi, No.* 1,304: The three predella scenes here show Francesco di Giorgio's defects less than usual, the size of the panels being small. We note the neatness of the drawing. The colour is, however, still flat and cold, and the large heads seem grotesque masks on the heads of ordinary mortals. The subjects are from the legend of St. Benedict. [*Although this predella undoubtedly has a considerable general affinity to the style of Francesco di Giorgio, the types and folds of drapery seem to indicate that it is a work by Neroccio. See Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 205; and Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 83, who suggests that it may be the predella of an altarpiece which Neroccio in 1481 was painting for the Benedictine Abbot de' Bernardi (Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, Siena, 1898, p. 259).]

[2] It is certain, says Gaetano Milanesi (*Discorso, u.s.*, p. 69), that the invention of the mine was first practised by Francesco di Giorgio in 1495 at the siege of the Castel dell'Uovo at Naples. [* On Francesco di Giorgio as a military architect and engineer, see Rocchi, in *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, vii. 183 *sqq.*; ix. 186 *sqq.*]]

proposals for vaulting the cupola of the Milan Duomo were conceived at the same period, and, after they had been accepted by the "deputies" of the *Fabbrica*, they were realized in 1493 by the Lombard, Giovanni Antonio da Gessate.[1] In 1484 Francesco di Giorgio, passing through Gubbio, was visited by Luca Signorelli, who induced him to design the Church of S. Maria del Calcinaio near Cortona,[2] and in 1491 he competed with the best of his countrymen by sending to Florence a model for the front of S. Maria del Fiore.[3] Francesco's fame as an architect thus reposes on a firm and reasonable basis; yet he did not habitually superintend the erection of edifices, and the historians of Italy causelessly heap honours or shame on his head as they attribute to his inventive genius buildings carried out by others, on principles that are at times correct, at others false and vicious.[4]

The extent of Francesco di Giorgio's ability in carving may be correctly defined by reference to the bronze angels in the Siena Duomo, which he cast and chiselled in 1497.[5] They are hard, dry, and inelegant, of paltry type and form, and draped in vestments of broken folds.[6-7]

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435–438; and GAYE, *Carteggio*. i. 288, 289, 290. 293.

[2] See *antea* in Signorelli.

[3] See the record on this competition in com. to VASARI (iv. 304).

[4] See on this point VASARI, iii. 69, with notes of the commentators. RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii. 177 and foll.; and *Doc. sen.*

[5] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 466, 463–4. They were ordered in 1489.

[*6] On Francesco di Giorgio as a sculptor, compare SCHUBRING, *u.s.*, p. 162 *sqq.*, who, as it would seem rightly, assigns to him such important works as the *Discordia* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Scourging of Christ in the University collection at Perugia, and the Pax in S. Maria del Carmine at Venice.

[7] The following pictures, in addition to those already noticed, may be registered:

Siena. Palazzo Pubblico. Room leading to the hall painted by Spinello. A sermon and miracle of S. Bernardino—genuine, very careful, and a pleasing work of Francesco di Giorgio.

Munich. Pinakothek. No. 1,022. Assigned to Masaccio (see *antea*), but by Francesco di Giorgio. Subject: a miracle of St. Anthony of Padua (wood). [* Not now shown; reproduced by SCHUBRING (*u.s.*, p. 103), who ascribes the picture to Vecchietta.]

Liverpool Gallery. No. 20, assigned to Pesellino (see *antea*), is also by Francesco di Giorgio. Subject: Sermon of St. Bernardino. [* This picture is certainly in many respects akin to the style of Francesco di Giorgio, but the facial types and the treatment of form in general point definitely to Vecchietta as the author of

When Francesco parted from Neroccio di Bartolommeo de' Landi in 1475, Vecchietta and Sano di Pietro were chosen to settle their differences by arbitration, and whilst Francesco almost entirely abandoned sculpture and painting, Neroccio continued the exclusive exercise of these two branches of his profession. Neroccio was younger by about eight years than his partner.[1] As a young beginner he alternately applied himself to carrying out orders for altarpieces, and to the modelling of figures in terra-cotta.[2] His remaining pictures have found a final resting-place in the Academy of Siena. A Virgin and Child, between SS. Michael and Bernardino, in that collection, bears his name and the date of 1476, and was probably done for Bernardino Nini of Siena.[3] Its style varies

this work. (*Cf.* L. DOUGLAS, in the catalogue of the Exhibition of Sienese pictures at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, p. 23).] *Cologne. Ramboux.* The following were assigned to Francesco di Giorgio: Nos. 172–3. *Mr. Fuller Maitland.* No. 43 at Manchester under the name of Fra Filippo. Predella: SS. Peter and John healing the lame man (wood). This piece has the impress of the Sienese school, and is by Francesco di Giorgio. [* It is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 1,655). A companion piece, representing Poppæa giving alms to St. Peter, is in the collection of Lady Henry Somerset at Reigate Priory (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 34). Mr. BERENSON (*North Italian Painters*, p. 240) ascribes both pictures to Girolamo da Cremona, who is known to have been active as a miniaturist at Siena between 1467 and 1485, and to whom some easel pictures may also be attributed (*cf.* BERENSON, *u.s.*, and *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, ii. 9 *sqq.*); see also *antea*, iv. 176, n. 4.

In addition to the paintings by Francesco di Giorgio hitherto mentioned, we may enumerate the following:

London. National Gallery, No. 1,682. St. Dorothy leading the Infant Christ, *Mr. R. H. Benson* (1904). The Nativity (Illustrated Catalogue of the Sienese Exhibition, Burlington Fine Arts Club, pl. xxvii.).

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,640a. The Rape of Europa (*cassone* front). *M. G. Chalandon.* Allegory of Fidelity (BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 170; reproduced in *Les Arts*, June, 1905, p. 28).

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. The Nativity. The Triumph of Chastity (front of a *cassone*).

Rome. Conte A. Castelli Mignanelli. The Virgin and Child (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 124).

Siena. Archivio di Stato. Tavoletta di biccherna, 1467. The Virgin protecting Siena during an earthquake (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxvii.).

Wantage. Lockinge House. Lady Wantage. The Triumph of Chastity (front of a *cassone*).

[1] Born in 1447 (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 8).

[2] *Ib.*, iii. 7, 8.

[3] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 156. [* In the document here referred to, which is dated May 28, 1476, Sano di Pietro and Francesco di Giorgio value certain works executed by

little from that of Vecchietta or Francesco di Giorgio, except that the affected attitudes are perhaps more absolutely unnatural in their bend than theirs, and appear to caricature more markedly the action of plastic works of the olden time. Light washy colours are confined by dry outlines; and the human form, taken as a model for delineation, is coarse and vulgar.[1] A better preserved piece in the same Gallery is the Virgin and Child between saints, unauthenticated by date or signature, cold in tone, but of great softness, and laboriously finished.[2]

Neroccio designed the Hellespontic Sybil in the pavement of the Siena Duomo (1483),[3] and carved the statue of Tommaso del Testa Piccolomini on the monument to that worthy above the door of the Campanile in the cathedral.[4] He died in 1500.[5] Of humble aims and moderate ability, he held a secure, if not a brilliant, position in his native city, such a one as Francesco di Giorgio might perhaps have risen to had not his engineering talent carried him far ahead of his less versatile colleague.[6]

Neroccio for Bernardino Nini. As the first of these is mentioned "uno tabernacholo chon una Madona," valued at ten ducats, this cannot surely refer to the present picture, which is not a *tabernacolo*, but of considerable size (1·56 by 1·83 m.), and contains two figures of saints, of which no mention is made in the record.]

[1] No. 282, Acad. Catal. Figures full-length. [* The signature runs: "Opus Neroccii Bartolommei Benedicti de Senis M.CCCC.LXX.VI."]

[2] No. 287, Acad. Catal. The remaining pictures by Neroccio in the Academy are: No. 295, a Virgin and saints, half-lengths; No. 281, arched rectangle, Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Bernardino, half-lengths; No. 285, half-length Virgin and Child, SS. Bernardino and Catherine. No. 294, arched rectangle, Virgin and Child, SS. John and Andrew. [* To these should be added a Virgin and Child with SS. Peter, Sebastian, John the Baptist, Louis of France, Bernardino and Paul (No. 278), signed "Opus Neroccii de Senis MCCCCLXXXXII," and originally in the Church of Montepescini (Murlo).]

[3] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 379.

[4] *Ib.*, ii. 409. [* On Neroccio as a sculptor, see SCHUBRING, *u.s.*, p. 108 *sqq.*]

[5] *Ib.*, iii. 7. For further dates respecting the artist see *Doc. sen.*, ii. 340, 403, 415, 416–422; and iii. 7, 8, 9.

[6] Mr. Ramboux's collection contained the following assigned to Neroccio: Nos. 155–6, 160–3. [* No. 155 (the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen) appears to be identical with a picture now in the Episcopal palace at Utrecht (No. 21; see DE NICOLA, in *L'Arte*, xi. 386).

The catalogue of the extant paintings by Neroccio may be considerably enlarged —*e.g.*:

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara. Morelli Collection, No. 549. The Virgin and Child.

Phot. Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS
By Neroccio
From an altarpiece in the Siena Gallery

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His custom was of another kind than that of many of his countrymen, in so far that it was purely local. But at Siena those who were able to declare that they made an honourable and sufficient livelihood exclusively within its walls might be considered exceptionally favoured; and a contemporary of Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto di Giovanni di Meo del Guasta, takes occasion to

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 63A. The Virgin and Child with an episcopal saint of the Dominican Order, and St. Catherine of Siena.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 554. The Virgin and Child with SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Siena.

Brussels. M. Stoclet. The Virgin and Child with the two SS. John (reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Exhibition of Sienese pictures at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904, pl. xxxii.). From the Ruskin and Severn collections.

Budapest. Count Ladislas Karolyi. The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen. From the Chigi-Saracini collection, Siena. Reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte,* xiii., plate facing p. 73.

Cracow. Czartoryski Museum. The Virgin and Child with two angels.

Dortmund. Herr J. Cremer. The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Catherine (see *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte,* i. pl. xxv.).

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,304. Predella with scenes from the legend of St. Benedict (*cf. antea,* p. 155, n. 1). *Conte Serristori.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte,* xiii. 74).

Frankfort. Staedel Museum, No. 4: The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Paul. *No.* 5A: The Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine and Sebastian.

Magliano (*Val d'Albegna*). *Chiesa dell'Annunciata.* The Virgin nursing the Child; fragment of a larger composition (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *La Montagna Maremmana,* Bergamo, 1911, p. 93).

Milan. Don Guido Cagnola. The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Jerome.

Montisi (*Comune di Trequanda*). *Pieve della SS. Annunciata.* The Virgin and Child with four saints. Lunette: God the Father. Predella (now in the house of the parish priest): the Crucifixion, and two scenes from the legend of S. Sebastian. Inscribed on the principal panel: "Tre. S. Mathei Francisci pacis. operarii. Jacobus Bardini. Petrus Nerei. Antonius Sancti. Opus Neroccii. Bartholomei de Landis Senensis. MCCCCLXXXXVI." Compare ROSSI, in *Rassegna d' arte senese,* v. 15 *sqq.* (with reproduction).

New Haven, Connecticut. Jarves Collection, No. 65. The Annunciation (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese,* i. 77, with reproduction).

New York. Mr. G. Blumenthal. The Virgin and Child with SS. Michael and Bernardino (PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte,* xiii. 124 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

Paris. M. Martin Le Roy. Tobit and the Angel.

Philadelphia. Mr. J. G. Johnson. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Catherine of Siena. *Mr. P. Widener.* Portrait of a lady (PERKINS, *u.s.*, p. 124 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

Rapolano (*near Siena*). *Pievania delle Serre.* The Virgin and Child with two Saints (see BRECK, in *L'Arte,* xv. 67 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

express his regret that work being scarce, and profit scarcer, he should be forced to remove outside the circuit of Siena.

This complaint is set forth in an income-paper of 1488,[1] but seems, as regards Benvenuto, to have been true of the greater part of his career; for, though he is described in a record of 1455 as permanently employed at the Baptistery of S. Giovanni[2] at Siena, his first extant picture (1466) is at Volterra.[3] He is admitted by common consent as the author of a Flagellation, and Christ carrying His cross, a couple of dimmed frescoes in the central apsis of the Baptistery, and two scenes from the life of St. Anthony, injured wall-paintings in the side-apsis of the same edifice.[4] These alleged fruits of his labours are so like the productions of Lorenzo di Pietro in the ceilings that they might be taken for his, or at least for those of his assistants. Benvenuto may have acted in that capacity, but his engagement at the Baptistery dates four years after the commission of Vecchietta. On the other hand, the Annunciation in the convent church of S. Girolamo at Volterra[5] offers some traits reminiscent of Neroccio[6] in the angular and lean figures, the reedy frames of which bend affectedly under the weight of large but narrow heads, themselves inclined on slender necks. Trite drapery, cutting outlines, cold and flat tones in flesh tints, strong contrasts in the general key of harmony, and neatness of execution, increase the resemblance.

Rome. Late Nevin Collection. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, ii. 86, with reproduction.)

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome, Anthony of Padua, and two angels. (PERKINS, *loc. cit.*, p. 83 *sq.*)

Siena. Archivio di Stato. Tavoletta di gabella, 1480. The Virgin recommending Siena to the Mercy of Christ. (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xlv.) *Galleria Chigi-Saracini.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine. *Arciconfraternità della SS. Trinità.* The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Michael.

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 420.

[2] *Ib.*, iii. 79.

[3] He was born on September 13, 1436 (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 79).

[4] Apsis to the left of the high-altar. The annot. of VASARI (iii. 18 comm. to life of Gentile da Fabriano) state that Benvenuto painted the frescoes of the central apsis in 1453.

[5] Now in the Communal Gallery at Volterra.

[6] It may be pointed out that Benvenuto was by eleven years the senior of Neroccio, by whom we possess no dated work prior to 1476.

Photo, Alinari

THE ANNUNCIATION

By Benvenuto di Giovanni

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Volterra

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But Benvenuto does not merely reflect the peculiarities of Vecchietta or Neroccio. He reminds us of the Perugian Benedetto Bonfigli; and we thus trace the contact of the Umbrian school with the older one of Siena, which, through Benvenuto, runs in a clear and uninterrupted descent from Simone, Lippo, Barna, Giovanni d'Asciano, and Ceccharelli.[1] Nor is this Annunciation at Volterra an isolated one. Its counterpart by the same hand is in the sacristy of SS. Pietro e Paolo at Buonconvento.[2]

The hard, dry spareness of a tempera which almost places Benvenuto in direct connection with Carlo Crivelli, is marked in

[1] The Virgin is seated, the angel kneeling. Part of the dress of the former is gone. The Eternal, with a large head, gives a blessing from out a circular glory of cherub heads, supported by four angels. To the left, St. Michael stands in armour; to the right, St. Catherine of Alexandria. The pictures are all prim, small, and angular, whilst the external outline of the heads is round. A half-length patron in profile prays at the edge of the foreground, and cuts in two the inscription: "Opus Benvenuti Ioannis de Senis M.CCCCLXVI." Bonfigli's picture most like this is one originally in the Collegio de' Notari, now belonging to Signor Vincenzo Bertelli at Perugia. [* At present in the Perugia Gallery.]

[2] The saints at the sides of this Annunciation are SS. Anthony abbot, and Francis. [* In 1470 Benvenuto worked in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala at Siena (*cf. postea*, p. 163, n. 3), where Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 149) recognizes his hand in two ruined frescoes in one of the men's wards, representing St. Andrew and two figures beside a stone coffer. From 1470 date, moreover, an Annunciation in the Church of San Bernardino at Sinalunga in the Val di Chiana (signed "Opus Benvenuti Johannis de Senis MCCCCLXXX"; reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 72, and BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Montepulciano*, Bergamo, 1907, p. 30); and a Nativity, with a predella, also signed and dated, in the Communal Gallery at Volterra (reproduced in RICCI, *Volterra*, p. 87 *sqq.*). An allegory of good government, on a *tavoletta di gabella* of 1474, in the Archivio di Stato of Siena (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xliii.) may confidently be ascribed to Benvenuto. A triptych representing the Virgin and Child with four saints, with the Redeemer and two saints in lunettes, eight small full-lengths of saints in pilasters, and two saints and four subjects from the life of the Virgin in the predella, formerly in the Church of S. Michele Arcangelo at Montepertuso, near Siena, and now in the Siena Academy (Nos. 435, 436), is signed "Opus Benvenuti Iohannes de Senis M.CCCC.LXXXV." From 1479 dates a Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Nicholas of Bari, in the National Gallery (No. 909, signed "Opus Benvenuti Ioanes de Senis MCCCCLXXVIIII"), and from 1481 a fresco of the Virgin of Mercy in the Monte dei Paschi at Siena (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, vi. 74). In 1482 Benvenuto received payment for thirty-five figures painted under the drum of the cupola of the Duomo of Siena, and still extant (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 79).]

a Madonna and Saints at S. Domenico,[1] eight years earlier in date than a darkened and damaged Ascension of Christ in the Academy of Siena.[2] The most reasonable of Benvenuto's relics, however, is the end of a *cataletto*, or bier, commissioned of him and his son Girolamo by the Compagnia della Madonna in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala (1500–01). Its diminutive size, no doubt, conceals many of the usual failings, but the procession of St. Catherine leading the Pope and clergy to Rome is enlivened with many figures, the draperies of which betray less than the usual lack of style, whilst the colour, though still sharply contrasted, is not without power.[3] Three small pictures in the Sienese Academy are by Benvenuto.[4] A fresco of the Virgin's Assumption in the Oratory of St. Sebastian (Borgo di Montalboli) outside Asciano;[5] the same subject in the choir; two panels originally at its sides in S. Maria de' Servi at Borgo S. Sepolcro, are also worthy of examination.

The latter are striking instances of the relationship between the Sienese and Umbrians at Borgo San Sepolcro. Passavant has attributed them to Piero della Francesca,[6] but they ought

[1] Ordered in 1483 (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 79). The lunette (Adoration of the Magi) belongs to a picture in the same convent of S. Domenico, by Matteo da Siena. Benvenuto's lunette of Christ on the tomb is on Matteo da Siena's picture. [* Both lunettes are now in their right places.]

[2] No. 434., Acad. of Arts, inscribed: "Benvenuti Joannis pictoris de Senis MCCCCLXXXXI." The colour is dark and dull, and the picture reminds one of the productions of the Venetian school of Murano. [* From 1497 dates an altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Andrew and John the Evangelist, with God the Father in a lunette, in the Church of SS. Fiora e Lucilla at Torrita (Val di Chiana), signed "Opus Benvenuti Joannis pittoris de Senis MCCCCLXXXXVII." To the following year belongs a large Assumption, formerly in the Convento della Grangia, near Grosseto, and in 1907 in possession of Signor Volpi of Florence (reproduced in Nicolosi, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 117).]

[3] This fragment is still in the Compagnia della Madonna sotto Spedale at Siena. [* Now in the little Gallery of the Hospital (No. 18).]

[4] No. 380. Half-length Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Francis. No. 383, Assumption of the Virgin. No. 395, a Virgin and Child.

[5] The Assumption. The Virgin is accompanied by long, motionless angels, with the Saviour above between prophets; St. Thomas between SS. Sebastian and Agatha kneeling below, and the angel and Virgin annunciate in spandrils of an arch—a rude and hastily handled work, with slender and inanimate figures, and a bad example of the school of the Benvenuti.

[6] See *antea*, P. della Francesca, and Passavant, *Raphael*, *u.s.*, i. 433.

not to be so considered, for they bear the stamp of the hand of Benvenuto, and are indeed an advance on his previous works. The central Ascension is in a form which now found numerous copyists in Siena. The Eternal, foreshortened, looks down from a prismatic glory, surrounded by seraphs and attended by prophets. The Virgin rises towards Him, encircled by cherubs, accompanied by angels, who move, not as of old, in flight, but on clouds. The Apostles below peer into the tomb. SS. John the Baptist and Dominic,[1] Paul and Lucy, with the Virgin and the angel annunciate in medallions above them, fill the sides in the sacristy. Whilst the Apostles in the central panel rival in stark stiffness those in pictures of the school of Murano, they are dressed in garments of broken folds like those of the Flemings. The angel and Virgin annunciate recall similar creations by Giovanni Santi, and reproduce to some extent his character, type, and mode of action. The remaining figures are long, lean, and bony,—the SS. Paul and Lucy, indeed, not without a claim to attention for fairness of proportion and for some progress towards the higher talent of Matteo of Siena.[2]

That Benvenuto had ample time to profit by the changes which were rapidly occurring in his country at the close of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth centuries is apparent. He lived till 1517, in which year he is recorded to have furnished the *baldaquin* of the Siena Duomo on the occasion of Leo X.'s visit to that city.[3] There never was a class, however, so little prone to alter as that of Siena's artists, and we must pass from

* 1 Not St. Dominic, but St. Philip Benizzi.

* 2 This altarpiece is now known to have been ordered on July 9, 1487, from Matteo da Siena. (See *postea*, p. 184, n. 2.)

[3] *Doc. sen.*, iii. 80. [* As a matter of fact, this document records that the *baldaquin* was painted by Girolamo di Benvenuto.] In the same volumes are records of works not now in existence: in 1470, at S. Maria della Scala; 1482, in the Duomo (miniatures); 1483, in the Duomo (drawing for sybil in the pavement). [* The figure in the pavement (The Albinean Sybil) still survives. (See Cust. *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, London, 1901, p. 43 *sq.*)] 1485, in the Duomo (drawing for the sacrifice of Jephtha). [* This subject was not designed by Benvenuto, who, on the other hand, in 1484–85 designed the Expulsion of Herod. (See Cust, *u.s.*, pp. 81–4, 53 *sqq.*).] 1493, in the Company of S. Giov. Battista della Morte (painted bier); 1494, in the Company of S. Trinità (Standard with Virgin of Mercy); 1499, in Company of S. Girolamo (ii. 344, 379, 382, 387; iii. 40, 79–80). Mr. Ramboux, Cologne, catalogued the following as by Benvenuto: No. 168

Benvenuto to his son Girolamo, in order to find improvement. Yet Girolamo, born as late as 1470, and the contemporary of Pinturicchio, Bazzi, Girolamo Genga, and Pacchia, painted in 1508 a "Virgin of the Snow," in the essentials not unlike the productions of his father, though perhaps more pleasing to the eye.[1] Numerous and cornered folds deprive the draperies of

*[1] In many of his works the style of Girolamo is very close to that of Benvenuto, and it is often exceedingly difficult to draw the dividing line between the two artists. With this caution, we may add the following list of works by or attributed to, Benvenuto, not mentioned by the authors:

Aix-en-Provence. Gallery. No. 138. The Slaughter of the Innocents (PERKINS, *u.s.*, p. 75).

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 1,526. Pietà (lunette above a bas-relief of the Virgin and Child by Jacopo della Quercia). *Collection of the late Herr von Kauffmann.* S. Giovanni Gualberto before the Crucifix. (PERKINS, *u.s.*, p. 76.)

Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Museum. The Virgin and Child with a choir of angels and an episcopal saint, SS. Nicholas of Tolentino, Monica and John the Evangelist (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, i. 76–77).

Cetona (near Siena). San Francesco, cloister. The Virgin and Child. (See OLCOTT, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vi. 74.)

Englewood, New Jersey. Mr. D. F. Platt. The Virgin and Child with four angels. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vii. 19 *sq.*, with reproduction.) An early work. The Nativity. (See *id.*, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 122 *sq.*, with reproduction.)

Fabriano. Casa Fornari. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Bernardino of Siena.

Florence. Late Toscanelli Collection. SS. John the Baptist and Michael.

London. National Gallery, No. 2,482. The Virgin and Child. (Salting bequest.) *Wallace Collection, No.* 543. St. Jerome. *Mr. F. E. Sidney.* The Virgin and Child. *Late Collection of Florence Lady Abdy* (sold at Christie's, May 5, 1911, No. 139). The Adoration of the Magi. (See PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vii. 67, n. 2.)

Montepulciano, Pinacoteca, No. 10. The Adoration of the Shepherds (Girolamo ?).

New Haven, Conn. Jarves Collection, No. 57. The Virgin and Child with two angels (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, i. 76 *sq.*).

Paris. Ernest Odiot Sale, April, 1889, *No.* 5. The Virgin and Child.

Philadelphia. Mr. P. Widener. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Bernardino.

Poggio alle Mura (Comune di Montalcino). Pieve, St. Sigismund (fresco) (reproduced in BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Pienza*, p. 141).

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. Four scenes from the Passion (Girolamo ?).

Saturnia (Val d'Albegna). Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Mary Magdalen (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *La Montagna Maremmana*, p. 49).

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. Pietà. (PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vii. 67 *sq.*, with reproduction.) From the Eastlake and Cheramy Collections.

Photo. Alinari

THE VIRGIN OF THE SNOW

By Girolamo di Benvenuto

From a picture in the Siena Gallery

(The lunette from an altarpiece by Matteo da Siena)

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ature; and the colouring exaggerates the quality of warmth.[1] n injured fresco of the Virgin amidst singing and playing angels, n a lunette above the high-altar of the Church of the Madonna f Fontegiusta, is a later creation, dating from 1515, in which irolamo had enlarged his manner.[2] A S. Chiara with a kneeling ilgrim, in the convent church of the Osservanza outside Siena, wo or three small pictures in the Academy, are all that remain f this short-lived artist, who died in 1524.[3]

Siena. Academy, No. 581. "Noli Me Tangere"; fresco, transferred to canvas. ormerly in the Monastero di Campansi, Siena (Girolamo ?). *S. Sebastiano in alle Piatta, Sacristy.* The Virgin and Child with SS. James and Jerome. *Ionastero di Sant' Eugenio.* The Crucifixion. The Resurrection (frescoes).

Sinalunga. Santa Lucia. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Fabrinus (with a predella). Signed "Opus Benvenuti Iohannis de Senis 1507." The test dated work by Benvenuto that is extant. Reproduced in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Montepulciano*, p. 28. *Madonna della Neve.* The Virgin and Child mitation of a Byzantine Madonna). (Olcott, *u.s.*)

Viterbo. Duomo, Sala del Capitolo. The Virgin and Child. (Perkins, in *assegna d'arte senese*, iii. 77.)

[1] This picture is in the Oratorio di S. Caterina at S. Domenico of Siena, and epresents the Virgin with the Infant in benediction, erect on her knee. Four ngels with vases and snowballs are at her sides. Right and left stand S. Jerome nd S. Catherine, and two other saints kneel at the flanks of the foreground, hilst an angel sounds an instrument on the step of the throne. An inscription t the base runs: "Opus Jheronimi Benvenuti de Senis MCCCCCVIII." A lunette, ffixed to the upper part, is not by Girolamo, but is a fragment of another picture y Matteo da Siena. [* This altarpiece is now in the Siena Academy, No. 414.]

[2] *Doc. sen.*, iii. 71. The shadows and sky are restored. The picture has been ong falsely assigned to Fungai.

[3] *Ib.*, iii. 78. The kneeling pilgrim is attributed erroneously to Pietro di iovanni Pucci.

The pictures at the Siena Academy are Nos. 342, 373, 370. [* To these may be dded a Deposition (No. 369) and a Nativity of the Virgin (No. 372).] A St. Jerome n Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne was catalogued under Girolamo's name No. 169).

[* We have still to enumerate the following paintings which may be given to Girolamo di Benvenuto either with certainty or with probability, remarking, however, gain, that in some cases it is difficult to distinguish between him and Benvenuto i Giovanni:

Dresden. Gallery, No. 33. The Holy Family with St. John Baptist.

Florence. Sig. Carlo Angeli. Pietà (see Perkins, in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, ii. 68 *sq.*, with reproduction).

Grosseto. Museo. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Bernardino of iena (reproduced in Nicolosi, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, p. 122).

London. Mr .R. Benson. Portrait of a Lady.

Montalcino. Chiesa dell' Osservanza. The Assumption of the Virgin.

Before proceeding further, however, we must revert to men of the earlier period, of another stamp in many ways than that of the branch headed by Domenico di Bartolo.

Stefano di Giovanni, more commonly known as Sassetta, was a child of the fourteenth century.[1] whose art so strikingly resembled that of a bygone time that guides of respectable quality attribute to him Ugolino's Crucifix in S. Maria de' Servi at Siena. He differs from Domenico di Bartolo and others of his kindred, not merely because he preserves unimpaired the technical system of tempera, but because he imitated the formal arrangement, the patient minuteness of outline, and the soft curves of draperies which distinguish Ugolino and Segna. The link which connects him with that age is the Crucifix of the Servi, to which we may add the Saviour on the cross in Golgotha, already noticed at the Academy of Siena,[2] and a Calvary at the Louvre.[3] In coarseness and thinness of shape, in overweight of head, his figures are no better than those of his contemporaries, whose flatness of tone he imitates. We should for this reason hesitate to declare that his example had no influence on the later Vecchietta. The only piece positively connected with his name is the fresco of the Porta Romana at Siena, which he left unfinished at his death,[4] but that specimen is so characteristic that it serves as a model of his peculiarities, and shows that he, and no other, produced the Birth of the Virgin in the sacristy of the Duomo at Asciano, the Madonna and saints of 1436 in a chapel at the convent Church of the

New Haven, Conn. Jarvis Collection, No. 71. Cupid bound by Maidens (*Desco da parto*).

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,668. The Judgment of Paris (*Desco da parto*). *M. Albert Bossy.* Miracle of the Virgin of the Snow (predella fragment, ascribed to the school of Foligno).

Siena, Osservanza. The Resurrection of the Dead (see PERKINS, in *L'Arte*, xiv. 120 *sq.*, with reproduction).

Torrita (*Val di Chiana*). *Oratorio della Madonna delle Nevi.* The Assumption (fresco). Reproduced in BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Montepulciano*, pp. 38 *sqq.*]

* [1] He was born on December 21, 1392 (BORGHESI and BANCHI, *u.s.*, p. 145).

[2] No. 34. See *antea*, iii. 24, n. 2. [3] No. 1,665. See *antea*, iii. 24. n. 2.

* [4] Other authenticated works by Sassetta which have come down to us (though in a dismembered and fragmentary condition) are the polyptych painted for the Arte della Lana at Siena (1423–26), the *Madonna della Neve* for the Siena Duomo (1430-32), the crucifix for S. Martino at Siena (1433), and the altarpiece for S. Francesco at Borgo S. Sepolcro (1437–44).

Osservanza, outside Siena, and a similar one in the sacristy of S. Domenico of Cortona. The monumental form, the roofed or gabled fronts of these altarpieces, are purely Sienese; the subjects are handled in Sassetta's style. At Asciano some grace makes amends for the comparative weakness of the figures, or the flatness which results from variegated tints unrelieved by light or shadow, and copious use of ornament. It is almost touching to see how Stefano clings to old compositions in episodes of which the originals by Lorenzetti are copied successively by Andrea Vanni, Bartolo di Fredi, and him.[1] A tender air still pleases in the plump, small-featured Virgin at the Osservanza; and extraordinary softness pervades the rosy flesh, shadowed with the usual verde.[2] At Cortona the saints are slender as before, but stork-like in the gravity and awkwardness of their motion.[3] Each of these three Sassettas is marked by painful minuteness of operation, a tendency to overweight of heads, festooned drapery, angular eyes, and superabundance of gold. They reveal the source from which Sano di Pietro obtained his education.[4]

Some interest attaches also to the life of Sassetta from the knowledge that Sienese art is traceable through him in a direct manner to the home of Piero della Francesca. Father della Valle

[1] Lorenzetti's original of 1342 is in the Siena Duomo. Vanni's adaptation (No. 116) in the Siena Academy of Arts [* as noted previously (iii. 129, n. 1), this is a work by Paolo di Giovanni Fei]; Fredi's in S. Agostino at S. Gimignano. The central panel of Sassetta's altarpiece represents the nurses busy with the child; the right side, S. Anna in bed washing her hands; the left side, Joachim receiving the news of the birth. Above the latter is her death, whilst on the opposite panel flanking a central one devoted to the Virgin giving the breast to Christ, is the funeral of Mary, the whole on gold ground.

[2] The throned Virgin holds the Infant erect on her knee. SS. Ambrose and Jerome attend at the sides, and the pointed gables are filled by a Christ in Benediction between SS. Paul and Peter, whilst the spaces between the points contain two medallions with the Virgin and angel annunciate. On the lower border one reads the words: "Manus Orlandi fieri fecit hanc tabulam cum tota capella MCCCCXXXVI," on gold ground.

[3] The centre represents the Virgin with the Child to her breast, and two kneeling angels on the foreground, between SS. Nicolas of Bari, Michael (in armour injured by scaling), John the Baptist, and Margaret. A central medallion in the pinnacle contains the lamb, the side ones, the Annunciation.

[4] The late Mr. Ramboux's catalogue at Cologne assigns to Sassetta the following panels: Nos. 149–53. [* No. 150 (S. Galgano) and No. 151 (St. Francis) are now in the Episcopal Palace at Utrecht (see De Nicola, in *L'Arte*, xi. 386.]

quotes the contract of Stefano di Giovanni with the Minorites of Siena for a St. Francis in majesty at S. Francesco of Borgo S. Sepolcro.[1] The picture has passed into the hands of Messrs. Lombardi at Florence. Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, hovering above the glorified founder's head, are not without grace or natural motion, but the attendant saints alone would prove that the Byzantine element had not vanished from Siena in the fifteenth century.[2]

The Coronation of the Virgin on the Roman gate is an old form of that subject, lacking neither religious feeling nor simplicity in its conception, but almost deprived of both in the execution. Lean puppets, with necks almost as long as their waists, wriggle rather than move in attitudes and costume alike grotesque. Grimace distorts the faces. Festoons, bedecked with borders, surcharge the skirts, and remind us of the time when

[1] DELLA VALLE, *Lettere sanesi*, iii. 44. The signature on the picture runs thus: "Cristoforus Francisci fei Andreas Johannis Tanis operarius A. MCCCCXXXIIII." See the engraving in ROSINI. [* This picture—flanked by narrower panels, containing the figures of St. John the Baptist and the Beato Raineri Rasini—is now in the collection of Mr. B. Berenson at Settignano. At the back of this triptych were originally to be seen eight pictures representing scenes from the legend of St. Francis. Five of these (St. Francis clothing the Beggar and dreaming of the Church, St. Francis renouncing his Heritage, St. Francis before the Sultan, St. Francis before the Pope, The Funeral of St. Francis) are now in the collection of M. Chalandon, of Paris; one (St. Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio) belongs to the Comte de Martel, Château de Beaumont, Chéverny (Loire-et-Cher); and one (The Marriage of St. Francis and Poverty) is in the Musée Condé, at Chantilly (No. 10) (first identified by Mr. L. DOUGLAS, *History of Siena*, p. 386). The altar-piece was ordered on September 5, 1437, and completed by June 5, 1444; the contract was made at Borgo S. Sepolcro with the *operai* of the Church of S. Francesco of that city (BORGHESI and BANCHI, *u.s.*, p. 119 *sq.* 142 *sqq.*). The inscription, with the date 1444, is now no longer on the central panel. Compare on this work BERENSON, *A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend* (London, 1909; reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. iii).] DELLA VALLE further notices a crucifix in the refectory of S. Martino at Siena, ordered of Sassetta in 1433 (see vol. iii. 44). [* This crucifix was broken up in 1820; the ends of it—representing the grieving Virgin and St. John, and St. Martin and the beggar—are now in the Palazzo Saracini at Siena (Nos. 1,256 and 1,273). See L. DOUGLAS, in BRYAN'S *Dictionary, ed.* WILLIAMSON, v. 120 *sqq.*; DE NICOLA, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxiii. 332-335.]

[2] Another picture in the Lombardi collection, representing the Virgin and Child between six angels and two saints at the sides (injured), reminds one of the frescoes of the Porta Romana. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

We may also mention here again the Berlin Museum panel No. 1,122, assigned to Domenico di Bartolo; see note to p. 145 with reference to its upper part being more like a production of Sassetta than one by any other Sienese that we know.

Photo. Braudon.

The Marriage of St. Francis and Poverty.

By Giotto.

From a picture in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

Cimabue arose to set aside similar imperfections; and Sassetta appears dimly to us as the last of a religious class exhausted by sameness and repetition.[1] Yet there is no depth so low but that

[1] The fresco is much injured. The Virgin bends in pious reverence to receive the crown from the Saviour, of whose head alone there are still traces. Angels and prophets and clergy attend behind the Virgin; whilst similar groups behind the Christ are partly obliterated, partly altered, by damp. In the lower foreground SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Siena severally head groups of saints. The whole fresco on the outside of the gate is in a recess, the vaulting of which still contains a few of the angels originally painted there. The remaining notices of Sassetta's life are short: 1427. Design for the font in S. Giovanni at Siena (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 244). 1428. He is free of the painters' guild (*ib.*, i. 48). 1433. Altarpiece for a private chapel in the Duomo (*ib.*, ii. 244.) [* It was ordered on March 25, 1430, by Lodovica, daughter of Francesco Bertini, and finished by December 30, 1432 (Borghesi and Banchi, *u.s.*, p. 145). The altarpiece is in great part preserved; *cf. postea.*] 1440. Drawings for a glass window in the Duomo (*ib.*, ii. 198) 1442. Colours for the Duomo (*ib.*, ii. 244). 1444. S. Bernardino in the hospital church of S. Maria della Scala (*ib.*, 245). 1447. Order for the paintings of the Porta Romana at Siena (*ib.*, *ib.*). 1450. Sassetta's death (*ib.*, ii. 274). 1452. Arbitration for the price to be paid to Sassetta's heirs for the Porta Romana frescoes (*ib.*, *ib.*). 1459. Record that the frescoes still remain unfinished (*ib.*, iii. 307). Nos. 166, 167, 169, 168, 207, in the Siena Acad. seem to be works of Sassetta or of his atelier. [* Our knowledge of Sassetta as an artist has of late years been very much increased, chiefly through Mr. Langton Douglas (in the *Burlington Magazine*, i. 306 *sqq.*), Mr. Berenson (*u.s.*), and Dr. De Nicola (in the *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii. 207–215, 276–283, and 332–336). A considerable number of works by him have been identified, and we have also learnt to put a higher estimate on his art than was done by the authors. His was, indeed, a singularly captivating, poetic imagination, which finds its clearest expression in his renderings of legendary subjects, especially those of the legend of St. Francis. He was probably a pupil of Paolo di Giovanni Fei. The earliest extant work by Sassetta to which a date can be assigned is the polyptych painted for the chapel of the Arte della Lana at Siena; it was probably executed between 1423 and 1426, and certainly existed by 1431. This polyptych is now dismembered, and of its parts the following can be traced: (*a*) Five panels of the predella—viz., St. Thomas Aquinas praying before the Virgin (Budapest Gallery, No. 25); St. Thomas studying before the Crucifix (Vatican Gallery); a Miracle of the Sacrament (Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle); the Last Supper (Siena Gallery, No. 166); the Temptation of St. Anthony (Siena Gallery, No. 167). (*b*) Ten panels, which formed part of the pilasters of the polyptych—viz., the four patrons of Siena, the four doctors of the church, and two prophets (all in the Gallery of Siena, Nos. 168, 169, 87, 95). Two parts of the predella, the main panels (the Adoration of the Sacrament between SS. Anthony and Thomas), and the top pieces (the Coronation of the Virgin between St. Gabriel and the Annunciate Virgin) are now lost. (See De Nicola, *u.s.*, pp. 208–215.) Next in date among the extant works by Sassetta follows the altarpiece painted between 1430 and 1432 for the chapel of the Madonna della Neve in the Duomo of Siena (*cf. antea*). Of this ancona, the main panel (the Virgin and Child with

we find a lower, and Pietro di Giovanni Pucci is to be reckoned amongst the followers of Stefano di Giovanni.[1]

four Angels and SS. Peter, John Baptist, Paul, and Francis), and the predella (the legend of the Virgin of the Snow) are in the Municipio at Chiusdino near Siena. It was crowned by three cusps, of which one (St. Gabriel) is in the Museo Comunale at Massa Marittima, and another (the Virgin Annunciate) is in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt at Englewood, New Jersey. The principal panel is signed "Stephanus de Senis . . . pinxit." (See DE NICOLA, *u.s.*, pp. 276–283.) The following is a list of pictures by Sassetta which are still to be noticed:

Basciano (near Siena). Chiesa del Castello. The Virgin and Child (PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 156 *sq.*, with reproduction).

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. No. 63B. The Virgin and Child (BERENSON, *u.s.*, p. 65). *No.* 63. The Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and a female saint. (Unnumbered.) The Conversion of St. Francis (the two latter identified by Mr. L. Douglas).

Dijon. Musée. Pietà.

Englewood, New Jersey. Mr. D. F. Platt. Two scenes from the legend of St. Anthony the Abbot (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 45 *sq.*, with reproductions).

Grosseto. Duomo, Sacristy. The Virgin and Child (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 76 *sq.*, with reproduction).

London. National Gallery, No. 1,842. Heads of angels (fragment of fresco). *The Marchioness of Crewe.* The Journey of the Three Kings (see FRY, in the *Burlington Magazine*, xxii. 131, with reproduction).

Milan. Prince Trivulzio. The Birth of the Virgin (triptych).

New Haven, Conn. Jarves Collection, Nos. 48 *and* 53. Temptations of St. Anthony.

Paris. M. Martin Le Roy. The Virgin and Child with angels.

Pienza. Musso. The Virgin and Child with saints (triptych; L. DOUGLAS, in BRYAN'S *Dictionary*, *u.s.*).

Rome. Conte A. Castelli-Mignanelli. The Virgin and Child. (BERENSON. *Central Italian Painters*, p. 246; PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, xiii. 121 *sq.*, with reproduction.)

S. Severino. Communal Gallery, No. 15. The Virgin and Child with angels (BERENSON, *u.s.*).

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. The Virgin and Child with angels (reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, iii. 178).

Siena. Academy, No. 325. The Virgin and Child. *Palazzo Saracini.* No. 933 The Adoration of the Magi (L. DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, p. 158). No. 1,275: The Virgin and Child with saints and angels (triptych).

Vienna. Prince Leon Ourousoff. St. Anthony the Abbot in his Solitude (reproduced in SUIDA, *Oesterreichische Kunstschaetze*, i., plate LVIII.; the attribution to Sassetta first made by Mrs. BERENSON, in *Rassegna d'arte*, xi. 202).]

[1] He adds to the ugly types of Sassetta rigidity and hard outlines, and he substitutes for his master's transparence of colour a disagreeable opaqueness. His extant works are: A life-size S. Bernardino in the Academy of Siena (No. 203), inscribed: "Petrus Johannis pinxit."; a similar figure in the choir of the Church of the Osservanza, signed: "opus Petri Johanne Senis MCCCCXXXVIIII"; a third in S. Francesco of Lucignano, where the saint tramples on three episcopal mitres, with the inscription: "Petrus Johannis de Senis p. MCCCCXLVIII."; a dull and poor Adoration of the Shepherds, with S. Galgano on the right, is on an

One of his better pupils was Ansano or Sano di Pietro di Mencio, whose power of multiplication seems little short of miraculous. Born in 1406,[1] buried in 1481,[2] his life offers no very great variety of incident. He worked for most of the public bodies and religious institutions of Siena, and there are not less than forty-seven panels by him in the Academy of that city.

His style oscillates between that of Vecchietta and that of Sassetta, but he took most from the latter, rivalling the carefulness, improving the types and expression, of his predecessor. His frescoes are as like arras as those of Simone or Lippo Memmi. They are variegated, richly adorned, but almost shadowless. Round heads, deficient in the frontal projections, are heavy for frames that diminish feebly to the feet. Easy curves of meandering folds form the comparative attraction of draperies; and in panels the colour is fused, transparent, and careful; nor is it possible to find, even in Simone, more exquisite tracery or more finely cut coigns for the stamping of nimbuses. An agreeable tenderness in the delineation of females sometimes redeems the more vulgar errors into which Sano commonly falls; and he fairly succeeds in such religious subjects as a Paradise, or a Coronation of the Virgin, and gives some greater charm to the form of an angel than to that of an attendant saint. It has been usual to call him the Angelico of Siena, and this may be true, if the name be meant only to suggest a contrast between his productions and the coarser ones of some of his contemporaries. An early Virgin and saints, ordered for the convent of S. Girolamo of Siena in 1444, shows him to have been active at that time in the production of the partitioned altarpieces characteristic of the taste of his countrymen.[3] A fresco of the Coronation in the ground-floor of

altar to the left of the portal in S. Agostino of Asciano [* reproduced by HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, pl. XV.]. DELLA VALLE (*Lett. san.*, ii. 197) records two frescoes painted by Pietro di Giovanni Pucci in the infirmary of the Spedale of S. Maria della Scala. It is to Pietro (one should conjecture from the style) that we owe the repainted figure of the dead Emperor Barbarossa in Spinello's fresco at the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. [* A processional banner by Pietro, signed and dated 1444, is in the André collection at Paris (reproduced in *L'Arte*, xvii. 63 *sq.*).]

[1] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 279.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 388-90. His name is Sano di Pietro di Mencio, and he is not the son of Pietro Lorenzetti, as DELLA VALLE asserts (*Lett. san.*, ii., note to p. 229).

[3] Nos. 246, 233, Siena Academy, inscribed: "Opus Sani Petri de Senis, MCCCCXLIIII."

the Palazzo Pubblico is of the following year, and the most important of all Sano's labours.[1] Some grace in the movement of the bowing Virgin is allied to a feeling immediately akin to that of Sassetta. Finer and better preserved, however, is the Madonna, SS. Jerome and Bernardino in a chapel to the left of the portal of the convent church dell' Osservanza.[2] Another careful work is a S. Bernardino in the sacristy of the Duomo at Siena. The most successful of the pieces in the Academy is the Ascension of the Virgin of 1479;[3] and there are many interesting specimens of his manner in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Gualdo,[4] in the

[1] A long inscription at the base of this fresco exists, and is given with tolerable correctness by DELLA VALLE (*Lett. san.*, ii., note to p. 230). It concludes: "Opus Sani Petri Senis M°CCCCXLV." The two principal figures are in front of a vast throne, at the back of which are numerous angels. Seraphs, prophets, and saints attend at the sides. Cherubs and other inmates of paradise play in the spandrils of the arch forming the recess; and the whole scene is guarded, as it were, by a large St. Catherine (repainted in the seventeenth century) and S. Bernardino. [* Mr. PERKINS (in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 78, n. 1) has pointed out that the characteristics of Domenico di Bartolo's style are recognizable in certain parts of this fresco (*e.g.*, the angels and cherubs behind the throne; the saint to the left of the throne, of whom only the head and hand are seen; eight saints immediately to the left of the throne; five medallions in the arch, and eight cherubs in the spandrils). Mr. BERENSON (*u.s.*, p. 162) assigns the St. Catherine to Domenico also. Possibly the fresco was begun by Domenico and finished after his death by Sano.]

[2] The Virgin and angel annunciate are in the medallions of the spandrils. The predella is removed, and now stands as base to a picture of 1413 in the same church, which may be assigned to Taddeo Bartoli (see *antea*, iii., note 1 to p. 153). Some other pieces by Sano are in the sacristy of the church.

[3] Nos. 259, 260, Academy, inscribed: "Sani Petri pinxit—questa tavola a fata fare suoro Batista di Benedetto de' nobili da Litiano MCCCCLXXVIIII." This altarpiece was in the Church of S. Petronilla. The remaining panels in the Academy are: Nos. 261, 258, 226, 247, 269, 218, 266, 166 (cat. of 1860), 262, 237, 230, 251, 253, 241, 239, 234, 248, 243, 240 (cat. of 1860), 250, 245, 267, 229, 273, 254, 265, 232, 272, 235, 257 (cat. of 1860), 252, 242, 227, 228, 231, 268, 271, 225, 270, 223. [* Of the above-mentioned pictures, Nos. 166 (a book-cover with two horsemen and a man on foot) and 257 (a *Tavoletta di Gabella* of 1470, with God the Father sending forth the Angel of Wisdom; LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xli.) of the catalogue of 1860 are now in the Archivio di Stato at Siena; while No. 234 of the catalogue of 1860 (The Redeemer, seated, 1·17 by 0·45 m.) is apparently not now shown. The following pictures by Sano di Pietro are to be found in the Siena Academy, in addition to those mentioned by the authors: Nos. 224, 236, 238, 244, 249, 255 (signed and dated 1449), 256, 257, 263 (*cf. postea*, p. 173, n. 4), 264, and 323.]

[4] This is a much damaged (by three splits) lunette under the false name of Alunno, representing the coronation of the Virgin, with two monks in prayer on

collegiate church of S. Quirico near Siena,[1] in the Duomo at Pienza,[2] in SS. Pietro e Paolo of Buonconvento,[3] in many other places of the Sienese territory, and in most public and private collections in England and on the Continent.[4]

the foreground right and left of the principal group. [* This picture is now in the Municipal Gallery of Gualdo, and is reproduced in GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 39.]

[1] Above the lateral portal of the transept. In a lunette, the Virgin and Child between SS. James, Nicodemus, a kneeling female (left) and two other saints (right); above, the Resurrection and Limbo. In a predella, scenes from the Passion.

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[4] *Siena, S.M. Maddalena, Conservatorio.* Altarpiece (wood) by Sano. Subject: the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, Helena, Jerome, and Bernardino. [* Now in the Siena Gallery, No. 263.] *Paris, Louvre.* Ex Campana Nos. 1,128–1,132. This is an episode from the life of St. Jerome, also by Sano. [* The subjects of these pictures are as follows: No. 1,128. St. Jerome dreaming he is brought before the judge. No. 1,129. St. Jerome doing penance in the desert. No. 1,130. St. Jerome extracting the thorn from the paw of the lion. No. 1,131. Death of St. Jerome and St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine. No. 1,132. St. Jerome appearing to Sulpicius Severus and St. John the Baptist, and St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine. (See the very interesting article by Mlle. LOUISE PILLION, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. iii., vol. xxxix., p. 303 *sqq.*)] *Gallery of late H.R.H. Prince Albert* (*Manchester*, No. 55): Virgin, Child, and saints (from Kensington). [* Compare L. CUST, *Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections*, London, 1911, p. 7.] *Mr. Fuller Maitland* (*Manchester*, No. 56): St. Peter restoring Tabitha. [* Present whereabouts unknown.] *Sir J. Boileau* (*Manchester*, No. 59): A miracle from the legend of S. Chiara. [* Present whereabouts unknown.] *Rome, Museo Cristiano, press. No. VIIII.:* Various small panels. [* Now in the Vatican Gallery.] *Dresden Museum:* Nos. 2, 3, 4, 24, 25, 26. [*Nos. 2–4 are purely Byzantine works.] *Berlin Museum:* 1,068, 1,120–1,121. [* These are now on loan to the University Gallery at Göttingen.] *Ramboux, Cologne:* Nos. 130–2, 134–143. [* No. 138 (John the Baptist) and No. 139 (St. Ansanus) are now in the Episcopal Palace at Utrecht (*cf.* DE NICOLA, in *L'Arte*, xi. 386).] *Altenburg* (*Saxony*), *Lindenau Collection:* By Sano, No. 70, Visitation; No. 72, Virgin, Child, and Baptist; No. 73, Virgin, Child, four angels, and two saints; the two latter falsely assigned to Giovanni di Paolo. [* They are now officially ascribed to Sano di Petro. No. 71 (The Assumption of the Virgin) and No. 75 (The Virgin and Child) in this gallery are also by him.

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In 1428, at which date Sano was already free of his guild, his model was taken for the font in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at

Assisi. S. Maria degli Angeli, at the back of the Portiuncula. The Virgin and Child.

Bologna. SS. Vitale e Agricola. The Virgin and Child (inset in a landscape with angels by Francia). See OLCOTT, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 87.

Bolsena. S. Cristina. Dismembered triptych. See HERMANIN, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, ii. 47 *sqq.*, with reproduction.

Brussels. Gallery. The Virgin and Child with saints and angels.

Budapest. Picture Gallery. No. 23. The Dance of Salome. No. 24. The Virgin and Child.

Chiusi. Duomo. Choral with miniatures.

Cologne. Schnütgen Collection. The Risen Christ.

Florence. Mr. C. Loeser. The Assumption of the Virgin.

London. Mr. F. A. White. The Virgin and Child with six saints. *Lady Burne-Jones.* The Crucifixion.

Massa Marittima. Duomo. The Presentation in the Temple.

Montalcino. Municipio. The Virgin and Child with angels. *Sig. Giovanni Cresti.* The Virgin and Child with two saints and four angels. *Osservanza.* San Bernardino.

Montemerano (*Val d'Albegna*). *San Giorgio.* The Virgin and Child with saints Polyptych, signed "Sano Petri . . . sen. i. . . . MCCCCLVIII." See NICOLOSI, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 61.

Montepescali (*near Grosseto*). *Casa Baroni.* The Virgin and Child with two angels (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, p. 79).

Monteriggioni (*near Siena*). *SS. Marcellino, Pietro ed Erasmo a Uopini.* SS. Jerome and John the Baptist (see BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, ii. 98).

Montorsaio (*Contado Rosellano*). *SS. Michele e Cerbone.* The Virgin and Child (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *u.s.*, p. 53).

New Haven, Conn. Jarves Collection. No. 49. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 50. The Coronation of the Virgin.

New York. Mr. Meinhard. The Virgin and Child (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 122, with reproduction).

Oxford. Ashmolean Museum. The Virgin and Child. *Christ Church Library.* The Virgin and Child with six saints. The Virgin and Child with two saints and angels.

Rome. Prince Doria. Christ enthroned with two saints. *Marchese Piero Misciatelli.* The Virgin and Child with two saints and four angels (see MISCIATELLI, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 35, with reproduction). *Sterbini Collection.* The Virgin and Child with two saints and four angels (reproduced in A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., part i., p. 499).

Siena. Archivio di Stato. Tavoletta di biccherna, 1451. Siena protected by the Virgin, and a Biccherna official washing his hands (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxxiv.). *Tavoletta di biccherna*, 1457: A dove in a garland, between the Beato Gioacchino Piccolomini and the Beato Francesco Patrizi (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxxvi.). *Tavoletta di gabella*, 1473: The Marriage of Lucrezia Malavolti and Roberto Sanseverino

Siena.[1] He acted as umpire for Sassetta in 1433,[2] and as Vecchietta's assistant in 1439.[3] In 1452 he valued, and is said to have finished subsequently, the frescoes of the Roman gate.[4] He was not unacquainted with Francesco di Giorgio or Neroccio.[5] He was, in fact, an industrious, mediocre man, the number of whose productions must have gone far to make the lives of other and

(Lisini, *u.s.*, pl. xlii.). Miniatures in the Statuto dell' Arte di Mercanzia. *Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Mappamondo.* S. Bernardino (fresco, signed "Sanus Petri de Senis"). *Spedale.* Gallery No. 20. The Virgin and Child with saints and angels. Chapel. Choral with miniatures. *Duomo, Capitolo.* S. Bernardino preaching in the Piazza del Campo and the Piazza di San Francesco. S. Bernardino (fresco). *Libreria.* Miniatures. *Oratorio di San Bernardino, Upper Chapel.* The Virgin and Child. *S. Cristoforo.* St. George and the Dragon (*cf. postea*, p. 177, n. 1). *S. Domenico.* Second altar to the right: The Virgin and Child. Above the entrance to the Cappella delle Volte: Crucifix. *S. Girolamo, Sacristy.* The Coronation of the Virgin. *Osservanza.* First altar to the left: The Virgin and Child with angels. Third altar to the left: The Virgin and Child with saints. (Triptych; the predella, representing the Dead Christ and saints, is now under Taddeo di Bartolo's polyptych in the next chapel.) *S. Pietro alle Scale, Sacristy.* St. Gabriel and St. Lucy. *S. Spirito.* Above the door: Crucifix. *Ex Convent of the Campansi* (*Ricovero*). Dormitory, first floor: The Annunciation (fresco). *Confraternita della SS. Trinità.* The Virgin and Child with two saints and angels. *R. R. Conservatori Riuniti.* The Virgin and Child with four saints and two angels. *Sig. Carlo Cinughi.* The Virgin and Child with two angels. *Sig. Carlo Giuggioli.* The Beheading of St. John the Baptist. *Casa Forteguerri-Bichi-Ruspoli.* The Virgin and Child with six saints. *Sig. Giulio Grisaldi del Taia.* The Virgin and Child. *Casa Palmieri-Nuti.* The Virgin and Child with six saints. Head of S. Bernardino. *Conte Pietro Piccolomini.* The Deposition. Signed "Sani Petri de Senis me pinsit Anno Domini Mille CCCC LXXXI" (?). *Sig. Santini.* The Virgin and Child with SS. James and John the Baptist (dismembered triptych). *Palazzo Saracini.* Nos. 1,237–8, 1,277–8: Saints (fragments). No. 1,265: Christ and the Executioners. *Barone Marcello Sergardi Biringucci.* The Virgin and Child with four saints and two angels.

Tivoli. Municipio. San Bernardino (see Rossi, in *L'Arte*, vii. 22 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

Viterbo. Communal Gallery. San Bernardino (*ib.*, p. 25).]

Vienna. Count Lanckoronski. The Man of Sorrows.

[1] *Doc. sen.*, i. 48, and ii. 388.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 244.

[3] *Ib.*, ii. 388.

[4] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 274. There is proof that the frescoes were unfinished in 1459 (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 307); yet Della Valle affirms that Sano's name and the date 1429 are on them (*Lett. san.*, ii. 229). The annot. of Vasari (ed. Le Monnier) state that Sano finished the work in 1460 (vi. 183). But no one could now trace his hand there.

[5] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 356.

less rapid painters dubious and uncomfortable.[1] Amongst a mass of still less distinguished individuals who were his contemporaries and sometimes his aids, Giovanni di Paolo, called del Poggio, and Giovanni di Pietro deserve but a passing glance. The first of these was already in practice in 1423,[2] and on the roll of Sienese art in 1428.[3] His death followed closely on that of Sano, in whose service he laboured in 1447.[4] His strange fancy in composition, and his epileptic vehemence and awkwardness in the delineation of action, are betrayed in a Last Judgment of 1453 at the Sienese Academy,[5] and in many other panels abroad, such as those formerly in Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne.[6] He was a miniaturist, as his style might lead one to believe, and he derived his manner apparently from that of

[1] See as to miniatures by Sano *Doc. sen.*, ii. 382–3, 385, and VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), com., vi. 224, 236, 238, 240, 242, 348–9.

[2] VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), com., vi. 186.

[3] *Doc. sen.*, i. 48.

[4] *Doc. sen.*, i. 375.

[5] No. 172. There are numerous pieces in the Academy besides the above—*i.e.*, Nos. 173, inscribed with his name and the date 1453, 191, 174, 175, 176, 198, 193, 215, 199, 197, 214, 206, 208, 575, 180, 255 (cat. of 1860), 195, 192, 190, 178, 179, 201. [* No. 255 in the catalogue of 1860—a half-length of the Redeemer, 0·76 by 0·39 m.—is not now shown. Nos. 186–9, 200 (dated 1440), 211–3, and 324, in this Gallery are also by Giovanni di Paolo.] The commentators of VASARI (*u.s.*, vi. 309) assign to Giovanni di Paolo, on the ground of similarity of style, miniatures of an Antifoner originally in the Eremitani of Lecceto, now in the Siena Library, and of an Office for the Dead, in the same repository. See an illustration in ROSINI, *Stor. u.s.*, iii., part i., p. 22.

[6] In this collection one found by him panels as follows: 113–121, 123, 129. In the sacristy of the Church of Castiglione Fiorentino is a picture in separate parts. Subject: the Virgin and Child, St. Catherine (recalling Gentile da Fabriano), female saint, and St. Michael (much injured). On the panel containing the Virgin one reads: "opus Johannis de Senis A. D. MCCCCLVII (1457)." [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Castel Fiorentino.]

A panel (small) by Giovanni di Paolo is (under the name of Gentile da Fabriano) in possession of Mr. Farrer in London. Subjects: the Annunciation and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. [* This picture is now in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson of London.] In the same style is an Adoration of the Magi, from the Northwick collection, and now belonging to Mr. Fuller Maitland. [* I am not quite sure as to the present whereabouts of this picture. There is an Adoration of the Magi, by Giovanni di Paolo, in the collection of the late Herr R. von Kaufmann, of Berlin.]

Photo, Hollyer

THE ANNUNCIATION
BY GIOVANNI DI PAOLO
From a picture in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London

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Taddeo Bartoli's adoptive child Gregorio of Lucca; yet it is possible to agree with Ricci,[1] that he was at the school of Gentile

[1] *Memorie, u.s.*, i. 163. This may be the place to notice a new a St. George and Dragon assigned to Salvanello (note 3 to p. 160, vol. i. of the present work), in S. Cristoforo of Siena. This picture is reminiscent of Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano; yet seems Sienese. It might be by Giovanni di Paolo, if it be admitted that he studied under Gentile da Fabriano. [*As shown by Miss OLCOTT (in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv. 141 *sq.*), it is by Sano di Pietro.]

We may mention also in connection with the name of Giovanni di Paolo, an Annunciation, half-lengths of SS. Peter and Paul, Christ crucified, between the Virgin and Evangelist, gables of an altarpiece, the sides of which, representing St. John the Baptist and St. Bernardino, are attached to a central Virgin, already mentioned in Lorenzetti (*antea*, iii. 118). These pieces are all in the sacristy of S. Pietro Ovile at Siena. The Annunciation is a copy of one by Simone, handled in Giovanni di Paolo's manner. [* The Annunciation is now over an altar to the left in the Church of S. Pietro Ovile, and the Lorenzetti Madonna over an altar to the right. The Annunciation has been ascribed by Mr. L. DOUGLAS (in the *Burlington Magazine*, i. 313 *sq.*, iii. 267–275) to Sassetta, and by Mr. PERKINS (*ib.*, ii. 321 *sq.*) and Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 262) to Andrea Vanni. The gables of the Annunciation and the wings of the Lorenzetti Madonna are undoubtedly early works by Matteo da Siena. *Cf.* BERENSON, *u.s.*, p. 197; HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, p. 41 *sq.*] In the same sacristy is a large crucifix in the old style with the pelican and "graffiti" of angels at the sides also in the style of Giovanni di Paolo. Between the Crucifixion and the forementioned Annunciation, an Ascension in Asciano might be named. If has already been alluded to in the Life of Dom. di Bartolo. A book-cover of 1444 is in the ninth Press of the Museo Cristiano at Rome, representing the Annunciation, apparently by Giovanni di Paolo. [* This picture (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxxiii.) and several others by Giovanni di Paolo are now in the Vatican Gallery.] There are two pieces in the Lindenau collection at Altenburg properly assigned to our artist—No. 74, Virgin, Child, and Baptist; No. 80, Virgin Child, and saints. [* No. 74 is now given to Sano di Pietro, and No. 80 to Francesco di Giorgio. No. 76 (the Virgin and Child), No. 77 (the Crucifixion), No. 78 (the Crucifixion), and No. 79 (Noli Me Tangere), in this gallery are by Giovanni di Paolo.

In addition to the works by Giovanni di Paolo already mentioned, the following may be enumerated:

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. No. 1,112B. The Crucifixion. No. 1,112C. The Crucifixion. *Collection of the late Herr von Kaufmann.* Two legendary subjects.

Budapest. Picture Gallery, No. 49. St. Matthew.

Castelnuovo Berardenga (near Siena). Sig. Agostino Mucci. The Virgin and Child with angels. Signed "Opus Johannis," and dated 1426—the earliest known dated picture by the master.

Chantilly. Musée Condé. No. 9. Angels dancing before the Sun.

Cologne. Schnütgen Collection. St. John the Evangelist.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,551. The Virgin and Child with SS. Dominic, Peter, Paul, and Thomas Aquinas. *Late Toscanelli Collection.* Christ and the four Evangelists.

da Fabriano.[1] He may also be conjectured with reason to have taught another miniaturist whose vellums adorn the choral books

Istia d' Ombrone (*Contado Rosellano*). *S. Salvatore.* The Virgin and Child reproduced in NICOLOSI, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, p. 48).

London. Mr. Yates Thompson. Miniatures of Purgatorio and Paradiso, in Divina Comedia Codex (see FRY, in the *Burlington Magazine*, vi. 312). *Collection of the late Mr. C. Butler.* Four scenes from the legend of St. John the Baptist (three of them reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Exhibition of Sienese Pictures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904).

Lyons. Late Aynard Collection. Six scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist (see PERKINS in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 82 *sq.*, with reproductions). Sold at the Aynard sale, Paris, December 1, 1913.

Münster. Provinzialmuseum. Birth of the Baptist. The Baptist before Herod (see SCHUBRING, in *Rassegna d'arte*, xii. 162 *sq.*, with reproductions).

New Haven. Jarves Collection, No. 51. St. Catherine of Siena and Pope Gregory XI. No. 52. Martyrdom of a Bishop.

Oxford. Ashmolean Museum. The Baptism of Christ. *Christ Church.* The Crucifixion.

Paris. M. Camille Benoit. The Expulsion from Paradise. *Dr. Carvallo.* St. John the Baptist in the Desert (FRY, *u.s.*, with reproduction). *M. Martin Le Roy.* Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist.

Parma. Gallery, No. 423. The Redeemer and saints.

Philadelphia. Mr. Johnson. Christ bearing the Cross.

Pienza. Museo. The Virgin and Child with four saints. In the lunette: Pietà. Dated 1462 (? 3).

Rome. Galleria Doria, No. 132. The Birth of the Virgin. *No.* 139. The Sposalizio. *Private Collection.* The story of Hippo (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 122).

San Severino. Communal Gallery. The Assumption of the Virgin (reproduced in *Emporium*, xxiii. 206).

Siena. Archivio di Stato. Book-cover, 1432: Allegory of Good Government. *Tavoletta di biccherna*, 1433: Pope Eugenius IV. crowning the Emperor Sigismund (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxvii.). *Tavoletta di biccherna*, 1436: St. Jerome tending the Lion (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxviii.). *Tavoletta di gabella*, 1440: S. Pietro Alessandrini between two angels (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxx.). *Tavoletta di gabella*, 1444: St. Michael destroying the Dragon (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xxxi.). *Biblioteca Comunale.* Miniatures in Choral. *Opera del Duomo.* St. Jerome in his Study. St. Francis appearing to St. Anthony. *Sant' Andrea, Sacristy.* The Coronation of the Virgin, and other fragments of a dismembered polyptych. *San Domenico.* Right wall: B. Caterina dei Lenzi. *San Pietro Ovile.* Above the door: Crucifix. *San Pietro alle Scale, Priest's house.* Christ imparting the Benediction. *Santo Stefano, Sacristy.* Predella of Andrea Vanni's polyptych (*cf. antea*, iii. 128, n. 7). *Via delle Terme, Closed tabernacle.* The Virgin and Child. *Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti.* Paradise. Ex voto: Salvation from Shipwreck. *Palazzo Saracini.* Nos. 58, 59, 60, 1,257: Scenes from the life of Christ. No. 1,263: The Virgin and Child.

Trequanda (*Val d' Orcia*). *Prepositura.* The Virgin and Child with saints (triptych; reproduced in BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Pienza*, p. 27).

Vienna. Dr. A. Figdor. St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine.

* [1] Compare on this question FRY, *u.s.*

of the cathedrals at Siena and Pienza: and by whom a Virgin, Child, and saints was preserved in latter years by Signor Toscanelli at Pisa.[1] As for Giovanni di Pietro, it will be sufficient to call attention to his Virgin of Mercy in the choir of S. Maria de' Servi at Siena. As an independent artist he scarcely deserves notice; but he was the "companion" of a master of some renown, and his humble aid was of service to Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo.[2] Rational and staid in dealing with quiet religious scenes, Matteo was the best Sienese painter of his time. In this sense only he might claim to be called the Ghirlandaio of the rival Republic. But when he ventured to diverge from the path in which he could hope to avoid the more glaring faults of his comrades; when, tired of delineating Virgins and angels, in which tenderness found its natural place, he chose subjects requiring dramatic power, he betrayed his education in ill-balanced and overcharged composition, in confused groups, and in violent, yet unnatural action. If he sometimes resembled Vecchietta and Benvenuto, because he gave little pliancy to the human shape, and little style to drapery; if grimace often resulted from his attempt to realize expression, he frequently displayed a softness and feeling characteristic of Sano di Pietro, whose manner he may be said to have assumed and improved by modernizing it. He certainly shows that the progress of Italian art had not remained unheeded or unstudied on his part; yet when we compare Matteo

[1] Pellegrino Mariani's only authentic picture, above cited, is a Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Bernardino, with Christ crucified, between the Virgin and Evangelist, inscribed: "Pellegrino Mariani de Senis MCCCCLXXXX." The execution is inferior to, but like that of, Gio. di Paolo. There are records of his industry in Siena from 1449 to 1492, the date of his death. He painted miniatures for the Duomo and Hospital of S. Maria della Scala; and copious notices of him are in *Doc. sen.* (ii. 379–80–2, 385–6) and in com. to VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, vi. 221, 223, 227, 229, 237, 344–5).

[2] He was companion to Matteo of Siena (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 279), and is described as such by Matteo himself in 1453, and in records of a later date (1457, *Doc. sen.*, ii. 373. His Virgin of Mercy at the Servi is signed "opus Johannis d Petri MCCCCXXXVI," but this inscription is repainted, probably on the old lines. [* In view of the close resemblance which this picture shows to the style of Giovanni di Paolo, it has been suggested with considerable probability that it is a work by him, and that the signature has been changed. See HEYWOOD and OLCOTT, *Guide to Siena*, Siena, 1903, p. 283.] The tempera is spare and grey, but the panel has suffered from repainting.

with Domenico Ghirlandaio, or the Sienese of the fifteenth century with their contemporaries at Florence, it becomes plain that scientific principles were not substituted soon enough in Siena for the religious sentiment which gave originality and power to Duccio and some of his successors. But to say that Matteo, as chief of his class, was far behind the Florentines, is insufficient. The low level kept by his countrymen at the close of the period at which we have arrived was such that, whilst the Umbrians whom they had at first governed fell off from their allegiance, the Perugians successively rivalled, distanced, and overcame them. Siena thus persistently rejected the examples of Florence from the earliest to the latest age, and when, in a sinking state, she acknowledged a supremacy, inevitable as well as beneficial, she swore fealty to Perugia, retaining the humble position of vassal, content in the exercise of talents second to those of the great Vannucci, and as far below those of Padua in the scientific branch as they were below those of Venice in the gift of colour. Matteo, however, was but half a Sienese, being the son of a tinman of Borgo S. Sepolcro, and perhaps a native of the town the name of which derived such lustre from Piero della Francesca.[1] He is supposed to have seen the light not later than 1435;[2] and this belief is based with some security on an income-paper of 1453, in which Matteo describes himself as a stranger, with Giovanni di Pietro for his assistant, at a hired lodging in the Palazzo Forteguerri.[3] Their joint labour was expended in 1457 on a chapel dedicated to S. Bernardino in the Siena Duomo.[4] But Matteo's fame and affluence increased at a later time, and his best works are of the close of the century.[5] His oldest authentic

[1] We may refer in this place to the Virgin and saints at S. Agostino of Asciano, and two or three other works related to that one at Borgo S. Sepolcro, for the purpose of remarking that there is a likeness between those pieces and one by Matteo, of which notice will be taken, at S. Maria della Neve in Siena. Matteo, therefore, might pretend to the authorship. [* As already noted, these are undoubtedly early works by him.]

[2] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 372. [3] *Ib.*, ii. 279. [4] *Ib.*, ii. 373.

* [5] The earliest extant works by Matteo are the altarpiece in S. Agostino at Asciano (see *antea*, p. 141), certain panels in S. Pietro Ovile at Siena (see *antea*, p. 177, n. 1), and the altarpiece in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo San Sepolcro (see *antea*, p. 143). The influence of Domenico di Bartolo is strongly marked in these

picture, indeed, is an enthroned Virgin attended by numerous angels, long in S. Maria de' Servi at Siena, but now in the Academy. His signature, with the date of 1470, is still legible there;[1] but it is not upon this injured panel that we can found our judgment of Matteo's style,[2] and the Madonna della Neve, which he finished for the Brotherhood of that name in 1477, is preferable for the symmetry of proportion, choice of type, and natural air of figures better draped than usual, and coloured in dark and flat but well-fused tones. The idea of a Virgin " of the Snow " is of respectable antiquity in legendary Church lore, having been first suggested in the fourth century, when the patrician John and the Pope Liberius were simultaneously directed by the vision of Mary to a spot on which the Church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome was to be erected, a spot easy to be recognized by the coat of snow that was found upon it. The incidents of this legend, once the subject of Gaddo Gaddi's mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, were represented by Matteo in the predella of the altarpiece under notice, separated from it later, and seen by Della Valle in the Casa Sozzini at Siena, but since withdrawn from ken.[3]

A few years after (1479), when the enthroned St. Barbara, with her attendant saints, was completed for the Dominicans of Siena, Matteo might still be distinguished for giving comeliness to female saints, an unrestrained deportment to ministering angels,

paintings. From consideration of style they would seem to date from a slightly earlier period than two altarpieces at Pienza (*postea*, p. 183, n. 4), which are known to have been executed about 1462. Compare HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, p. 55 *sqq.*

[1] No. 286, inscribed:

". . . . . Johannis de Senis. pinsit. MCCCCLXX."

* [2] We may here notice the large Assumption of the Virgin by Matteo in the National Gallery (No. 1,155), stated once to have borne the date 1474. This picture was formerly in the monastery church of S. Eugenio, just outside Siena, whither it is said to have come from Asciano (HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, pp. 72, 87 *sq*). It is one of the most important works by the master.

[3] DELLA VALLE (*Let. san.*, iii. 58). The altarpiece without the predella is still in its original place, in good preservation, and inscribed: " Opus Matei de Senis MCCCCLXXVII." The figures are life-size. Sixteen angels are about the enthroned Virgin and Child, some with flowers, others with snowballs, one of which the Infant Saviour grasps. The attendant saints, kneeling and standing, are SS. Peter, Paul, Lawrence, and Catherine, the two latter not without feeling in pose or expression.

and richness to the adornment of vestments.[1] Yet he still lacked power; and his careful colours remain, as before, unrelieved by shadow. Two figures of saints, in a chapel of the church for which the St. Barbara was depicted, offer similar qualities allied to greater precision of hand.[2]

But if we pass from these quiet holy scenes to others in which movement is required, Matteo is at fault. He repeated the Massacre of the Innocents several times; once in the altarpiece of a chapel at S. Agostino of Siena, dated 1482;[3] again in S. Maria de' Servi of Siena in 1491;[4] a third time in a picture at the Naples Museum.[5] In all these he combined incidents in a

[1] See the order for this work in November, 1478, in *Doc. sen.*, ii. 364. This altarpiece represents St. Barbara (life-size) amongst angels (two of whom crown her), between SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria. It is in S. Domenico; its lunette, the Adoration of the Magi, on a picture by Benvenuto (see *antea*, p. 162, n. 1). The St. Barbara is inscribed: "Opus Matei de Senis MCCCCLXXVIIII."

[2] The kneeling SS. Jerome and Baptist are side panels to an altarpiece in the Cappella Placidi at S. Domenico, in the centre of which the Virgin is represented holding the Infant Christ, and surrounded by angels. The lunette of this altarpiece is now on a picture by Girolamo di Benvenuto in the Cappella S. Caterina of the same edifice. [* Now in the Siena Academy (No. 414).] The colours in Matteo's saints are now very dusky.

[3] This "Massacre" is signed: "Opus Matei Johannis de Senis MCCCCLXXXII."

[4] Signed on a scroll: "Opus Mattei Joannis de Senis. 1491." Here Herod sits in the centre of the picture; whereas in S. Agostino he sits at the left side. In a lunette is the Adoration of the Magi.

[5] It has been supposed from the presence of this picture at Naples (before it reached the Museum it was in S. Caterina a Formello) that Matteo was at Naples (see DOMINICI'S *Lives*). It is also affirmed that, being in oil and dated 1418, (DOMINICI *ap.* DELLA VALLE), Matteo is entitled to all sorts of praise, but even DELLA VALLE suggests that the date 1418 is wrong (*Let. san.*, iii. 57); and truly, repainted and tampered with as it has been, it runs: "Matteus Johanni de Senis MCCCC . . . XVIII." We cannot even say whether this picture be an original or a copy, and the absence of any other works of Matteo at Naples would prove that he never was there. Another copy of this Massacre of the Innocents under Matteo's name is at Schleissheim—No. 1,134—a copy on canvas in oil, of a later period. [* This picture was subsequently in the Pinakothek at Munich (No. 1,021), but is not now shown there. The Naples painting is surely an original. A fourth rendering of this subject was designed by Matteo for a compartment of the pavement of the Siena Duomo, executed in 1481. It seems very probable that the impulse to all these representations of the Slaughter of the Innocents was given by the capture of Otranto by the Turks on August 11, 1480, with the ensuing massacre. The bones of 800 victims of this massacre were in 1489 brought to S. Caterina a Formello at Naples, for which church, as we have seen, the picture now in the Naples Museum was painted. See SCHUBRING, in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, i., 593 *sqq.*]

Photo Alinari

ST. BARBARA ENTHRONED

By Matteo da Siena

From an altarpiece in S. Domenico, Siena

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confused and unsatisfactory manner. The action is unnatural; the idea grotesque; the expression grimace. Architecture, studied from old models, is applied without knowledge of perspective, and the absence of systematic acquirements in this respect is perhaps the cause why Herod appears to exceed in stature the nearer figures of soldiers and of women. Anachronisms of costume are not compensated by taste, nor is the dry bone of form animated into any sort of life.

It is a relief, indeed, to pass from these unsuccessful efforts at rendering instant motion to such religious themes as that of the Adoration of the Virgin in the Siena Academy,[1] or the Madonnas of the Palazzo Pubblico[2] and Palazzo Tolomei in the same city,[3] or of the Duomo at Pienza.[4] There is hardly a church or a brotherhood in the Sienese country that may not boast of a panel by Matteo;[5] nor is it difficult to study him abroad;

[1] No. 432. This is one of Matteo's best panels in the gallery of his native place, the nudes being careful and of Umbrian softness in movement and outline. The action is comparatively good and free, the colour a little grey and flayed. The piece may be found engraved in Rosini. The remaining pictures in the Academy of Siena are four Madonnas with saints severally numbered 280, 446, 283, 400. [* Yet another Madonna and saints by Matteo in this collection is No. 399. No. 446 is, at least in great part, by Cozzarelli.]

[2] The Virgin and Child is attended in rear by four angels. The picture is on a pilaster of the hall painted by Spinello Aretino. The date of 1484 is on the work, but no name. [* As pointed out by M. Jacobsen (*u.s.*, p. 59), this is surely a work by Cozzarelli.]

[3] This is also a Virgin, Child and angels. [* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv. 66.]

[4] The Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. Matthew and Catherine, Bartholomew and Luke. In the lunette is a Flagellation, and in the predella three medallions of the Ecce Homo, Virgin, and Evangelist. On the border are the words: "Opus Mathei Johannis de Senis." Stains are on the faces of the Child and of the Virgin, the blue cloak of the latter being repainted. The green drapery on the shoulders of St. Matthew is likewise renewed; the mouth of St. Luke repainted and his head stained. Another picture said to be in the Compagnia di S. Giovanni at Pienza, not seen by the authors, is said to be better than the foregoing. [* This picture, which represents the Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Nicholas of Bari, and Augustine, is now in the Museum of Pienza. As previously noted (p. 181, n. 5), these two altarpieces at Pienza are early works. The painters who were commissioned by Pius II. to execute a number of pictures for the Duomo of the Pope's native city are known to have been at work on them in 1462. See Hartlaub, *u.s.*, p. 48.]

[5] In S. Domenico of Siena there is an altarpiece, of which the centre is by Francesco di Giorgio, and the predella probably by Fungai. The lunette (Christ

for there are works of his in England.[1] Two pieces in the Museum of Berlin seem, on the other hand, less due to Matteo than to Guidoccio Cozzarelli.[2]

supported on the tomb by two angels, between SS. George and Mary Magdalen) is in Matteo's style. [* It may confidently be ascribed to him.] TAJA (*Guida, u.s.*, p. 149) says, indeed, that the work was begun by Matteo in 1499, and completed by Signorelli, but as to the latter point—query.

[1] In the hands of Mr. Farrer in London, but exhibited under No. 64 at Manchester, is a Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Michael, a very pretty little piece by Matteo. [* This picture was subsequently in the collection of the late Mr. Henry Willett of Brighton, and was shown at the Exhibition of Sienese pictures at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904 (No. 37). It is reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of that exhibition (pl. xxx.).]

[2] Matteo died in 1495 (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 373). He is author of one of the sybils in the pavement of the Siena Duomo (1483) (*ib.*, pp. 16 and 378, 379). The pictures above alluded to are Nos. 1,126, 1,127, Berlin Museum, of little interest, and much repainted. [* No. 1,126 is now on loan to the University Gallery at Göttingen.] In the National Gallery, No. 247, Ecce Homo, ascribed to Alunno, is by Matteo da Siena. [* We still have to mention the following paintings by Matteo:

Anghiari. S. Agostino. The Virgin and Child with four saints (triptych).

Asciano. Duomo. SS. Michael and Augustine (see *antea*, p. 141, n. 5).

Ashridge. Earl Brownlow. Two scenes from the legend of St. Jerome (probably parts of the predella of the St. Jerome in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.).

Assisi. Mr. F. Mason Perkins. The Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Catherine of Siena. The Virgin and Child.

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara. No. 556. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Catherine of Siena and angels (Morelli bequest).

Berlin. Collection of the late Herr E. Schweitzer. The Virgin and Child with two angels.

Borgo San Sepolcro. S. Maria dei Servi, Choir. The Assumption of the Virgin. *Sacristy:* SS. Paul and Lucy; SS. John the Baptist and Philip Benizzi. Ordered from Matteo on July 9, 1487. Compare EVELYN FRANCESCHI MARINI, in *Arte antica senese*, p. 155 *sqq.* (with reproduction of the principal panel); see also *antea*, p. 162 *sq.*

Buonconvento (*near Siena*). *SS. Pietro e Paolo.* The Virgin and Child.

Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Museum. St. Jerome in his Study, signed "Opus Mattei Johannis de Senis MCCCCLXXX(X ?)II."

Cologne. Wallraf-Richartz Museum. No. 515. The Virgin and Child with SS. Nicholas of Bari and Anthony of Padua.

Coniston (*Lancs*), *Brantwood. Mr. Arthur Severn.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Sebastian.

Corsano (*near Siena*), *Pieve.* The Virgin and Child with two angels (see OLCOTT, in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv. 68, with reproduction).

Grosseto. Duomo. Virgin and angels (probably fragment of Assumption).

London. National Gallery, No. 1,461. St. Sebastian. *Collection of the late Mr. C. Butler.* The Virgin and Child with two angels (sold at the Butler sale, May 25,

Of this inferior person, however, it will be unnecessary to say much, except that he was a painter of altarpieces and miniatures. His style makes a feeble approach to that of Matteo. A genuine Madonna and saints of 1486 once formed part of Mr. Ramboux's Gallery at Cologne, besides which the Siena Academy comprises a large but not very interesting number of his compositions.[1]

1911, No. 53). Cassone fronts with three scenes from the story of Camilla (Butler sale, Nos. 50–52).

Meiningen. Grand Ducal Palace. The Virgin and Child with saints.

Milan. Don Guido Cagnola. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Bernardino and two angels.

Montepescali (*near Grosseto*). *Parish Church.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian, Magdalen, Lucy, Roch, and several angels (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, p. 78).

Paris. Mme. Chabrières Arlès. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Percena (*near Buonconvento*). *S. Lorenzo.* The Virgin and Child with two angels (see L. OLCOTT, in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv., 65 *sq.*, with reproduction).

Philadelphia. Mr. John G. Johnson. The Virgin and Child with two angels (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, v. 121).

Rome. Vatican Gallery. Head of the Virgin (fragment); predella with the legend of St. James. *Galleria Sterbini.* The Virgin and Child.

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Catherine of Alexandria and several angels. Bust of a male saint (see PERKINS in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, iv. 4, with reproduction).

Siena. Opera del Duomo. The Virgin and Child with four saints and two angels. Formerly dated "Opus Mattei Johannis de Senis, 1480" (HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, p. 89). The predella of this picture (now detached) is also here. *S. Eugenia.* The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Eugenia and two angels (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 65). *S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta* (*degli Innocenti*). The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Jerome and two angels (reproduced, *ib.*, iv. 67). *Signora Giuseppina Liccioli.* The Virgin and Child with Raphael and Tobit, St. Sebastian and three angels.

[1] He is the author of the Lybian sybil in the pavement of the Siena duomo (1483) (*Doc. sen.*, ii. 379); and see for his miniatures *Doc. sen.*, ii. 382–6, and VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 184 and following. The picture alluded to in the text is No. 148 of the Ramboux catalogue, signed: "Opus Guidoccius Joan. . M.CCCCLXXXVI." Further, in the same gallery, Nos. 158, 159. In the Siena Academy, No. 367 (Virgin and saints) is inscribed: "Guidocius pinxit. A. D. MCCCCLXXXII. Decembris." Nos. 168, 170, and 264 (cat. of 1860) are book-covers assigned to him. [* These are now in the Archivio di Stato at Siena. The two first (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. xlvii. and l.) are certainly by Cozzarelli, while the third (*ib.*, pl. xliii.) is by Benvenuto di Giovanni (see *antea*), p. 161, n. 2. On the other hand, a *Tavoletta di gabella* of 1499 in the Archivio (LISINI, *u.s.*, pl. lii.) is the work of Cozzarelli.] No. 378, a St. Francis; Nos. 296, 297, a St. Sebastian and a Virgin: No. 337, also a Virgin; No. 445, a St. Catherine. [* To these should

be added No. 304, the Beata Aldobrandesca Ponsia (fragment of monochrome fresco.] An Adoration of the Magi in the National Museum at Stockholm (No. 214, wood, tempera), split in four places, catalogued under the name of Ghirlandaio, is really by Guidoccio. The surface is much damaged, and in part totally scaled. It is a feeble and rude work even for Guidoccio; figures about a quarter of life-size. [* It is now officially ascribed to the school of Matteo da Siena.] A Virgin and Child between St. Anthony of Padua and another saint in the gallery of Count Paul Stroganoff at S. Petersburg (wood, tempera, half-lengths on gold ground, a third of life-size), assigned to Matteo da Siena, is handled in the feebler manner of Guidoccio. [* In addition to the paintings by Cozzarelli previously noticed, the following may be enumerated:

Berlin. Late Dr. Lippmann. The Annunciation and the Flight into Egypt (Lippmann sale, November 26–27, 1912, No. 35).

Buonconvento. S. Maria della Misericordia. Scenes from the life of the Virgin (reproduced in HARTLAUB, *u.s.*, pl. vii.).

London. Mr. C. Fairfax Murray. The Call of SS. Andrew and Peter (reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Sienese Exhibition, Burlington Fine Arts Club, pl. xxxiii.).

Milan. Brera, No. 473. The Virgin and Child with two angels. *Don Guido Cagnola. The Virgin and Child with two angels* (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vii. 20, with reproduction).

Montefollonico (near Siena). Chiesa dell' Opera del Triano. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Anthony the Abbot.

Moscow. Rumantzeff Museum. The Baptism of Christ.

Munich. Baron von Bissing. The Adoration of the Shepherds (ascribed to Pesellino).

Oxford. Christ Church Library. The Virgin and Child.

Paganico (Contado Rosellano). S. Michele. The Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony the Abbot, a Hermit saint, St. Michael, and two angels (reproduced in NICOLOSI, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, p. 71).

Pienza. Don Carlo Mili. Cistercian Monks constructing a Church.

Pitigliano. Duomo, Sacristy. The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Francis and two angels, signed: "Guidoccius Joannis De Senis pinsit A. D. MCCCCLXXXIIII" (see GIGLIOLI, in *Rassegna d'arte*, v. 174, with reproduction).

Rosia (near Siena). Don Umberto Calvani. SS. Sebastian and Anthony the Abbot.

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. St. Monica praying for the conversion of St. Augustine (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, vii. 21, with reproduction).

Siena. S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Margaret. *Spedale Gallery.* Nos. 23 and 27. The Virgin of Mercy. No. 24. The Crucified Christ adored. No. 31. The Cross adored (bier-heads). *Marchese Chigi-Zondadari.* Hippo, Camilla, and Lucretia (paintings on the front of a cassone. Compare BERENSON, in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv., 156; MISCIATTELLI, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, vi. 39 *sqq.*, with reproductions; and PERKINS, *ibid.*, vii. 21). *Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti.* The Virgin and Child with twelve saints.

Sinalunga (Val di Chiana). S. Bernardino. The Virgin and Child with SS. Simon and Jude, signed "Guidocius Ioanis de Senis pinsit. A. D. MCCCCLXXXVI." (see BROGI, *Inventario Generale*, Siena, 1897, p. 562; reproduced in BARGAGLI-PETRUCCI, *Montepulciano*, p. 31). The Baptism of Christ.]

CHAPTER VII

OTTAVIANO NELLI

IF, retrospectively, we cast a glance upon the field over which the influence of Sienese art was felt, we shall perceive that its expanse in the fourteenth century was considerable, and that its centre was Siena. During the subsequent period, in which some choice talents illustrated Cortona and Borgo S. Sepolcro by introducing Florentine blood into the Umbrian stock, the point of radiation was displaced. We trace an imaginary curve from Gubbio over the Apennine to S. Severino and Camerino, recrossing the hills to Foligno and Gualdo. The spiral thus drawn centres in Perugia. Along that line the Umbrian school developed itself on the old Sienese basis; and with hardly any dependence on Florence, silently and slowly grew. On the track of Palmerucci and Nuzi, Ottaviano Martini, and Gentile da Fabriano inherited and kept alive the traditions of Oderisio. Impassive, and averse from change like their contemporaries of Siena, following the vein of thought and technical method opened and bequeathed to them by their precursors, they continued to neglect the scientific innovations originated in Florence, and still imagined that perfection consisted in bright contrast of colours, copiousness and delicacy of ornament, minuteness of design and tender fusion of flesh tints. Composition, perspective, form, or relief by light and shade, were as nothing compared to the aim of delineating a languid tenderness or affected grace. We shall endeavour to follow Ottaviano, Gentile, Alunno, and others of less note, whose art was the prelude to the excellence of Vanucci's.

Ottaviano, son of the Gubbian Martino Nelli, whose name has already found a place in this history, was in the full swing of his career in the rise of the fifteenth century, and has left us an example of his skill at that time in a wall-painting of the Virgin

amidst saints (called del Belvedere), now under glass in S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio. A gay variegated miniature, in which bright mixtures of secondary and tertiary colours form a chequered but unshaded pattern; airy, unsubstantial figures in dresses of cobweb texture, thrown with flowers, fringed out into leafy borders; a simple combination of saints and angels of different sizes cast symmetrically on a blue diaper ground—such is the masterpiece of Nelli; a masterpiece in which some heads, as those of Anthony the Abbot and his attendant companion, are not without calm repose, in which the Virgin and Child gaze primly and prettily enough; and the whole is finished with an industry recoiling from no detail.[1] Four years before the date of this work (1403–4) Ottaviano had been busy at Perugia, on the armorial bearings of no less distinguished an employer than Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.[2] At S. Maria Nuova, his patrons were the Pinoli, whose portraits are in kneeling profile at the sides of the picture. A fair repute, not only as a master, but as a citizen, seems to have been conceded to Ottaviano; and the registers of the Gubbian municipality prove that Nelli had been elected consul in 1410.[3] Whether it be true or not that he then

[1] On the edge of a striped carpet on which the groups rest one reads: "Ottavianus Martis Eugubinus pinxit año Dñi MC . . . III." (may be 1404). The fusion of the tones shows that this was not a fresco, but a tempera on the wall. The outlines are excessively fine, the hands defective, the limbs puny. The lower part of the Virgin's dress is injured and retouched, and the gilding of the hems gone. The head of the patron to the right is damaged, and the brown mantle of St. Anthony is overpainted. A chromolithograph of a large portion of the picture is in the collection of the Arundel Society, with a Life of the Artist by Sir Henry Layard. [* From 1403 dates a polyptych, representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Anthony the Abbot, Nicholas of Bari, Paul, and Catherine of Alexandria in the parish church of Pietralunga, signed: "hoc [opus] fecerunt fieri hered [es] [p]etri corsutii pro anima dni petri; a. d. m.cccc iii die v. mesis madii p. manus otavia[ni] de eugubio deo gratias am."]

[2] Record in MARIOTTI, *Lett. pittor., u.s.*, p. 44.

[3] BONFATTI (LUIGI), *Memorie storiche di Ottaviano Nelli*, 8°, Gubbio, 1843, pp. 8, 21. He filled a similar office in 1433, 1440–44. REPOSATI in MARIOTTI, *u.s.*, note to p. 46. He was also "provveditore" and inspector of the Hospitals of Gubbio in 1441. Priv. note by Sign. Bonfatti. [* For notices of other municipal posts filled by Nelli, see MAZZATINTI, in *Archivio storico per le Marche e per l'Umbria*, iii. 19 *sqq.* He was consul of the quarter of S. Andrea at Gubbio as early as 1400.]

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, SAINTS, AND DONORS
By Ottaviano Nelli
From a fresco in S. Maria Nuova, Gubbio

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finished the Virgin of Succour in S. Agostino of Gubbio, the canvas itself does not decide, because on its restoration in 1600 by Pierangelo Basili,[1] eight new personages were introduced, and the whole piece was deprived of its original character;[2] but a wall tempera of the Madonna with saints, angels, and small souls from purgatory on the sides of the church, though a feeble effort, bears the impress of Ottaviano's school;[3] whilst the choir of the holy edifice is covered with scenes chosen from the legend of St. Augustine, in most of which, and particularly in a "Death of St. Monica," the pencil of Nelli's scholars may be discerned. This series bears no date, but may be considered as of a later time than the Madonna of S. Maria Nuova in Gubbio, whilst it betrays less practice than that of Foligno, of which the date (1424) is precisely ascertained.[4] In both places, the Sienese character is predominant in the figures and their arrangement; and the composition is reminiscent of those with which Taddeo Bartoli flooded the

[1] Bonfatti, *u.s.*, p. 9. The piece is on canvas.

[2] The same subject in a panel at S. Francesco of Montefalco has been given to Ottaviano, but reminds us of similar ones common to Umbria in the sixteenth century—*e.g.*, one of 1506, seen by the authors at Rome in the ex-Campana collection, by Giovanni di Monte Rubbiano. [* Now in the Museum at Montpellier (see Perdrizet and Jean, in *Bulletin italien* (*Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*), vii. 65 *sqq.*, with reproduction).] It (the Montefalco Madonna) has, besides the Umbrian character, an inscription as follows: "Griseyda S. Bastiani f. f. pro aĩabus dicti Si Bastiani Tarquini Peritei et Franceschini. A. D. M.D.X."

[3] One of the souls from purgatory is recommended by an angel to the Virgin.

[4] In the apsis bend, the subjects are: (1) Vision of St. Monica. (2) St. Augustine at Carthage. (3) Meeting of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. (4) Baptism of St. Augustine. Sides: (1) Augustine's return to Tegaste. (2) Consecration of St. Augustine. (3) His consecration as Bishop of Hippona. (4) Death of St. Monica. (5) Dispute of St. Augustine with Felix. (6) Death of St. Augustine. (7) Transfer of his body to Pavia, and miracles. In this last fresco many parts are restored, and much of the gold ornament is new. One of the monks in the second row of those carrying the body (profile) is new. A broader, but more hasty, execution characterizes the ceiling, part of the lunettes, and the vaulting of the entrance arch; and, as Signor Bonfatti observes, these parts resemble in style and handling the work of Jacopo Bedi, who, in 1458, furnished some extant paintings in S. Secondo cemetery at Gubbio. [* There are in all twenty-six scenes from the life of St. Augustine painted by Nelli in the choir of S. Agostino at Gubbio. The fresco of the Last Judgment on the triumphal arch, rescued from whitewash in 1902, is also by him.]

country generally.[1] The traditional belief that Gentile da Fabriano assisted Ottaviano in the choir of S. Agostino, rests on very insufficient grounds; for Gentile would scarcely have been subordinate to Nelli after the first years of the century. There is, however, one fresco in S. Maria della Piaggiola, outside Gubbio, a Virgin and Child adored by two angels, which, in spite of serious injuries attributable to various causes, presents a more vigorous handling and better proportions than those in the Madonna of S. Maria Nuova. It has been ascribed to Ottaviano,[2] and might be assigned to Gentile. If truly by Nelli, it would be his most successful effort.[3] That Ottaviano had changed his residence from Gubbio to Urbino in 1420[4] is proved by contemporary records. His long intercourse with that capital and with the rulers of the duchy is illustrated by fragmentary evidence; by a memorandum of his connection with the Brotherhood of S. Croce (1428–32),[5] and by a letter in his own hand, addressed to Catharine Colonna, wife of Guidantonio di Montefeltro (1434), referring to the pictorial decoration of the church of S. Erasmo, about three miles from Gubbio.[6] Time has robbed us of all marks of his passage at Urbino,[7] and the frescoes of S. Erasmo, if ever they were carried out, have ceased to exist; but Ottaviano had in 1424

[1] A fresco of the Virgin and Child recently recovered from whitewash in S. Agostino to the right of the portal seems originally to have been painted at the same period as those of the choir, but by a more careful hand. It is too much damaged to warrant an express opinion.

[2] Bonfatti, *u.s.*, p. 12.

[*3] It is undoubtedly by Nelli.

[*4] Or even 1417 (see Scatassa, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, xi. 205 *sq.*

[5] Pungileoni, *Elogio stor. di Gio. Santi*, *u.s.*, p. 50. He hired his lodging from them. [* His name appears on the registers of the Brotherhood from 1427 to 1437 (Scatassa, *u.s.*).]

[6] Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 130, 131, 132.

[*7] A Virgin and Child crowned by angels above the second altar to the right in the Oratorio di S. Croce at Urbino; a Virgin and Child crowned by the Redeemer and surrounded by angels and SS. Anthony and Dominic (?) in the Oratorio di S. Gaetano in the same city; and a Virgin of Mercy with four saints in the Oratorio della Madonna dell' Omo outside the Porta S. Lucia at Urbino (all frescoes), are at present considered as works by Nelli. See Calzini, *Urbino*, p. 133 *sq.*; *idem*, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, ii. 109 *sqq.*; *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 105).

been entrusted by Corrado de' Trinci with a commission to adorn the chapel of his palace in Foligno, and the series of episodes derived from the legend of the Virgin, with which he filled the walls, still attests the mediocrity of his powers.[1] Were it not,

[1] The chapel is rectangular; the walls (in courses) and ceiling all painted. In the four lunettes are: (1) The presentation of Mary in the temple; (2) her marriage; (3) the Annunciation; (4) a votive fresco of the Virgin with a crowd of figures in the costume of the time, perhaps members of the Trinci family. Lower courses, in the same order: (1) The Nativity and Adoration of the Magi; (2) the Visit of the Apostles to the Virgin, her death and burial; (3) the funeral, ascension, and gift of the girdle to St. Thomas; (4) the circumcision of Christ, and an angel giving a palm to the Virgin. The lower part of the wall containing the Presentation in the Temple, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi, is filled by a vast Crucifixion. In the ceiling are (facing each other in four triangular compartments): Joachim and Anna presenting the doves to the priest, the appearance of the angel to Joachim, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, and the birth of the Virgin. Each subject is divided from the other by gilt wax borders in relief, the nimbuses high in relief, and gilt likewise. On a border above the Crucifixion one reads a part of an inscription, preserved by historians as follows: "hoc opus fecit fieri magnificus et potens Dñs Cŏradus Ugulini de Trincis Fulgineis MCCCCXXIIII. die XXV. feb. pinxit. M. Octavianus Martini de Gubbio." The last syllable of "Octavianus" only now remains. [* The editor noted (1912) after "feb" a long blank space, followed by the word "gubio."] The palace of the Trinci is now the Palazzo del Governo.

In a room leading to the capella Trinci, some paintings saved from whitewash by Signor Mariano Guardabassi in 1864 represent: (1) In an interior, about an altar capped with a cross, nine figures in prayer, kneeling; (2) right of this, two figures meeting and embracing (all the lower part wanting and the fresco much injured); (3) to the right again, the birth of a child, as one judges from the remains. On another wall is the following: the wolf and other indistinct subjects, to the right of which an execution and soldiers with shields, in great part abraded. Beneath are inscriptions, which Signor Guardabassi was able to read:

"Per pietà son' posti presso al fiume
Romulo e Remo alla fortuna dati,
Dove più Giorni sono e nutricati
Da una Lupa per human' costume."

It is supposed that the first subject is the Sposalizio; the second, the birth of Romulus and Remus; and the third, Amulius condemning Rea. These paintings are partly gone, and what remains is much damaged. They are of Umbrian character, and in the style of Ottaviano Nelli; less defective, indeed, than those of Nelli in the Trinci chapel.

The whole Palazzo del Governo seems to have been decorated of old. In the upper part of it, divided by a false floor from the lower, the walls, which seem to have been those of a large hall, are painted. In a series of imitated niches one sees colossal fragments of figures of old Romans. One reads the names of Mutius Scævola, Caius Marius, Publius Decius, Claudius Nero, consul, Fabius, Augustus, Tiberius,

indeed, that these dim and ill-conceived paintings are authenticated by his name, and are thus of interest as characterizing one who has a place in Umbrian art, they might be passed over without comment. The Virgin or angels, when, in accordance with the necessities of the subjects they recur, still distinctly recall the tenderness which the Gubbians invariably sought to convey; but Ottaviano plainly believed that the reproduction of incidents, so often delineated, required no further stretch of imagination or ingenuity; and he merely repeated the time-honoured arrangements of the Sienese school, in a spirit distantly reminiscent of Taddeo Bartoli. The bright harmony of unrelieved colours which may please the beholder at S. Maria of Gubbio, in the absence of other qualities, having disappeared in the course of years, the skeleton of lean and defective forms alone remains. There is no movement in frames laid out without knowledge of anatomy; nothing but grimace in faces of a poor and sometimes even ignoble type; but coarseness in hands or feet. The draperies are at once broken and ill-cast.

Such a talent as this of Nelli was ill-calculated to create admiration even in the local craftsmen of a petty place like Foligno; nor is it possible that it should have affected to any extent the career of Alunno.

But not alone in Foligno; in Assisi, the same level had been attained, and to the right of the entrance, on the outer wall of SS. Antonio e Jacopo, a church in which Pietro d'Antonio and Matteo of Gualdo were afterwards employed, remnants of a Virgin and Child adored by groups of faithful under the patronage of SS. Anthony and James, and of a Virgin and angel annunciate

etc. Fifteen in all remain. In scraping the wall below the false floor, the legs of these figures were recently found. Beneath them are inscribed lines respecting which Professor Adamo Rossi of Perugia says that the style of the verses is that of Petrarch. Above each figure one reads the name of "Sixtus IIII Pon. max. Sixtus IIII an. VI. Sixto Papa quarto," and other words, the meaning of which it is not easy to decipher.

The character of these paintings is neither Florentine nor Sienese, but Umbrian of the Gubbian and Fabrianese school. One notes a system of enlarged miniature without definite shadows, and warm tones. The papacy of Sixtus IV. would indicate a very late date for this work; there is ground for supposing that his name has been added to earlier productions. Future investigation may determine this, especially if a better light is thrown on pieces which it is now very difficult to see.

offer to the spectator traces of the manner of Nelli at the Palace of the Trinci.[1]

In the eighteenth century a number of wall-pieces by Ottaviano perished in the changes made to the church of S. Piero of Gubbio. Amongst these were the subjects adorning the chapel of Agnolo dei Carnevali, the payments for which in 1439 are still preserved.[2] Nelli did not long survive, and nothing is known of him after 1444.[3]

To dwell at any length on the minor Gubbians who were his contemporaries or followers would be of slight interest. His brother Tomasuccio is the author of a St. Vincent,[4] and subordinate

[1] One of them, indeed, is inscribed with a name not unlike his—*i.e.*: "Martinellus MCCCCXXII die XXVI mense octob." The church was of old called S. Caterina. [* These frescoes have now been transferred to canvas and removed to the Accademia Properziana at Assisi. The inscription read by the authors is lost. There is some difficulty in accepting the date 1422, as the church is stated to have been erected only in 1431 (CRISTOFANI, *Storie d' Assisi*, as quoted by BERNATH, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, ser. ii., vol. xxi., p. 121). In the *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 140, n. 1, it is suggested with considerable probability that the beginning of the inscription may have read "[Octavianus] Martini Nelli," and not "Martinellus."]

[2] GUALANDI, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, ser. 5, pp. 125, 126. BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 24. [* On November 10, 1436, Nelli and one Antonio d' Anghiari received payment for painting some church standards for the municipality of Borgo S. Sepolcro. See EVELYN FRANCESCHI MARINI in *L'Arte*, xvi. 473.]

[3] Two little pieces, a Circumcision and an Allegory of St. Francis wedded to poverty, are preserved in the ninth press of the Museo Cristiano at Rome, and bear the impress of Nelli's hand; they are at all events of the Umbrian school of that time. [* They are now in the Vatican Gallery. We add to the number of extant works by Nelli a Virgin and Child with angels in the collection of Sig. Pio Fabbri of Rome (see GNOLI, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xi. 76, with reproduction), and some frescoes in the church of S. Domenico at Fano, representing two scenes from the legend of Mary Magdalen (by the third altar to the left), and six scenes from the legend of St. Dominic and the Trinity adored by all saints (in a niche to the left of the entrance) (see *idem*, in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 10 *sqq.*, with reproduction).]

A public record with reference to the transfer of a tenement in 1444 includes Ottaviano's name (see BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 24). He died, leaving all his property to Marte di Pompeo, adopted in 1442, after all hope of children from his wife Baldina di Bartolello had been abandoned.

[4] This panel was ordered by one Gianniccolo di Cristoforo (BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 13), the St. Vincent, erect in benediction, is attended by angels who support his cloak, with saints and angels at his sides (gold ground); whilst the Eternal amidst seraphs appears above. On the basement is a miracle in monochrome. Originally a

incidents in S. Domenico of Gubbio, where better proportion, fairer outlines, and a more chastened fancy in the choice of dress, indicate a nearer connection with Gentile da Fabriano than is to be found in Nelli.

Jacopo Bedi, who (1458) decorated the Cappella Panfili in the cemetery of S. Secondo, rudely continued Ottaviano's style, without attempting to rival his carefulness or gay key of tones.[1]

Equally feeble, but more true to the older models of Taddeo Bartoli, Giovanni Pintali exhibits himself in an Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin on the walls of the Spedaletto of Gubbio;[2] and shares the mediocrity of Domenico di Cecco di Baldi.[3] A little later Bernardino di Nanni fills a gap in Gubbian annals, but is ill-represented by injured or renewed fragments in a chapel below the Portico del Mercato, and in the old Palazzo Municipale, at S. Croce, S. Maria Nuova, and S. Secondo.[4]

tempera, this piece had been much repainted in oil. [* It is now in the Communal Gallery at Gubbio.]

A picture in oil of Christ in S. Felicissimo, outside Gubbio, is not like the St. Vincent in manner.

[1] Four doctors of the Church in a ceiling, and four evangelists in monochrome in the lunettes, the whole more feebly handled than the series of St. Augustine in S. Agostino. The architecture and ornament are bad, the draperies mechanically lined, the colour red. On a card: "In nomine Dñi amen. anno Dñi Millesimo quatrocentesimo quinquagesimo octavo. tempore Dñi Pii Papae secundi anno primo sui pontificatus die septima mensis septembris. Jacopus pinxit." A Virgin by him in S. Maria dei Bianchi, at Gubbio, is gone (BONFATTI, *u.s.*, pp. 14, 25). [* For notices of this painter, see MAZZATINTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.]

[2] These are all but gone. There remain two angels, a St. Thomas holding the girdle, a chalice and pax, and four or five apostles in prayer to the right. An inscription was legible in past years as follows: "hoc opus fecit fieri francis . . . . Rectore umil . . . . Jioãi Pītalis 1438. die quarto Junii." It is reduced to a few words only (see BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 15). The types are poor and repulsive, the colour of the fragments reddish, and the handling evidently rude. Besides this subject there are remains of a Massacre of the Innocents, and an almsgiving scene. Similarly executed are pieces of wall-painting, parts of a Crucifixion, and an Annunciation in S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio.

[3] The articles of apprenticeship of this painter to Ottaviano, dated 1441, are preserved in BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 27. A Pietà of 1446 in S. Maria della Piaggiola, a Virgin and saints in S. Donato, are poor remnants of his manner. A Virgin and Child in S. Lucia of Gubbio is of an earlier time, and has been noted in the Umbrian school (see *antea*, vol. iii., p. 172). Domenico died in 1488 (BONFATTI, *u.s.*, p. 15). [* For further notices of him, see MAZZATINTI, *loc. cit*, p. 32 *sq.*]

[4] He was heir to Domenico di Cecco (1488). In the chapel below the Portico del Mercato, a Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul has been so repainted

that the head of the latter saint alone preserves its old character. The defects are very much those of Ottaviano at Foligno, the execution is rude, the forms are wooden, and the colour is bricky. On a scroll held by an angel, an inscription closes with the date of 1473.

A Standard in oil belonging to the company of S. Croce, at Gubbio, is assigned to him. It represents S. Ubaldo and St. Peter Martyr at each side of a cross, above which are angels, and S. Mary Magdalen at foot, whilst the members of the company are in the foreground at each side. This is a work of the sixteenth century Umbrian in character, and reminiscent of the manner of Sinibaldo Ibi, who was at Gubbio in 1509. It may be by Orlandi, who assisted Ibi in Gubbio in that year, and who is recorded at that time in a register of the administration of the brotherhood of S. Maria di Laici (notices of Signor Bonfatti, and see *postea* Ibi and Orlando). [* This standard is now in the Communal Gallery of Gubbio.]

The Virgin and Child on an altar to the left of the entrance to S. Secondo is different from the other works assigned to Bernardino, the style of the fifteenth century, with broken draperies. A Virgin and Child to the right of Ottaviano's fresco in S. Maria Nuova, in part damaged, resembles a work of Domenico di Cecco. SS. Ubaldo and John the Baptist attending at the Virgin's side, above the Porta Maggiore of the Palazzo Municipale, are altogether repainted. [* For further notices of Bernardino di Nanni, see Bombe, in Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, iii. 442.]

CHAPTER VIII

GENTILE DA FABRIANO, ALUNNO, AND OTHER UMBRIANS

THE fame of Gubbio, greatly increased in the fourteenth century by the honourable mention of Oderisio in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, was dimmed in the fifteenth by the lustre which Gentile shed upon his native town of Fabriano.

It chanced that, during a chequered and active life, this artist laboured in the same places and for the same patrons as Pisanello. This artist had first devoted his energies exclusively to painting, but towards the close of his days he displayed such extraordinary skill in casting and chiselling medallion portraits that he was eagerly sought by most of the Italian princes and chieftains of his time. At their courts he met, conversed with, and gained the friendship of, the most eminent men of the period in literature and poesy. His talents were celebrated in sonnets, or recorded in more serious prose; and, to the delight of his countrymen, his name is to be found in works of acknowledged merit, where those of his contemporaries are entirely neglected. Amongst the cities which Pisanello visited, Venice and Rome are the most important. The ducal palace in the first, the church of S. Giovanni Laterano in the second, were both adorned by his frescoes. In both, Gentile da Fabriano left examples of his manner. Praise of Gentile was doubtless often on the lips of Pisanello, and thus it became familiar to Facio and Biondo of Forlì.

We shall not say that he did not deserve the honour which he obtained at their hands, and whilst we refuse to admit any superiority in him over the Florentines, we may concede that he worthily closed an epoch in the pictorial development of Umbria. It is not to be denied that Gentile da Fabriano concentrated the better qualities of the Gubbians, and that he brought

their peculiar art to a combination as complete as it was capable of attaining; but his masterpieces are only remarkable for their softness, their affection of grace, their laborious fusion, and for a profuse ornamentation inherited from the Umbrian and Sienese schools.

Gentile di Niccolò di Giovanni Massi of Fabriano, for so a contemporary record teaches us to call him,[1] was probably born at Fabriano between 1360 and 1370, and taught by Allegretto Nuzi.[2] In the prime of his manhood, when Ottaviano Nelli produced the Madonna of the Belvedere, he may have derived some useful lessons from one whose style seems naturally linked to his and to Nuzi's; but he quickly distanced the Gubbian as he settled into the possession of a manner often contrasted with that of Fra Giovanni of Fiesole; and his fame speedily extended beyond the limits of Umbria proper. We shall not discuss the arguments of Vasari and his antagonists, who affirm in turn that Gentile was the pupil and the master of Angelico.[3] It would be difficult to find two men more totally divergent in aim than the Florentine monk and the painter of Fabriano. Both were noted for tenderness and finish, for the care with which they prepared and used their materials, but the results were completely at variance with each other; and the angelic candour of the creations due to the one has no relation whatever to the *smorphia* and affectation of those produced by the other. Gentile and Fra Giovanni may have met at Florence, where they dwelt at the same time; but we think that Gentile did not go there to teach, and in so far Vasari is nearer the truth than his opponents.

[1] See *postea*.

[2] This is affirmed as a fact by Lori. MS. *ap.* Ricci, *Mem. stor. u.s.*, i. 147, 165. Vasari says (iii. 13) that Gentile died aged eighty. If we ascertain the period of his death, we shall then have a clue to the date of his birth. Biondo da Forlì, who wrote his *Italia Illustrata* in 1450, speaks of Gentile in the past tense, thus proving that he was dead at that time (Biondo, Ed. Basil., 1531, p. 337). [* Gentile is now known to have died between August 1 and October 14, 1427 (see *postea*, p. 208, n. 2). As for Vasari's statement that he died at the age of eighty, we must remember how inaccurate the figures of this author often are. At the time of his death Gentile was actively at work; and we know, moreover, that his uncle survived him. The earliest record concerning Gentile appears to date from 1408 (*cf. postea*, p. 199, n. 2).]

[3] Vasari, ii. 521, and Bernasconi (Cesare), *Studi*, *u.s.*, p. 9.

The uninterrupted connection of Sienese and Umbrians may be considered to have had its effect on Gentile's style; nor is it extraordinary that he should have exhibited a certain relationship to Taddeo Bartoli when we remember how frequently that artist was employed in Umbrian cities, or sent his pictures there on commission. It is unnecessary in consequence to assume that Gentile should have made an early visit to Siena. A distinct Sienese character is plainly to be discerned in the only fragment of wall-paintings that we possess at Orvieto; and the older Coronation of the Virgin at Val Romita, the predella of which still remains at Fabriano, whilst its centre and sides have found their way into the Brera at Milan, is powerfully stamped with a similar impress;[1] a circle of eight angels exhaling their joy as they play about the rays of a sun at the base of the picture, recalling similar passages in Taddeo Bartoli's illustrations to the "Creed" in the *opera* of the Siena cathedral. In these figures, as well as in the principal group, which is capped by the Eternal resting a hand on the shoulders of Mary and Christ, we see the faults common to most of the men of these regions. Short and ill-grown personages, without charm in their features or action, are wrapped in long and twining draperies, revealing nothing of the frames they clothe. Rustic size and coarseness of extremities are accompanied by incorrect design. No atmosphere permeates the space, and shadow is all but absent; but the engraved outlines and ornament are finished with the utmost care. SS. Francis, Jerome, Magdalen, and Dominic, at the sides, stand on a meadow of which the grass and flowers remain untrampled by their feet; and the predella scenes, of which four remain at Fabriano,[2] are equally imperfect.

There is every reason to believe that Gentile's first progress of Umbria was in a northerly direction. His first patron was Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Brescia and Bergamo, who in the

[1] No. 497, Brera catal. The figures are half life-size. Five panels originally formed the predella. Four of them are in possession of Signor Giuseppe Rosci at Fabriano: (1) Death of St. Peter Martyr, is split vertically into two; (2) St. John the Baptist kneeling in prayer, is damaged by scaling; (3) St. Francis receiving the stigmata, is split like No. 1; (4) St. Dominic. In all these panels (1 foot by 7½ inches) the heads are abraded (the figures full-length). [* They are now also in the Brera.]

[2] Compare the preceding note.

early part of the fifteenth century gave him a large salary to decorate a chapel.[1] From thence he proceeded to Venice,[2] where he spent some years adorning the great hall of the ducal palace with one of the episodes derived from the legend of Barbarossa, the naval battle between that Emperor and the Venetians, and furnishing altarpieces to S. Giuliano and S. Felice.[3] Emulating Uccelli in the choice of a realistic subject, he succeeded, says Facio, in representing the terrors of a hurricane with such reality as to strike terror into the spectators.[4]

[1] Before 1421, when Brescia passed under the sway of Venice. The fact is stated by Facio, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45. See also the *Anonimo*, ed. Morelli, p. 157.

[*2] The chronology set forth in this passage requires correction. Gentile went to Venice before he went to Brescia. He is probably identical with the "Maistro Zentil" who in 1408, at Venice, painted an ancona at the order of one Francesco Amadi, for which he appears to have received nearly the double of the price paid for an altarpiece by a painter, Niccolò (see Paoletti, *L'Architettura e la scultura in Venezia*, Venice, 1893, ii. 205, n. 8). "M. Zentil da Fabriano" was, moreover, entered in the list of members of the Scuola di S. Cristoforo dei Mercanti at Venice in the first years of the fifteenth century—certainly, it is stated, not later than 1410. On the other hand, Gentile is not mentioned among those persons holding appointments under the Venetian Government, the salaries of whom in 1413, because of the war in Dalmatia, were reduced (the painter Jacobello del Fiore was, for instance, one of them). In view of these facts it seems likely that the Venetian Government enlisted Gentile's services immediately after they, in 1409, had resolved to have the pictures in the Hall of Council repaired (see Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Bergamo, 1909, p. 10 *sq.*). Between 1414 and 1419 Gentile is mentioned several times in the books of account of Pandolfo Malatesta. On September 18, 1419, he addressed a letter to a person, the name of whom is not given, setting forth how, when the Pope (Martin V.) came to see the Malatestas (October 21, 1418), he asked Gentile to come to him after having finished the paintings in the chapel of Pandolfo. Now, after this is done, Gentile, obviously in the intention of following the Pope's invitation, asks the addressee to obtain from the Conte di Carmagnola a safe-conduct for eight persons and eight horses (Vasari, *Gentile da Fabriano e il Pisanello*, ed. by A. Venturi, Florence, 1896, p. 7). Owing to the disturbed state of things in Rome—which Martin was able to enter only on September 29, 1420—Gentile, however, was prevented from entering the service of the Pope. He appears to have been at Fabriano in April and March, 1420 (see Colasanti, *u.s.*, p. 21), but on November 21, 1422, he was at Florence (see *postea*, p. 201). Cosimo Tura appears to have gone to Brescia to study Gentile's paintings in the Malatesta chapel, after he, in 1469, had undertaken to paint a chapel at Belriguardo (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. Borenius, ii. 225, n. 1).

[3] Facio, *u.s.*, and Sansovino, *Venezia descritta*, ed. Martinioni, 4°, Venice, 1663, p. 147. The picture at S. Felice represented St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, *ib.*

[4] Facio, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45.

If we may credit records lately discovered and made public, the walls of the ducal palace at Venice, on which there were still some vacant spaces in 1411, had been finally covered with subjects in 1422;[1] and we may infer that Gentile as well as Pisanello had both been engaged in the edifice previous to the latter date. Gentile's battle-piece had already shown symptoms of decay in Facio's time,[2] and gradually disappeared altogether; nor have other causes been wanting to deprive us of the examples which he left in Venice.

A solitary Virgin and Child in the Venice Academy bears Gentile's name, but is altered by heavy over-painting.[3] An Adoration of the Magi, originally belonging to the noble family of Zen, and subsequently forming part of the Craglietto gallery,[4] seems to have found a final resting-place in the Berlin Museum, where it is catalogued very properly under the name of Antonio Viva-

[1] Deliberazione del Maggiore Consiglio, 1411, April 19 (*Archiv. Gen. di Venez.*, vol. leona, p. 205): "Cum alias captum fuit, quod officiales nostri super Sale et Rivoalto pro facendo reparare, et aptari picturas sale nove, possent expendere libras viginti grossorum et dicti denarii non fuerint sufficientes ad completamentum operis; vadit pars, quod committatur dictis officialibus super Sale et Rivoalto, quod, pro complendo laboreria necessaria, possint expendere alias libras viginti grossorum, de pecunia nostri communis, et abinde infra sicut facere poterunt."

Deliberazione, 1422. Luglio (*Arch. Imp. di Vienna*, vol. 54, Misti del Senato [* now in the State Archives at Venice]): "Cum habita diligenti consideratione ad opportunam et utilem conservationem salæ novæ Nostri Majoris Consilli, quia ut est manifestum, cadunt in dies picturæ ipsius salæ cum magna deformitate ejus, sit pro laudabili et perpetua fama tanti solennissimi operis, et pro honore nostri dominii et civitatis nostræ pænitus providendum, de tenendo ipsam salam in decenti et honorabili forma, quod, si quo casu destruitur in picturis, subito reaptetur in illis: vadit pars quod committatur nostris procuratoris. Ecclesiæ sancti Marci, quod pro facendo reaptari et teneri continue in bono et debito ordine picturas dictæ salæ, debeant accipere et tenere per tempora unum sufficientum et aptum magistrum pictorem ad ipsa opera picturarum, debendo pro salario illius expendere ducatos centum in anno, de pecunia quam percipiunt de affictibus apothecarum existentium subtus palatium" (CESARE BERNASCONI, *Il Pisano*, 8°, Verona, 1862, p. 42).

[2] FACIO, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45.

[3] No. 48, inscribed "Gentile Fabrianensis f.," with traces of another inscription below it, now illegible. The Virgin and Child are enthroned on the moon's crescent. The Virgin and the angel annunciate in the spandrils, and two "graffiti" of angels on the gold ground.

[4] RICCI, *Mem. stor.*, *u.s.*

rini.[1] It affords conclusive evidence, at least, of the influence which Gentile wielded in the Venetian school.

If we are thus unable to cite anything in Venice that may with certainty be assigned to Gentile da Fabriano, we are more fortunately situated as to certain incidents connected with his life.

Amongst the youths who had devoted themselves to the career of art, and who were destined to become known as men of talent, was Jacopo Bellini, who entered the atelier of Gentile as his apprentice. A charming familiarity soon united the two men; and the master sat to his pupil for a likeness which came later into the Bembo collection.[2] They afterwards lived together in Florence, and when Jacopo married, his firstborn became Gentile's godson.[3]

The year in which Gentile settled at Florence is approximately ascertained by the register of the guild of barber-surgeons, in which he matriculated on November 21, 1422.[4] But his fame survived his departure from Venice; and all he did was so eagerly sought there that the demand was supplied even from Fabriano. Antonio Pasqualino thus obtained two portraits;[5] and we can only deplore that they should have shared the fate of so many others collected with trouble and cost in the galleries and churches of Venice.

From his shop in the Popolo S. Trinità at Florence, Gentile doubtless sent forth much that is undiscoverable at the present

[1] No. 5, Berlin Museum; according to KUGLER, the same that formerly was in the Craglietto collection (*Handbook*, p. 187).

[2] *Anonimo*, ed. MORELLI, *u.s.*, p. 18. Jacopo remained with Gentile till 1424. In a record of that year he is called Jacopo da Venezia, olim famulo magistri Gentilini pittoris de Fabriano (com. to VASARI, iii. 20). But he called himself Gentile's pupil also on a Crucifixion at Verona, the inscription of which is copied in RICCI, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, i. 173. [* It has been doubted that Jacopo Bellini is identical with the Jacopo da Venezia mentioned in the record of 1424, but these doubts are probably not justified. In any case, this Jacopo da Venezia left Gentile in 1423. Compare CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, i. 100 *sqq.*]

[*3] One cannot say more than that he received Gentile's name. Gentile da Fabriano was probably dead when Gentile Bellini was born.

[4] *Tavola alfabetica*, *u.s.* It is from this register that we know the name of Gentile's father, which, as stated in the text (*antea*), was Niccolò di Giovanni, Massi. The date as given by MORENI, *ap.* RICCI, *Memorie*, *u.s.*, pp. 149 and 165, is incorrect.

[5] *Anonimo*, *u.s.*, p. 57.

day. In 1423 he completed an Adoration of the Magi, which Palla Strozzi presented to the church of Santa Trinità; it is the same masterpiece which now adorns the Florentine Academy of Arts.[1] He enriched the foreground of the composition by the introduction of a copious retinue of followers, grooms, and huntsmen, accompanied by dogs and monkeys, filling the distance with well-arranged episodes and groups. The Saviour, the Virgin, and the angel annunciate appear in the medallions of the gables, whilst the predella comprises the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and the Presentation in the Temple. Grace in the shape of the females attendant on the Virgin, ease in the motion of the King whose spurs a page removes, are combined with individuality in heads, which seem portrayed from nature; the harmonies of colour are Umbrian in their gaiety, but there is no aerial perspective, and gilt-relief ornament is luxuriously applied. The profile of a female to the left of the Virgin recalls the types of the old Sienese period, whilst the turbaned king seems impressed with that softness which becomes a more charming feature in Perugino. The gable figures are pretty and in fair condition, whilst the principal subject is not free from injury. This is Gentile's best extant effort, proving that his stay in Florence had taught him something more than he had learnt at home, yet that, like his precursor Nuzi, he could not alter his Umbrian nature, nor forget his primitive education so far as to adopt any of the innovations due to Uccelli, Brunelleschi, Masaccio, or Donatello. He may have been struck by a miniaturist like Lorenzo Monaco. He may have admired the creations of Angelico, but he remained inferior to the first and *a fortiori* at a respectful distance from the second.

Gentile still inhabited Florence in 1425. An inscription, printed by many authors, long authenticated a Virgin and Child attended

[1] No. 165. One part of the predella, the Presentation in the Temple, is in the Louvre, No. 1,278. An inscription at the base of the Adoration runs as follows: "Opus Gentilis de Fabriano MCCCCXXIII mensis Maii." The front face of a turbaned man immediately behind the last of the kings is engraved by Vasari as Gentile's portrait. This picture is noticed by ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, u.s.*, p. 14. Respecting it we have the following record: "1423.—Maestro Gentile da Fabriano maestro di dipintura riceve da messer Palla Strozzi per resto di pagamento di dipintura della tavola ha fatto nella sagrestia di Santa Trinita, fior 150. E tanto fu prezzo di essa tavola, cioè fior: 150." (From the calendar of accounts of Messer Palla, drawn up by Senator Carlo Strozzi, Lib. No. 8, p. 20.)

Anderson, Alinari

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Gentile da Fabriano
From a picture in the Academy of Arts, Florence

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by saints, the centre of which has disappeared from the church of S. Niccolò di là d'Arno.[1] It was ordered by one of the family of Quaratesi,[2] and extorted from Vasari an opinion that of all things he had seen by Gentile, that was the best, not only because the Virgin and saints were well done, but because the predella[3] with incidents from the life of St. Nicholas, could not have been better or neater. The side panels of this votive piece are still at S. Niccolò, filled with a pretty and graceful Magdalen in profile; a S. Nicholas, on whose cope scenes from the Passion are given with exquisite minuteness; a fine St. George, and a Baptist more in the Sienese antique style; the whole ornamented with profusion, flat and fused in tone, and with a rosy flesh tint shadowed in cool grey.[4]

But this was not a solitary commission undertaken for patrons having family chapels in S. Niccolò. A panel, discovered in that church shortly before 1866, is now in the sacristy. It represents the Eternal, surrounded by a glory of cherubim of Umbrian type, sending down the dove of the Holy Ghost to the Virgin and Christ, both of whom kneel on a rainbow spanning a golden heaven lighted by a sun in relief. The resurrection of Lazarus, in the foreground of a landscape, and St. Louis of Toulouse form the subjects of one side, whilst on the other are SS. Cosmo, Damian, and a third saint together, and St. Benedict with a chained devil. It is more hasty than the Virgin of the Quaratesi, and more strongly impressed with the defects of the Umbrian and Gubbian schools.[5]

[1] The inscription is given as follows by RICHA (*Chiese*, x. 270): "Opus Gentilis de Fabriano 1425, mense Maii."

[2] VASARI, iii. 6 *sq.*

[3] Not to be found at this day. [* Compare the next note.]

[4] In the gables of these panels are figures of canonized friars between angels. Part of the predella is said to have been preserved by the heirs of the late Tommaso Puccini of Pistoia (VASARI, com., iii. 7), but all that we have seen there in the shape of incidents from the legend of St. Nicholas are two panels of another period and school from those of Gentile. [* The four side panels are now in the Uffizi (No. 1,310); the central panel is in the collection of the King at Buckingham Palace (see L. CUST, *Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections*, p. 17 *sq.*); and as for the predella, it seems very likely, as suggested by Professor SIRÉN (in *L'Arte*, ix. 332 *sqq.*), that four scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas of Bari, now in the Vatican Gallery, originally formed part of it. The execution of these four panels is no doubt in part due to an assistant, or assistants.]

* [5] The present whereabouts of this picture is not known to me.

Of the same period, no doubt, is a Virgin supporting the Infant Christ erect on a balustrade before her, with remnants of Gentile's signature, and curiously like a later Virgin by Jacopo Bellini,[1] all but life-size, and injured by restoring, in possession of Mr. Jarves.[2]

In 1420 Pope Martin V. entered Rome, on his way from Constance. He found the capital in ruins, its churches crumbling, its houses depopulated. After he had settled some of the more important quarrels that raged in Italy, and was able to afford leisure for less important duties, he patched up the roof and floor of S. Giovanni Laterano, and casting about for some one to adorn that edifice, he chose Gentile,[3] who had recently arrived from Florence by way of Siena and Orvieto. Both at Siena and at Orvieto Gentile had left specimens of his skill—at Siena, to which he wandered in the summer of 1425, a Madonna with saints, long exhibited in the Uffizio de' Banchetti;[4] at Orvieto, in the winter of the same year, a Virgin and Child. The mutilated remnants of the latter show how conscientiously he applied to wall-painting the

* [1] In the Galleria Tadini at Lovere (see CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, i. 108).

[2] Mr. Jarves is an American gentleman who often visits Florence. In the distance of this picture is a landscape with roses and other flowers creeping up the balustrade; the child on tiptoe like one by Benozzo; signed: "Gent. . . . . briano. [* This picture is now in the Jarves collection at New Haven, Conn. (No. 39).]

* [3] *Cf. antea*, p. 199, n. 2.

[4] From the MS. records of Dino de' Marzi Senese, 1395-1427 (fol. 159 h): "1425. Lonardo di betto dagnoluccio die auere dodici livre, e quagli ò auti per lui adi xviij. daghosto da maiestro gientile di . . . da . . . dipentore e sò per pigione de la chasa di lonardo, la quale gli aloghai a dì 22 di giungnio ora passati per insino a tutto aghosto per prezo di dodici livre." From the *Storie Senesi*, MS. of SIGISMONDO TIZIO, tom. iv., p. 200: "1424. Gentilis Fabrianensis pictor eximius. Virginis imaginem ceterorumque sanctorum non hoc anno, ut fertur, in foro publico apud Tabelliones depinxit, sed sequenti perfecit. In imis vero sub Virgine circulus est, in quo Iesu Christi in sepulcro mortui consistentis quam Pietatem christiani vocant, a dextris ac sinistris angeli duo sunt oreo colore tam tenui picti, tamque exili lineatura in tufeo lapide, ut nisi quis etiam ostensis acutissimum figat intuitum, conspicere non valeat." *Ib.*, p. 205: "1426. Diebus tamen paucis elapsis (octobris) Gentilis Fabrianensis pictor Mariæ Virginis, ceterorumque sanctorum supra Tabellionum sedilla (detto l' Uffizio de' Banchetti) in publico foro ad Casati fauces (la bocca del Casato) pictas imagines iam perfectas, annotato augusti mense, populo prebuit conspiciendas: tametsi anno elapso incohatas, et non plene absolutas notaverimus."

practice usual to him in panels. The group is pleasing in its Umbrian nature; the Virgin's head is of a regular oval, the features kindly, the mouth pouting, the action graceful, the hands slim and refined.[1] We see the qualities of Simone Martini, with increased perfection in technical execution and draperies reminiscent of those in Taddeo Bartoli; we note the finish and flatness, the copious ornament of a miniature, and an adventitious splendour derived from a modern crown in silver relief on the Virgin's head, and original gilt embroidery on the hems.[2]

We may believe that Gentile came first to Rome in 1426. We have written proofs that he was in Martin V.'s service in 1427 at a monthly salary of twenty-five gold florins.[3] He painted the pontiff's likeness, with portraits of ten attendant cardinals, on one panel.[4] In S. Maria Nuova, now S. Francesca Romana, he designed a Virgin and Child between SS. Benedict and Joseph,[5]

[1] Della Valle, *Stor. del Duomo di Orvieto*, *u.s.*, p. 123. The record referring to his wall-painting in the Duomo is dated Dec. 9, 1425, and in it the artist is called, as Angelico was later, "egregium magistrum magistrorum." [* This reading is incorrect; it should be "egregium magistrum, *magistrum* (Gentilem de Fabriano)." Vasari, ed. A. Venturi, *u.s.*, p. 17. The fresco was finished by October 16, 1425 (*ib.*, p. 16).] See also Facio, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45.

[2] The ground of this mutilated piece is newly tinged; the blue mantle of the Virgin is repainted, and its green lining pointed with gold.

[3] See G. Amati, "Notizia di alcuni manoscritti dell'Archivio secreto Vaticano" in *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. iii., part i. (Florence, 1866), p. 193: "(Diversorum Martini V.) Benedictus de Guidalottis legum doctor, apostolice camere clericus, in camerariatus domini nostri pape officio locumtenens. Nobili viro Johanni de Astallis, thesaurario alme urbis, salutem in Domino.

"Solvatis. . . .

"Benedictus etc. solvatis magistro Gentili de Fabriano egregio pictori, pro salario suo unius mensis, incepti die vigesimo octavo mensis ianuarii proxime preteriti, et finiti die ultimo presentis mensis februarii, florenos auri de camera viginti quinque, quos etc. Datum die ultimo mensis februarii, ind. quinta pont. anno decimo. Ioan. de Gallesio, Gratis. Egregio pictori magistro Gentili de Fabriano, pro salario suo mensis martii proxime preteriti, florenos auri de camera viginti quinque etc. Egregio pictori magistro Gentili de Fabriano pro suo salario mensis aprilis proxime preteriti, ducatos auri de camera viginti quinque etc. Egregio pictori magistro Gentili de Fabriano, pro salario suo mensis junii proxime preteriti, ducatos auri viginti quinque.

"Egregio pictori magistro Gentili de Fabriano, pro suo salario mensis julii proxime preteriti, florenos auri viginti quinque."

[* These payments were made to Gentile for his work in S. Giovanni Laterano. See Venturi, in Vasari, *u.s.*, p. 18.]

[4] Facio, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45.

[5] Vasari, iii. 7.

and, in S. Giovanni Laterano, he began a series of subjects from the legend of S. John the Baptist.[1] On the accession of Eugenius IV. he continued the work,[2] and his own decease prevented the completion of the Prophets in monochrome above the incidents of the Precursor.[3] Here, however, as at Venice, the masterpieces of Gentile have all perished. But one of them, that of S. Francesca Romana, still existed in the sixteenth century; and Vasari relates that Michael Angelo used to say of its author: "Aveva la mano simile al nome;"[4] whilst a disciple of a different school, Van der Weyden, having had occasion to see the frescoes in S. Giovanni Laterano, declared Gentile to have been the greatest man in Italy.[5] We know what Michael Angelo thought of Flemish art. He considered it to lack grandeur, selection, proportion, and symmetry. He objected to the numerous episodes which filled the distances of pictures; he deprecated the use of landscapes in which the eye should be solely flattered by huts, green fields, trees, rivers, and bridges.[6] Van der Weyden, who was the true representative of an art so despised, thus appears to have been favourably struck by a form of pictorial attainment in which Michael Angelo, his antagonist in every sense, also found something to prize. We may read this puzzle by assuming that the great Florentine was in a vein of sarcasm and pleasantry when Vasari overheard the pun on Gentile's name. Van der Weyden visited the peninsula, spent days, no doubt, in seeing the creations of the best men of the time, and declared himself most pleased with those of one who held a subordinate rank in the annals of his country. The reason of this is obvious; he discovered in Gentile qualities akin to his own; great minuteness, careful fusion of tone, absence of shadow, and bright contrasts of colour.[7]

[1] Platina says he (Martin V.) "picturamque Gentilis, opus pictoris egregii inchoavit." PLATINA (ed. Sacchi, 8°, Paris), p. 294.

* [2] This is not the case. Gentile had been dead for some years when Eugenius IV. became Pope (March 3, 1431).

[3] FACIO, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45. [4] VASARI, iii. 7. [5] FACIO, *u.s.*, p. 45.

[6] See this opinion expressed in a conversation between Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, in RACZYNSKI, *Les Arts en Portugal*, 8°, Paris, 1846; or the extract in GRIMM'S *Leben Michael Angelo's*, 8°, Hanover, 1863. Zweiter Theil, pp. 370, 371.

* [7] A picture which no doubt was painted by Gentile during his stay in Rome has recently been discovered by Dr. L. VENTURI (see *Bollettino d'arte*, vii. 73 *sqq.*)

It is probable that Gentile at some period of his life dwelt at Perugia, where parts of a Virgin and Child between two angels are preserved in S. Domenico; a mere relic, so damaged are the remains.[1]

In Città di Castello, for which, if Vasari was correctly informed, Gentile finished more than one of his productions, those assigned to him in the Spedale are of doubtful origin.[2] A Martyrdom, and scenes from the legend of St. Victorinus, once in the cathedral of S. Severino, have perished.[3]

In Fabriano, the only remnant entitled to consideration is a Coronation of the Virgin between six angels playing instruments, of old in the Casa Bufera, now in Casa Morichi, in which much of the master's manner may yet be traced. It was in former times the front of a standard, on the obverse of which a St. Francis receiving the stigmata, of the same size and form, was depicted. This obverse is also in Casa Morichi, but it bears the inscription: "Ano dñi 1452 . die 25 de Martio." Related as to style with the

This painting—a Virgin and Child—is now in the Sala dal Capitolo in the Duomo of Velletri, having previously been in S. Apollonia of that city, whither it was brought from SS. Cosma e Damiano at Rome in 1633.

[1] The Adoration of the Magi in the same church, assigned to Gentile by Mariotti (*Lett. pitt.*, p. 67), and engraved by Rosini, is by Benedetto Bonfigli. Below the principal group of the piece noticed in the text are traces of angels with scrolls on which are musical notes. The whole on gold ground. The Virgin and Child is now in the Galleria Com. at Perugia (Sala VI., No. 16).

[2] In the "amministrazione dello spedale" of Città di Castello, two panels are shown as by Gentile da Fabriano; one, much restored, representing the Virgin enthroned holding the Infant erect on her knee, revealing the Umbrian manner of a man in Gentile's school; the other, a Virgin and Child, the latter holding a bird, reminiscent of Allegretto Nuzi's style, but of a date later than his. [* These two pictures are now in the Communal Gallery of Città di Castello (Nos. 74 and 71). No. 74 is by Antonio Vivarini, as Dr. Toesca was the first to point out (in *L'Arte*, vi. 248 *sq.*).]

[3] See the authorities in Ricci, *u.s.*, i. 155, 170. We are informed too late, unfortunately, by Marchese Carlo Luzi of S. Severino that there is an altarpiece by Gentile on the high-altar in the parish church of Serra Petrona, near Camerino. [* This altarpiece (representing the Virgin and Child with saints) is not by Gentile. It has been ascribed to Alunno (*cf. postea*, p. 239), but is given by Mr. Perkins (in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 53 n.) and Mr. Berenson (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 192) to Lorenzo II. da San Severino.] In Urbino nothing by Gentile exists, and Santi only notices him in the *Rhyme Chron.* as: "il degno Gentil da Fabriano," lib. XXII., cap. 91, in Pungileoni, *u.s.*

Coronation, though of ruder aspect, it may be of a later date and by some pupil.[1]

Gentile, it is said, died at Rome, and was buried at S. Francesca Romana, in Campo Vaccino.[2]

The pieces not alluded to in the text are not numerous:

Pisa. Pia Casa della Misericordia.[3] A small and pretty Virgin, seated on a cushion, with her arms crossed on her bosom adoring the Infant Christ outstretched on its back on her lap, and grasping her dress (blue and repainted). The flesh tints are now opaque.

Pisa. Academy of Arts. A Coronation of the Virgin by another hand, and not unlike a Neri di Bicci.[4]

Rome. Galleria Colonna, No. 130. Virgin and Child. This panel is incorrectly catalogued. We shall see that it is one of the rare works of Stefano da Zevio of Verona.[5]

Berlin Museum, No. 1,130. Throned Virgin and Child, SS. Catherine and Nicholas at the sides, the patron in prayer in front, inscribed on a frame of the period: "Gentilis de Fabriano pinxit," gold ground, small red seraphs play on the trees. The colour of this work is altered by time and oil varnishes.[6]

Berlin Gallery. Six subjects in one frame (No. 1,058), "School of Gentile," in the style of Antonio da Murano.[7]

*[1] The editor has no clue to the present owner of these two pictures.

[2] FACIO, *u.s.*, pp. 44, 45. We need hardly point out the error of the comm. of the last edition of VASARI (iii. 22), who infer from Facio's text that Roger v. d. Weyden met Gentile at Rome. Facio merely says, referring to the wall-paintings of S. Giov. Laterano: "auctore requisito cum multa laude cumulatum ceteris Italicis pictoribus anteposuisse." Van der Weyden clearly asked for the painter's name only, and we believe Gentile to have been dead some years at that time. See *antea*, note to p. 197.

[* Gentile, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 205, *n.* 3), received payment for his work in S. Giovanni Laterano until the end of July, 1427. On October 14, 1427, Onofrio di Giovanni Massi, uncle of the late Gentile da Fabriano, received from the priory of S. Maria Nuova 200 lire due to the painter, in all probability for the fresco of the Virgin and Child with saints mentioned *antea*, p. 205 (see COLASANTI, *u.s.*, p. 18). We thus find that Gentile's death took place between August 1 and October 14, 1427.]

*[3] Now Museo Civico of Pisa, Sala V., No. 26.

[4] Now in the Museo Civico of Pisa (Sala VI., No. 25), and officially ascribed to Neri di Bicci.

*[5] Compare CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 166.

[6] This piece is described by Ricci. It was originally in S. Niccolò of Fabriano and successively at Osimo, Matelica, and Rome (see RICCI, *u.s.*, i. 155).

*[7] Assigned, with a query, to Antonio Vivarini in the current catalogue of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

Munich Gallery, No. 986. An Assumption falsely catalogued under Gentile's name (see *antea*, Naddus Ceccharelli, Vol. III., 71 *sq.*).[1]

Paris. Mr. O. Mündler. A small panel originally at Milan representing the Virgin and the Infant erect on her knee, with a kneeling patron, supposed to be Lionel d' Este. This is a graceful (partially retouched) picture, with little figures in a landscape distance, and quite in Gentile's character.[2]

Bari. S. Agostino. Here is a Crucifix, of which Vasari speaks,[3] not seen by the authors, but described by Schulz.[4]

London. Lord Taunton.[5] A panel in tempera representing a naval episode (a King in his galley, and a convoy of ships, with a friar in a grotto, and four persons with a dog on the land to the right) bears the name of Gentile da Fabriano. But the manner is that of Fra Giovanni Angelico, the drawing, action, types, drapery being like those of his school. A heavy varnish dims the surface and leaves a doubt as to the authorship by the Fra, or by Gozzoli, or perhaps by Pesellino.

Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe Collection, No. 13. A saint on a throne between four others. This picture is Umbrian, and shows the influence of the Sienese Taddeo di Bartolo, but is by one bred in the school of Gentile da Fabriano, and besides (as we have reason to judge from a recent visit[6]) is injured by time and old restoring.

Corsham Court. Methuen Gallery. Coronation of the Virgin (WAAGEN, *Treasures*, supp. p. 397).[7]

Paris. Hotel Cluny. A panel in this collection assigned to Gentile, and dated 1408, is by Lorenzo Monaco (see *antea*, Vol. II., 297 *sq.*).

* 1 Now officially ascribed to Lippo Memmi.

* 2 This painting—now in the Louvre (No. 1,279)—is by Jacopo Bellini. Compare CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, i. 112, n. 3.

3 VASARI, iii. 7 *sq.*

4 *Denkmäler, u.s.*, vol. iii., p. 174.

* 5 Now possibly in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley, of Quantock Lodge, Bridgewater.

* 6 *I.e.*, made shortly before 1866.

* 7 This picture is now in the collection of M. Henri Heugel of Paris, and is reproduced in COLASANTI, *u.s.*

The following extant pictures by Gentile da Fabriano remain to be mentioned:

Fabriano. Casa Fornari. St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

Paris. Mme. Sartoris. The Virgin and Child (at present on loan to the Musée des Arts décoratifs; reproduced in *Bollettino d'arte*, v., plate facing p. 33).

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. The Virgin and Child with four angels (from the Stroganoff collection).

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. The Virgin and Child (fragment).

A follower, some say the son, of Gentile, belongs to this period. He calls himself "Franciscus Gentilis"; and we are acquainted with three panels on which this name is inscribed. One is in the Museum of the Vatican,[1] another in Fermo;[2] a third belonged to Mr. Barker in London.[3] They are the wretched efforts of an artist who was formed not so much on the models of Gentile as on those of Antonio da Fabriano, Giovanni Boccati of Camerino, and Lorenzo of Sanseverino. The Umbrian style, in a worse form than that which they evolved, is mingled in Franciscus with a method of stippling akin to that of Crivelli. A closer but equally defective imitator of Gentile is Lellus of Velletri, whose Madonna in S. Agostino of Perugia is a cento of the technical methods apparent in the Virgin at Orvieto, and the least praiseworthy characteristics of Taddeo and Domenico di Bartolo.[4]

Antonio di Agostino di Ser Giovanni da Fabriano was a less contemptible, but still feeble assistant of Gentile da Fabriano. It is to him, indeed, that the Marchese Ricci assigns the Corona-

[1] Press X., Virgin and Child, signed "Franciscus Gentilis," with the monogram Ɛ. The types are repulsive, the tempera dark and dim (the Virgin's blue mantle new). [* Now in the Vatican Gallery.]

[2] In the house of the advocate Dominici. Subject: The Salutation, with the infants on the dresses of the figures; the Saviour already in benediction. This is a picture devoid of all feeling; colour stippled as in Crivelli; draperies broken and angular, inscribed: "Franciscus Gētilis de Fabriano" (panel). [* Present whereabouts not ascertainable).]

[3] Panel portrait, mistaken by Ricci for that of Gentile, commingling the Umbrian and new Perugian manner with the style of Lorenzo di S. Severino, as exhibited in the picture of the National Gallery and in Crivelli. The person represented is youthful, but lean and of an angular outline; at a balcony, long hair falls out of a red cap; background green, inscribed on the parapet: "Franciscus Gentilis de Fabriano pinsit." Character as above. [* This picture is now in the collection of Mr. W. A. Leatham at Miserden Park, Cirencester, and was shown by him at the Exhibition of Pictures of the Umbrian School at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1909–10 (No. 39). A fourth signed picture by this artist is an Ecce Homo in the collection of the late Dr. L. Mond in London, inscribed on the bottom and side of the panel: "Franciscus Gentilis de Fabriano" (see RICHTER, *The Mond Collection*, London, 1910, ii. 485 *sqq.*). A fifth, a Virgin and Child with two angel musicians and SS. Sebastian and John the Evangelist (triptych, signed "Franciscus Gentile"), was sold at the sale of the Duca di Verdura's collection at Rome, April 11, 1894).

[4] The Virgin and Child enthroned (two angels in front) between SS. John the Baptist and Augustine, Agata and Liberatore; signed on a twined scroll: "Lellus de Velletri pinsit." Now in the Galleria Comm. at Perugia (Sala VI., No. 12).

tion of the Virgin, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, in the Casa Morichi,[1] adding that, according to tradition, Antonio had tried there how well he could imitate his master.[2] He may be seen in his native ugliness in a St. Jerome of the Fornari Gallery at Fabriano, in which, like Giovanni Boccati, he exaggerates the defect of unwrought extremities visible in Piero della Francesca, and he paints in a system of mixed tempera of a raw dull tone very different from that of Gentile.[3] His nude is fairly proportioned, but is also dry and withered; and his drapery sins commonly by angularity. The frescoes in the old refectory of S. Domenico at Fabriano may be assigned to him,[4] and there are other authentic subjects by him in the Palazzo Piersanti at Matelica,[5] in the parish church of La Genga,[6] and even perhaps in S. Croce near Sassoferrato.[7]

[1] Ricci, i. 176.

[*2] As pointed out by Dr. Bombe (in Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, i. 586), Antonio cannot well have been the pupil of Gentile, who died in 1427, while Antonio's activity as a painter began about 1450. He was still living in 1485.

[3] The saint is seated, writing, in cardinal's dress, in a cell filled with books, accompanied by the lion. The vehicle with which the colours are impregnated seems a sort of red oil of a viscous nature. On the desk is the date "1451," and below on the frame: "Antonius d̄ Fabri."

[4] See *antea*, note to p. 179, Vol. III. The place is now a granary; the subject, filling the whole wall, a Crucifixion and many saints kneeling on each hand. In a niche on one side is St. Lucy, on the other St. Catherine, all in a feigned frame with fair ornaments in it. The colour is injured. On the frame one reads: "1480, die 25 Februarii."

[5] Here is a Crucifix in which the Saviour, of good proportion, is not unlike the foregoing in character and proportion, though it is injured. An inscription runs: ". . . tonius . . brianen. S. P. 1452" (may be 72). [* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 52.]

[6] This place is about five miles from Fabriano. The principal picture is a Virgin and Child surrounded by angels on the high-altar. The Eternal, above, has sent down the dove of the Holy Ghost. SS. Clement and John the Baptist attend at the sides. The Infant is round-backed, a defect noticeable in the works of the painters of Camerino. The dry and not well-proportioned forms recall Gentile and the Sienese. On a scroll: "Antonius de Fabião pinxit." Two standards by the same hand are also preserved here. The first represents a Virgin and Child with the Eternal above, signed: "Antonius . . .", with SS. Clement and John the Baptist on the obverse, and four brethren kneeling below. [* The obverse reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, vi. 51.] In the second, the Virgin, Child, and patron, with a Crucifixion between two saints on the obverse, all but ruined.

[7] Here is a large composite altarpiece of the Virgin and Child between SS. Joachim, Benedict, Stephen and Clara, with a Crucifixion in an upper course, at

Antonio's contemporary Onofrio is said to have done the fragments of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Benedict in one of the cloisters of S. Michele in Bosco at Bologna.[1] These differ in no respect from the rude ones of the third-rates of the fifteenth century in Umbria and the Marches.

The older craftsmen of S. Severino are of more interest to the historian. They were the neighbours of Ottaviano Nelli and Gentile da Fabriano; and one of them, by name Lorenzo,[2] is the author of works which form an intermediate link between those of the two painters just mentioned. The earliest notice of Lorenzo is to be found in a triptych, of which the principal subject is the Marriage of St. Catherine, a piece so injured as to possess no value. It belongs to the Cistercians of S. Severino[3] and is remarkable for the following inscription: "nelli mei añi XXVI io Lorenzo fe . . . quisto laurro." The date: "Año domini MCCCC" beneath a Pietà on the outer side, settles the period of Lorenzo's birth.[4]

the sides of which are SS. Peter, Paul, and two other saints, an Eternal and the four evangelists in pinnacles, and six incidents (one of them the Resurrection of Christ) in the predella. The figures are thin and slender, the execution is careful, and the colour dry. It is like a work by Antonio. [* A Death of the Virgin in the Communal Gallery at Fabriano (reproduced in *Emporium*, xxiii. 103) is probably by Antonio da Fabriano, and a fresco of the Virgin with SS. Francis and John the Baptist, in the Municipio of Sassoferrato appears to be identical with a painting of these figures, which in 1468 he was commissioned to execute in that building, and for which he received a rate of payment in 1471 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, where further notices of this artist may be found.]

[1] RICCI, *u.s.*, i. 193. The date of these paintings is given as *circa* 1460.

[*2] His family name was Salimbeni.

[*3] It is now in the Communal Gallery at San Severino.

[4] As far back as the time of RICCI this triptych was much dilapidated (*Mem.*, *u.s.*, i. 186). Subject: Open triptych, centre, marriage of St. Catherine; left wing, St. Simon; right wing, St. Thaddeus, as is shown by the characters on the gilt relief nimbuses. On the upper part of the picture: "hoc opus fecit fieri Fr. Antonius Petroni et P[etrus] N[icol] a Nicholai." On the lower edge of the frame the signature in the text. Closed triptych: Christ in the arms of the Virgin (monochrome), and a subject, all but effaced. Beneath this last, according to RICCI, were the words: "nel Mese di Gennaro" (*Mem.*, i. 198). [* According to Dr. COLASANTI (in *Bollettino d' arte*, iv. 410), the inscription ". . . . . d[el mese] d. genaro" may still be read on this panel.] The colour is darkened by time where it has not scaled away.

Frescoes in the crypt of the Cistercians at S. Severino representing scenes

ST. JOHN BAPTIZING
BY LORENZO AND JACOPO DA SAN SEVERINO
From a fresco in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Battista, Urbino

Photo, Alinari

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He was an illiterate youth of twenty-six at S. Severino in 1400.[1]

Sixteen years later, and in company of his brother Jacopo, Lorenzo decorated the whole of the oratory of S. Giovanni Battista at Urbino with incidents from the life of the Precursor, a crucifix, and other episodes, which do not fail to create an impression when taken in combination with the arrangement of the chapel and its groined ceiling. The Crucifixion fills the side against which the altar stands. It is crowded with ill-distributed groups after the Sienese fashion. The nudes are so lean that the human frame seems reduced to a mere carcass; the angels, women, soldiers are in violent contortions, mouthing, shrieking, and shouting. Everything is exaggerated. The horses of the escort are caricatures. Amongst the incidents of the Baptist's life, however, one or more reveal an embryo of happy thought; females now and then exhibit a feminine nature in their movements, albeit affected, and some portraits, those of two men in black dresses and caps in the interview with Herod, are fairly and even smoothly coloured. But better still, on the wall to the left of the entrance, a Virgin, of slender shape, sits on a

from the legend of St. Andrew are supposed by RICCI (*ib.*, *ib.*, 187) to be Lorenzo's, but from what remains of them they appear to have no exact resemblance to those of Urbino. [* It is true that the frescoes in question, which are monochrome, are more summary in execution than the Urbino frescoes; but, all the same, their style points clearly to their being works by Lorenzo and Jacopo da San Severino. A number of other frescoes in the same crypt (several figures of saints, a Virgin and Child, and a Crucifixion) are also by these painters. For reproductions and full descriptions of all the above frescoes, see the monograph by DR. COLASANTI on the Salimbeni in the *Bollettino d'arte*, iv. 409 *sqq.* The church in the crypt of which these frescoes are is known as S. Lorenzo in Doliolo.] RICCI further mentions lost frescoes by our artist in S. Maria della Pieve at S. Severino (*ib.*, *ib.*, 198). [* There are still a number of frescoes by the Salimbeni, some of them only fragments, in this church (see COLASANTI, *u.s.*, p. 427 *sq.*). In the same city we further find some very much injured frescoes by them, probably representing scenes from the legend of SS. Vittorino and Severino, in a chapel to the left in the Duomo Vecchio, formerly even authenticated by the following fragmentary inscription: ". . . liviero opero chon Lorenzo so fratel . . ." The purely decorative paintings on the inside of an arch in the sacristy of the Chiesa della Misericordia at San Severino, probably a fragment of a large work of mural decoration, are signed: "Anno Domini milleximo. CCCC°. IIII die ultima mesis Septebris hoc opus dipnxit Lauretius Salibeni. d. S. Severino" (COLASANTI, *u.s. passim*).]

* [1] He was dead by October 6, 1420 (COLASANTI, *u.s.*, p. 411).

cushion, and raises with a delicate hand the veil which covers the child slumbering on her lap,—a graceful idea, spoiled in part by the ugly type of the infant, but in the spirit of the Gubbians. The Virgin's oblong head and thin pinched features, her waving hair and gold-embroidered veil, recall at once those in panels which tradition assigns to Angioletto, and brings to mind Gentile da Fabriano; whilst the soft and brightly harmonized colour, the minute and precise contours, and laboriously finished details surpass those of Ottaviano Nelli.[1]

Lorenzo and Jacopo[2] are fair Umbrian workmen, following the custom of their country, and heedless of modern improvements, untaught in the essential laws of pure art, but not entirely devoid of feeling. What their immediate influence may have

[1] On the border beneath the Crucifixion one still reads: "Anno domini MCCCCXVI die XVIII Julii Laurentius de Santo Severino et Jacobus frater ejus hoc opus fecerunt." The figures in the Crucifixion are of life-size. The wall to the right as you enter is divided into a double course, in the highest of which are the Vision of the Angel to Zacharias, the Salutation, the Birth of St. John, Zacharias writing the name, the Circumcision, and a scene in which Zacharias takes the hand of the Virgin in the presence of the kneeling Anna. This last piece is not without feeling, but the Virgin's head is restored. Some grace may be conceded to the figures in the Salutation, and the dresses are in the style of Gentile da Fabriano. The infant precursor in the Circumcision is deformed and without any neck. In the lower course, St. John meeting Herod on horseback and reproaching him, is a much injured fresco, where the feeble form of the Baptist is contrasted with better ones of the bystanders, some of which, as stated in the text, are portraits less ugly in type than the more fanciful faces of others. These portrait figures, too, are softly and truthfully coloured. Next we name the Baptism, which is marked by very poor forms of the nude. An Eternal looking down is a caricature, and a curious fancy is shown in leaves of trees shaped like conchs with heads of cherubs issuing from them. In the Sermon of St. John there is again an approach to the style of Gentile da Fabriano. The subjects on the wall pierced by the door are in part gone, in part concealed by a gallery. On the side to the left most of the incidents are much injured by restoring, and others are entirely repainted.

[2] We know no more of Jacopo than is here stated. [* He was still living in 1427 (COLASANTI, *u.s.*, p. 411).] In the sacristy of the oratory are two standards, in one of which the Sermon of St. John is almost all repainted, but which still betrays a style like that of the frescoes, whilst in the other is the crucified Saviour, in the same state, suggesting similar remarks. [* A full-length of St. Claire in the Urbino Gallery, a picture of the Fall of Man in the Ateneo at Pesaro (COLASANTI, *u.s.*, p. 430 *sqq.*), and a St. Catherine of Siena taking leave of her disciples, in the collection of Sig. Roberto Schiff of Pisa (see SCHIFF, in *L'Arte*, x. 375 *sqq.*), are works by Lorenzo Salimbeni, in addition to those already mentioned.]

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS
By Lorenzo II. da San Severino
From an altarpiece in S. Francesco, Pausola

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been at Urbino it is difficult to say. The grace, of which they were not entirely deprived, may have been appreciated by Giovanni Santi, but we seek in vain for the impression they may have made upon him.[1]

A continuation of this imperfect development of pictorial qualities in Umbria may be found in the works of a second Lorenzo, also of S. Severino, who discloses a change produced by the lapse of years, first of all in the expression of form, next in the style of drawing, the character, the drapery, and, above all, the technical method of tempera. This artist is the author of three inscribed pictures, two of which bear his name and the dates 1481, 1483, and the third is certified by the name only. The first of these is in the sacristy of a church at Pausola near Macerata;[2] the second, a fresco, in the collegiate church of Sarnano.[3] The third, a panel, originally in S. Lucia at Fabriano, is in the National Gallery.[4] They are all handled on the system of Crivelli, whose

[1] Pungileoni, *Elogio stor. di Gio. Santi*, p. 4.

[2] All' Amatrice di S. Pietro e Paolo, sacristy. The altarpiece is a triple gallery with the Virgin and Child in the centre, and four angels above her, between SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen. In the points are the Ecce Homo between a male and female saint, on the steps of the Virgin's throne the words "Opus Laurentii de S. Severino, 1481," and below an inscription stating that the picture was ordered by Gentilis and Giovanni Marinus. The tempera is spare, hard and stippled, and fairly preserved. [* This picture is now in the Church of S. Francesco at Pausola.]

[3] This is a sort of tabernacle in the arch of which the Virgin enthroned holds the Child between SS. Martin and John the Baptist, with a kneeling abbot near the latter. Above, the Eternal is attended by three angels on each hand, and six similar figures are above the Madonna. In the spandrils are the Virgin and angel annunciate. . . . In the sides, St. Sebastian, with a kneeling brother at his feet, and St. Roch. Above each figure, an angel. This piece is inscribed: "hoc opus fec fieri Antonino Botius aḃ as de Sarnano pro ejus anima, et domini Guglielmi Franciga sub anno domini 1483. Laurentius Severinas pinxit." In the sacristy of the same church are the sides of an altarpiece, double-pointed arches, in which are SS. Peter, Paul, Benedict, and Blasius, much injured and like a caricature of Alunno.

[4] This picture (No. 249, Nat. Gal. catal.) is a Marriage of St. Catherine of Siena with St. Demetrius of Spoleto kneeling on the left, inscribed: "Laurentius II, Severinas pīsit." [* At least two more signed works by this artist exist: one, the Virgin and Child adored by saints and lay brothers, in the Church of the Madonna del Monte at Caldarola, signed "Sub anno Domini M.CCCC.LXXXXI Lauretius S. pīsit"; the other, St. Anthony of Padua recommending the inhabitants of Monte Milone to the Virgin and Child, signed and dated 1496, in S. Francesco at Pollenza (formerly known as Monte Milone; *cf. postea*, p. 216, n. 5).]

productions, indeed, fill most of the cities in this part of the peninsula, and, in spite of their shortcomings, they embody some of the religious sentiment of Alunno. In other examples of the manner of Lorenzo "the Second," as the signature on the "Marriage" at the National Gallery authorizes us to call him, we find Alunno not only imitated, but caricatured; and this is the case in a Virgin and Child at S. Agostino of S. Severino,[1] a Conception in the Brotherhood of S. Angelo at Matelica,[2] a Madonna, and holy attendants in the church of S. Francesco,[3] and in two couples of saints at S. Teresa of the same place.[4] The worst thing of this kind is a grotesque Meeting of Anna and Joachim in the Duomo at Nocera.[5] This list of third-rates may

[1] This picture on gold ground is in the vestibule of the church named in the text. Its figures are life-size. It represents the throned Virgin and Child attended by angels, between St. John the Baptist and a bishop (the Virgin's blue dress damaged). The whole is painted in a slight water colour, recalling the manner of Alunno. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at San Severino.]

[2] S. Anna holds two puppets on her knees intended for the infant Virgin and Christ. At her sides are SS. Sebastian and Roch; above, the Ecce Homo between half-lengths of SS. Michael and Dominic, very much injured and split vertically, much colour scaled, and the Virgin's dress new. [* Reproduced in *Emporium*, xxiii. 113.]

[3] The Virgin and Child with four angels, one of whom gives flowers to the Babe, between SS. Francis and Bernardino. In each pilaster at the sides are two half-lengths of saints and an angel. Four incidents are depicted in the predella, the outside panels of which each contain a half-length figure in prayer. This piece is a mixture of the manner of Lorenzo and Alunno, better preserved than the foregoing. [* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 54.]

[4] Here are SS. Severino and Catherine with the prophet Daniel above; the Baptist conversing with a spectacled monk and Elijah (gold ground, all but life-size). [* Reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 55.]

[5] Meeting of Anna and Joachim. Above, the Eternal, the Virgin and two angels. In the frame are half-lengths of saints. [* Mr. B. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 199, ascribes this picture to Matteo da Gualdo.]

There are records proving that Lorenzo of S. Severino painted an altarpiece at Monte Milone in 1496. The picture, according to Ricci, represented S. Anthony of Padua, the Virgin and Child, and angels. It was signed "Lauret Sevæi A. S.," and was dated as above (RICCI, *Mem., u.s.*, i. 202. [* This picture still exists; see *antea*, p. 215, n. 4.] A note in the same author refers to a damaged Virgin between two saints in episcopals in S. Francesco delle Scale in Ancona, signed with the fragmentary words: "... enzo Severin .... feci ... M. .... 81." Records also exist which show that Lorenzo painted a "Justice" in the Town Hall of S. Severino in 1478, arms at the Mercato gate in 1481, and a figure of the Beato Jacopo della Marca in 1482 (RICCI, *Mem.*, ii. 130). [* Numerous records concerning

be considered unnecessarily complete if we add to it a Madonna of the most repulsive aspect now in the sacristy of the Duomo at Recanati, by Lodovico de Urbanis of S. Severino,[1] and a Virgin, Child, and attendant martyrs in the church of the Zoccolanti of S. Ginesio, by Stefano di S. Ginesio.[2]

Still following the Eastern slope of the Apennine to the southward, we come upon Camerino, which gave birth to Giovanni Boccati, and to Girolamo di Giovanni; two men of more worth, perhaps, than those of S. Severino. Camerino offered but a slight field for exertion; and Giovanni did not long remain in his native place, but we judge from certain authentic examples of his skill,

this artist are given by AD. ROSSI, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, iv. 362 *sqq.*, and ALEANDRI, in *Nuova rivista misena*, vii. 172 *sqq.* The son of the smith Alessandro, he is first mentioned in 1468, and was still living in May, 1501, but died shortly before February 23, 1503. We may add to the catalogue of his extant works a Virgin and Child with SS. Anthony the Abbot, Mark, Sebastian and Severinus, formerly in the old cathedral of S. Severino (ROSSI, *u.s.*, p. 371), and now in the Holden collection at Cleveland, Ohio (M. LOGAN-BERENSON, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 3, with reproduction); a Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Sebastian and two angels, in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome (No. 709); and a Nativity in San Lorenzo in Doliolo of S. Severino.]

[1] The centre of this piece is the Virgin and Child with ten angels; at the sides, SS. Benedict and Sebastian. Lozenge-shaped pinnacles contain the Ecce Homo between the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the pilasters, two angels and four half-length saints. In the predellas, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian and two other incidents, with four prophets in the intermediate pilasters. This hideous cross between the San Severini, Alunno, and Crivelli, is signed: "Opus Ludovici de Urbanis de Sãto Severino." RICCI gives copious notices of this painter, who was consul at S. Severino in 1488 and 1493, and of whom there is a record that he was in litigation with a brother painter in 1466 (*Mem., u.s.*, i. 221). RICCI also describes an altarpiece of 1463 by the same hand in S. Maria delle Grazie at S. Severino (*ib.*, i. 222).

[2] The same cross is visible in this artist as in Lodovico. The altarpiece represents the Virgin and Child (the latter copied from Crivelli) between two saints in episcopals and the kneeling saints Roch and Sebastian. The outlines are angular, and the ornamentation after Crivelli. On the step of the throne the words: "Hoc opus factum fuit tempore dñi Johannis abatis, año dñi 1492. Stephanus d̃. Sčo Ginesio p." [* This picture is now in the Municipio of S. Ginesio; it is reproduced in *Emporium*, xxiii., 111. Other works by this artist, whose family name is Folchetti, are a Virgin and Child with St. Francis and the Beato Liberato da Loro, signed "Hoc op. pi. Stephanus Francisci de Sčo Genexio 1498," also in the Municipio of S. Ginesio; an altarpiece in S. Francesco at S. Ginesio; a Crucifixion, signed "Op. Stephani Fulchicti de Sco Genesio p.," in the Municipio at Sarnano; and an altarpiece in the Church of Urbisaglia, near Tolentino. (See C. RICCI, in *Emporium*, xxiii. 108; and PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, vi. 54 *sq.*)]

dating from the middle of the century, that he may be the author of an enthroned Virgin with angels holding flowers, and a S. Bernardino preaching from a pulpit; both in the monastery of S. Francesco at Camerino.[1] His petition to be admitted to the freedom of Perugia in 1445 is extant;[2] but his success seems to have been only partial. A citizen of the town had ordered a Madonna of him in 1446, which was purchased for the Brotherhood of the *disciplinati* of S. Domenico, and is still there.[3] It is a warm tempera, with tones of body and polish like enamel, in which the Virgin and Child are enthroned between two playing angels within a screened receptacle of stone, round which seraphs stand. St. Dominic and St. Francis each present two kneeling members of the Brotherhood; and they are accompanied by SS. Ambrose and Jerome, Gregory and Augustine. A garland of roses is above the Virgin's head; the infant allows his hand to be licked by an eager dog[4] which he holds by a leash; and in the distance, at the sides, angels are placed in a decoration of vases and festoons, in rear of which trees and flowers show their leaves and blossoms. In a predella are scenes from the Passion.[5] The long-necked, slender-waisted figure of Mary, with its small hands all contoured with hair lines at sharp angles—the angels, are Umbrian in character, and prove the education of Boccati to have been derived from the models of Gubbio and Fabriano, and

[1] This is a panel injured by a split. The subject on gold ground. [* These pictures are now in the Communal Gallery at Camerino. The attribution to Boccati is contested by Dr. BOMBE (in *Italienische Forschungen*, v. 89, n. 1).]

[2] RICCI publishes it in full, (*Mem., u.s.*, i. 199–200), giving us Boccati's name, which is Gio. di Pier Matteo d' Antonio d' Annuzio Boccati.

[3] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt., u.s.*, p. 68. This picture has been removed since these lines were written to the Gall. Comm. of Perugia (Sala VI., No. 19).

[*4] Not a dog, but a weasel, the symbol of chastity (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 83).

[5] This altarpiece is much injured. The St. Ambrose, part of St. Jerome, and the whole distance behind them, are repainted. The Virgin's blue mantle and parts of the vestments of other figures are likewise new. The colour is dimmed by restoring. The predella, detached from the altarpiece, represents the Capture (reminiscent of Domenico Bartoli), the Crucifixion (recalling P. della Francesca in some figures), SS. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr. A procession to Calvary is quite in a Sienese character. On the border one reads: "Opus Johīs Bochatis de Chamereno." On the step of the Virgin's throne, the date 1447. The central panel three feet one inch high. The predella has also been removed to the Gal. Com. of Perugia (Sala VI., No. 20).

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS
By Giovanni Boccati
From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

Photo, Alinari

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to have embodied many Sienese habits. They also recall another kind of art—that of Bartolommeo di Tommaso and Alunno, the representatives of the school of Foligno, which, by the industry of the latter, assumed an independent position towards the close of the fifteenth century, and took the place of the older ones.

This school was remarkable for its absorption of peculiarities obtained from Benozzo Gozzoli, who thus, though more humbly, shares with Piero della Francesca the honour of introducing the Florentine element into Umbria. But Giovanni Boccati did not merely receive this Florentine bias at second hand from Benozzo.[1] He also shared some of the errors of the master of Borgo S. Sepolcro; and in the altarpiece of S. Domenico his Infant Christ wears an aged look and presents hard wooden forms like those of Francesca.[2] Yet Boccati is but a second-rate in whom the varied influences of Siena, Umbria, and Florence do not yield anything like perfection. The grace of the Umbrians verges in him upon vulgar exaggeration; the singularity of the Sienese in costume becomes almost grotesque in his person; the accurate drawing of the Florentines is unknown to him, and he has not an inkling of the science of perspective. Yet he had a moderately successful career at Perugia, in the public gallery of which he has, we think, left at least two Madonnas attended by angels;[3]

*[1] As pointed out by WINGENROTH (*Die Jugendwerke des Benozzo Gozzoli*, Heidelberg, 1897, p. 84), Boccati's picture of 1447 cannot have been painted under the influence of Benozzo, who at that time was a mere assistant of Fra Angelico's at Orvieto. The influence of Domenico di Bartolo is, on the other hand, clearly traceable in the picture in question, *cf. antea*, p. 142.

[2] Note his short frizzled hair and protruding belly, the thin-lipped open mouth showing the teeth; the grotesque short-waisted dress of the angels, and their long, thin necks, and, generally, the wrinkled faces. The drapery, too, is remarkable for straight and broken lines of excessive frequency.

[3] One of these (Sala VI., No. 26) is in prayer adoring the Infant stretched on her lap in a tabernacled throne, attended by six angels playing and singing; an angel with a lute on the left, another beating a cymbal on the right foreground, others picking flowers. The Saviour plays with a bird. His shape is long, angular, and lean. The colour is softly fused, but flat and reddish in the flesh tints, which are altered by varnishes.

The second of these (Sala VI., No. 18) is a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, with angels offering flowers, others in front seated and playing. Much ornament is lavished on the dresses.

whilst some of his panels have found their way to Orvieto[1] and to Rome.[2]

In Girolamo di Giovanni of Camerino, who has been generally

[1] Private chapel of the Casa Pietrangeli at Orvieto. A Virgin and Child between SS. Savino, Juvenale, Augustine, and Jerome, angels with flowers, and two seated in front, playing. This is a somewhat injured panel (Virgin's head new), on gold ground, without the painter's name, but dated 1473. [* This picture is now in the Budapest Gallery (No. 74).]

[2] Rome, belonging to Monsignor Badia, St. Paul the Hermit, and St. Christopher two oblong panels of high enamel surface colour. They are assigned to Piero della Francesca, but are probably by Gio. Boccati—would, indeed, be his best, if authentically shown to be his. [* The present whereabouts of these pictures is not known to the editor. Our knowledge of the life and work of Giovanni Boccati has of late been considerably supplemented. Between 1465 and 1470 he is known to have been settled at Camerino; later, he again lived at Perugia. The following pictures by him are still to be noticed:

Ajaccio. Gallery, No. 257. The Virgin and Child with eight angel musicians.

Belforte (*near Tolentino*). *S. Eustachio.* The Virgin and Child with saints (large polyptych, signed "Op[us] Jannis Boccatii Pictoris de Cam[eren]o," and dated 1468).

Castello S. Maria (*near Castel Raimondo, Camerino*). *Parish Church.* The Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1463.

Englewood, New Jersey. Mr. D. F. Platt. The Virgin and Child with two angels (from the collections of Dr. Nevin of Rome and the Marchese Caccialupi of Macerata). The Virgin of Mercy (*gonfalone* or processional banner).

Florence. Uffizi. The Virgin and Child with four angels.

Perugia. Gallery, Sala VI., No. 21. The Virgin of Mercy (from the Monastery of S. Tommaso of Perugia). *Sala XXII.* Pietà, signed "T[empore] D[omi]ni Filippi, C[anonici] Joh[ann]es Bochacii de Camereno f[ecit] 1479," formerly in the Orfanotrofio di S. Anna at Perugia.

Rome. Vatican Gallery. The Beato Giovanni da Prato and St. George; SS. Anthony of Padua and Claire (fragments of a polyptych). *Collection of the late Dr. Nevin* (sold in 1907). The Virgin and Child (from the Caccialupi collection at Macerata).

Seppio (*near Pioraco, Provincia di Macerata*). *Madonna delle Lagrime.* Fragmentary triptych: centre, the Virgin and Child with two angels and the kneeling donor; left wing, St. Sebastian; the right wing, containing the figure of St. Vincent, is lost. Dated 1466.

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. The Virgin and Child with two angels.

Venice. Bevilacqua Sale, 15–22 *October,* 1900. The Virgin and Child with four Angels (as "Florentine school").

In 1480 Boccati painted two altarpieces for churches in the neighbourhood of Perugia, which have, however, not been preserved. After this date nothing more is heard of him. See FELICIANGELI, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana,* ix. 1 *sqq.*, x. 97 *sqq.*; *idem, Sulla vita di Giovanni Boccati da Camerino,* Sanseverino, 1906; COLASANTI, in *L'Arte.* vii. 477 *sqq.*; BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters,* p. 153 *sq.*; PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte,* xi. 5 *sq.* and xii. 170 *sq.*; BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 83 *sqq.*]

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Girolamo di Giovanni

From an altarpiece in S. Maria del Pozzo at Monte S. Martino

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taken for the son of Giovanni Boccati, we trace other tendencies; and the solitary specimen which bears his name, at S. Maria del Pozzo in Monte S. Martino near Fermo, bears the impress of Boccati, of Matteo da Gualdo, and of Vivarini. Moschini found him registered in the guild at Padua under the date of 1450;[1] but Girolamo clung to the traditions of his country, and displays only so much of Paduan character as may be conceded to the Vivarini, a Venetian family the pictures of which are by no means scarce on the seaboard of the Marches, and which competed in these regions with the long-lived and numerous one of the Crivelli.

The altarpiece at Monte S. Martino is signed. It was completed in 1473, and represents the Madonna, the Child, and four angels, between SS. Thomas and Cyprian. The defects which disfigure Giovanni Boccati and Matteo of Gualdo clearly exist in Girolamo, whose Virgin has a round soft head resting on a slender neck. The child lacks all comeliness. A crucified Saviour, mourned by his mother and the Evangelist, ornament of the central pinnacle, is bony and aged, though fairly proportioned, but the method of the Vivarini is apparent in the low, flat, and somewhat dry tempera, in the outlines, and in the general mode of rendering form and folds of drapery.[2]

More of the Paduan stamp would be admitted in Girolamo if we could certainly assign to him a St. Jerome penitent, belonging to the Cavaliere Vinci at Fermo, a careful figure, hastily laid in with a plenteous touch of pigment of a reddish flesh tint, reminiscent of Matteo da Siena and of Bono Ferrarese, a Mantegnesque pupil of Pisanello.[3]

[1] Moschini, *Della origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova*, 1826, Tipografia Crescini, p. 24.

[2] In medallions on the spandrils of the central panel are the Virgin and angel annunciate. St. Thomas holds the girdle and reads. Beneath the Virgin are the words: "Jeronimus Johañis de Camerino depinsit MCCCCLXXIII." On the side pinnacles are an Archangel Michael weighing the souls, a characteristic figure like one by the Vivarini, and St. Martin sharing his cloak, with SS. Peter and Paul in medallions in the points. The Virgin's mantle is injured, likewise the neck of St. Thomas.

[3] St. Jerome kneels and beats his breast before the crucifix. The cardinal's hat, and the lion are by him, and his sandals are loose on the ground. A bear licks his paw behind the saint to the right. The distance is a rock in which a cave opens, and on the left the distance recedes to a city and far horizon. [* The present whereabouts of this picture is not known to the editor.]

We do not pretend to guess at the connection between Boccati and Girolamo; but the latter continued the art of Giovanni, and that art, if not in itself attractive, is still interesting as we follow it from Camerino through the Marches towards Ascoli, and see it mingling with that of Padua and Venice. The reader's attention might still be arrested by fragments in the sacristy of S. Agostino at Monte S. Martino,[1] and by a church standard, with subjects on both sides, in the crypt of the church of Sarnano;[2] but the course of the narrative leads us onwards upon the spiral route described at the outset of these notices.

We thus reach Gualdo Tadino on the Mediterranean side of the Apennine, and find there Matteo, who is a partner in Giovanni Boccati's modes of thought and execution, but who, at the same time, tends more faithfully to maintain the Umbrian style which was to culminate in Perugino. That he was a feeble artist notwithstanding—modernizing, though perhaps hardly surpassing, the Lorenzos of S. Severino—may not be denied; but he naturally

[1] Here is a pinnacle with the crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist in the same style as the altarpiece already described. [* This picture is now in the Gallery at Macerata.]

[2] On one side, the Annunciation with the Virgin's head partly obliterated; on the other, Christ crucified between the Virgin and St. John, much scaled. Panel, on gold ground. [* These are reproduced in *Emporium*, xxiii. 208 *sq.* Mr. BERENSON has, in an article in the *Rassegna d' arte* (vii. 129 *sqq.*), dealt comprehensively with the work of Girolamo di Giovanni. The earliest painting ascribed by him to this artist is a fresco of the Virgin and Child between the two SS. Anthony, in the Gallery at Camerino (No. 2), dated 1449. This attribution is, however, contested by Professor FELICIANGELI (*Sulle opere di Girolamo di Giovanni da Camerino*, Camerino, 1910). Mr. Berenson further gives to Girolamo in the same gallery a fresco of the Virgin and Child with six saints and a donor (No. 2), a fragment of a fresco, representing an angel embracing a column (No. 89); another fragment, representing the Virgin enthroned (No. 98; see B. BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 183); and an Annunciation surmounted by a Pietà (No. 8). This last work is, judging from the reproduction in the *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 130, certainly by Girolamo, and shows him under the strong influence of the Paduan school, more particularly the Eremitani frescoes. Other works by Girolamo are a polyptych of 1465, representing the Virgin and Child with saints, in the Church of San Pellegrino, near Gualdo Tadino (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 95); another polyptych, of which the Duomo of Gualdo Tadino now only retains the pinnacles (the Crucifixion between four saints), while the principal course (the Virgin and Child with four saints) is in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli at Milan; and a Virgin and Child with four saints and nine angels, formerly in the collection of Dr. Nevin of Rome (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 131).]

inclined towards the neighbouring draughtsmen of Foligno. There are no authentic panels by him in the town in which he was born, though one, dated 1462, is said to have existed there.[1] His manner is apparent in a St. Anna teaching the Virgin to read, a Virgin and saints, an Annunciation in S. Francesco,[2] and a Madonna in the Duomo of Gualdo;[3] but a genuine fresco will be found in a solitary chapel on the hills outside Gubbio, S. Maria della Circa near Sigillo, on the inner walls of which a Virgin and Child with a dog in its arms, and a Virgin of Mercy, are depicted; and on a pilaster near the latter are syllables of his name.[4]

*1 This probably refers to a Virgin and Child with two angels and SS. Francis, Bernardino of Siena, Margaret, and Catherine of Alexandria, formerly in the convent of S. Margherita at Gualdo, and now in the Communal Gallery of that city (reproduced in GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 129). Count GNOLI (*u.s.*, p. 38) reads the signature "Macteus de Gualdo pinxit," and the date "M°CCCC.°LXII die XXVIII Aprilis." The date has, however, also been read "M°CCCC°LXXI" (ROSSI, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, i. 111), and 1472 (B. BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 199).

The Gallery at Gualdo also contains a Virgin and Child with two angels and the two SS. John, formerly in the church of S. Niccolò, signed, according to Count GNOLI (*u.s.*, p. 40), "Macteus de Gualdo pinsit," and dated "MCCCCLXXI, VII Aprilis" (reproduced *ib.*, p. 130 *sq*).

2 These are all in the choir, and of very little importance. [* The St. Anna teaching the Virgin to read, and the Annunciation (reproduced in GNOLI, *u.s.*, p. 43), are now in the Communal Gallery at Gualdo. The former picture is the centre of a triptych, to which the wings containing the figures of SS. James and Joseph have again been united.

The Virgin and saints mentioned by the authors is possibly identical with a fresco of the Virgin and Child with St. Francis, by the third altar to the left in S. Francesco at Gualdo (reproduced in *Vita d' arte*, iii. 150). Count GNOLI (*ib.*, p. 153) further ascribes to Matteo a fresco of San Bernardino in this church (on the entrance wall).]

3 This is in an elevated position on the high-altar. [* This picture—now in the sacristy—is by Bernardino di Mariotto]. A triptych, much injured, assigned to Matteo, is said to exist at Nasciano, two miles from Gualdo, and a Virgin between SS. Michael, Philip, James, and Pellegrino, in S. Pellegrino, three miles from the same town. The head of the Virgin in this last piece is said to be injured by tapers, but certain pinnacle figures are described as worthy of preservation. [* The former altarpiece is certainly by Matteo, and, according to Count GNOLI (*u.s.*, p. 40), dated "Hoc opus pictum fuit sub ano MCCCCLXXX." It is reproduced *ib.*, p. 133. The latter altarpiece is by Girolamodi Giovanni da Camerino (see *antea*, p. 222, n. 2).]

4 "Ma . . eu. pin . . . su. . . . MD. . . . ." probably "Matteus pinxit sub anno" &c. [* According to Dr. CRISTOFANI (in *L'Arte*, xvi. 55), the Virgin of Mercy is signed "Macteus de Gualdo pinxit sub anno Domini MCCCCLX . . IIII." The

A light reddish water-colour, on a ground of green, shadowed consequently in verde, and stippled up in lights, forms the flesh-tone of the first of these Virgins, whose square oblong face seems cast in the mould of the Sanseverini, whilst the usual affectation of grace, involved draperies, tenuous outline, profuse pattern ornament, and positive tints, prove the painter's Umbrian nature. In the second Virgin, the frame rivals in length and slenderness those of Giovanni Boccati, whilst the angels, who loop the cloak, might be confounded with those of the Fulginese, Bartolommeo di Tommaso, or Alunno. Pleasing heads, and pretty coifs comparatively set off a few of the females beneath the mantle, and distantly resemble those of Piero della Francesca in the Virgin of Mercy at Borgo S. Sepolcro. We are struck in both men by a common Umbrian origin and a diligent hand, however wide we may find the distance between them as regards merit. But Matteo's pictorial career offers a further similarity with that of Giovanni Boccati in so far that we may trace his pencil south of Gualdo, as we have traced it here north of that place, in a chapel called S. Maria in Campis near Foligno, in which the decorations are by two or three hands, affected by the vicinity of Benozzo Gozzoli at Montefalco. If there, however, some obscurity and doubt may exist as to the part taken by Matteo, his signature authenticates a fresco in S. Caterina, or, as it is more commonly called, SS. Antonio e Jacopo, of Assisi, a chapel the greater part of which was covered with frescoes by Benozzo's assistant Pietro Antonio.

The whole wall facing the entrance simulates an intercolumniated space, in the centre of which the Virgin is enthroned, and accompanied by angels. Two of the heavenly messengers sit in front playing instruments. St. James and St. Anthony stand at the sides, each gravely escorted by an angel holding a candlestick. Above a frieze of festoons pinned with cherubs' heads, the Virgin and angel annunciate face each other, parted by a window, and a dog, emblematic perhaps of fidelity, is near the former.

date 1484 is scratched on one of the figures in this fresco, which is reproduced (*ib.*, p. 55).]

On the same wall is a Conception, the most defective of all these paintings. the Infant a caricature of that which Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno repeated. [* Reproduced in *L'Arte*, xvi. 53.]

A striking relation between this and old Gubbian art is evident; and the St. Anthony is but an ugly adaptation of that of Guido Palmerucci; but the paltry masks and defective shapes, clothed in straight or broken drapery, imitate the humble works of Giovanni Boccati, whilst the Annunciation distantly reminds one of that of Piero della Francesca in the Gallery of Perugia. The bricky flesh-colour, bounded by wiry lines, is singularly unattractive, and the date of 1468 preceding the artist's signature, on a card wafered to one of the pillars, tells when and by whom this poor creation was carried out.[1] Nor is this all that Matteo da Gualdo did to adorn this chapel. The angels in the panel-spaces, below the roof which protects the façade, are his, as well as the fragments of a Saviour in glory above, and SS. James and Anthony, by the portal.[2] A Virgin and Child in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Perugia; a St. Jerome and a St. Paul, belonging to it in the Gallery of that city, are the only additional pieces that can be given to Matteo.[3]

[1] The inscription runs: "1468 hoc opus factū fuit sub añō dñi m̃le quatrigẽsimo sesagesimo octavo die primo junij. Macteus de Gualdo pinsit."

[2] These paintings are all much damaged, and the colour, as far as one can see, is dark and positive in tone. The figures are mere mummies. [* The figure of the Saviour and two figures of angels have been transferred to canvas, and are now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi.]

[3] On the step of the Virgin's throne one reads: "hoc opus fecit fieri Lucas Albertus doñi Francisci p aīa Michaline." The gold ground of the centre and of the side-panels in the academy has been repainted yellow. These two pieces are now united in the Galleria Communale of Perugia (Sala VI., No. 3). [* This altarpiece is not by Matteo da Gualdo, but by Giovanni Francesco da Rimini, as the facial types, the scheme of colour, and the folds of drapery clearly indicate (*cf.* B. Berenson, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 134). We may take this opportunity of enumerating the following works by this artist, whose style is related to that of Matteo da Gualdo and Benedetto Bonfigli, and who worked in 1459–69 at Bologna, but was dead by December, 1470:

Bologna. Pinacoteca, No. 255. The Virgin, two angels, and St. John the Baptist, adoring the Child.

Bologna. S. Domenico, Chapel to the left. The Virgin and Child, signed "Johanes Franciscus de Arimino pinxit MCCCCLVIIII."

Carlsruhe. Picture Gallery, No. 408. The Virgin and Child.

Hanover. Kestner Museum, No. 18. Pietà with two donors.

Hungary. Private collection. The Virgin adoring the Child.

Liverpool. Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe collection. The Virgin and Child with two angels.

London. National Gallery, No. 2,118 (*Salting bequest*). The Virgin and Child

We have seen how nearly related he was to Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno. This was a man of Umbro-Sienese education, who flourished in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, interesting less for his merit than for a clue which he affords for ascertaining the source of Alunno's style.

"Messer Rinaldo di Corrado Trinci, ultimo Signor di Foligno, creato priore di questa collegiata l'anno 1430 fece dipingere la presente tavola colla sua immagine posta a piè della Sedia di M. V. da Bartolommeo di Tommaso pittore della stessa Città."

This modern inscription is on the frame of a picture in S. Salvatore of Foligno, representing the Virgin and Child in a wide throne

with two angels, signed "Iovanes Franciscus de Rimino fecit MCCCCLXI." *Messrs. Dowdeswell* (1912). The Almighty bestowing the Holy Spirit.

Milan. Cavaliere Cantoni (1905). The Virgin and Child with two angels.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,659. St. Nicholas of Bari saving the three Girls.

Pesaro. Ateneo, No. 17. St. Dominic and his brethren fed by angels (*cf.* CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 52, n. 5).

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. The Almighty bestowing the Holy Spirit.

Rome. Vatican Gallery. A Miracle of St. James. *Comm. Bernardo Blumenstihl.* The Baptism of Christ.

See C. RICCI, in *Rassegna d' Arte*, ii. 134 *sq.*, iii. 69 *sq.*, vii. 102 *sq.*; GAMBA, *ib.*, iv. 110; CAGNOLA, *ib.*, v. 127, viii. 179; M. LOGAN BERENSON, *ib.*, vii. 53 *sq.*, viii. 162; PERKINS, *ib.*, x. 114; GRIGIONI, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, x. 173 *sqq.*; GRONAU, *ib.*, xi. 37 *sqq.*]

We may add to the list a tavola (Sala VI., No. 7), in the Perugia Gallery, representing the Virgin and Child and Baptist, which may, possibly, be due to Matteo, and two scenes from the life of St. Francis (No. 999), in the gallery of Munich, on gold ground, assigned to Antonio Pollaiuolo. [* These are now catalogued under "Umbrian school, *circa* 1460."

We add the following list of paintings by Matteo da Gualdo not yet mentioned:

Assisi. S. Paolo. The Virgin and Child with SS. Lucy and Ansano (fresco on end wall), inscribed "Hoc opus factum fuit 1475, 10 Novembris (reproduced in *L' Arte*, xvi. 51). *S. Pietro.* The Virgin and Child with angels and two episcopal saints (triptych, reproduced in *L'Arte*, xvi. 50).

Gualdo. S. Maria. The Tree of Jesse (reproduced in GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra*, p. 137).

Gualdo (near). S. Rocco. Injured frescoes (GNOLI, in *Vita d' arte*, iii. 154 *sq.*).

Palazzo (near Assisi). Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with two angels and SS. Francis and Sebastian (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 191).

Perugia. Gallery, Sala XXII. The Virgin and Child with SS. Sebastian and Anthony of Padua (frescoes transferred to canvas, formerly adorning a shrine at Colle Aprico, near Nocera), signed "Macteus de Gualdo pinxit," and further inscribed "Depicta fuit sub anno Dni MCCCCLXXXVIII., XXI Iulii."

surrounded by little angels, and adored by a half-length miniature of the last of the Trinci. St. John the Baptist and the Beato Pietro Crisci are at the sides, and two smaller canonized personages of the two sexes are in two pinnacles removed from their original place.[1] We accept the tenor of this statement as a copy of the genuine one formerly on the frame, and we conceive that this otherwise unknown Umbrian[2] is a man of no great renown, whose instincts taught him to follow the widespread lessons afforded by his earlier countrymen and such Sienese as were affected by the models of Taddeo Bartoli and Domenico di Bartolo. In the full face and arched brows of a short-waisted but long, stiff Virgin, whose arm and hand are filed to a reedy thinness, we notice the origin of the Umbrian softness remarkable at a later period in Alunno, the longing for grace of Boccati and Matteo of Gualdo, and their ill-chosen features and drapery. The angels, of the same class, are yet nearer to those of Alunno, whilst the awkwardness of the Infant, the square forms, wrinkled flesh, and small features of the saints, equally prove the tenacity with which the old Sienese types were preserved in the smaller cities of this part of Italy. The dim grey tones resulting from time and neglect preclude criticism, but the whole piece is marked enough to serve as a test of the authorship in others; and we are thus enabled to ascribe to Bartolommeo the Flight into Egypt, on the front of S. Salvatore, near the portal, a mutilated Virgin, Child, and saints in

For various records concerning Matteo da Gualdo, who was still living in January, 1530, see Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 107 *sqq.*]

[1] There is an outline of this Virgin in Rosini (*u.s.*, iii. 28). [* The centre and wings are reproduced in Gnoli, *u.s.*, p. 112.]

*[2] Bartolommeo di Tommaso was a native of Foligno, and is recorded as settled at Ancona in 1425 and 1433. Between 1434 and 1439 he was working at Fano, where he painted frescoes on the front of the hospital of S. Giuliano and in the apse of the church of S. Giuliano. In 1444 he was back at Foligno, where he appears to have lived for the next few years. Between 1451 and 1453 he was painting for a very high salary in the Vatican; he also during this period executed frescoes in the Palazzo del Campidoglio at Rome. These facts go to prove that he was an artist of considerable fame. In 1455 we find him again at Foligno. See Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, i. 93 *sq.*, 130-132, 150; Gianandrea, in *Nuova rivista misena*, iv. 38; Degli Azzi, in Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, ii. 578 *sq.*; Grigioni, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, xiii. 1 *sqq.*

S. Domenico,[1] and a rude fresco of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine in S. Caterina of Foligno.[2]

In the meanwhile, Benozzo Gozzoli had settled at Montefalco, and his dexterity soon roused the spirit and excited the rivalry of men following his profession in Umbria. In 1452, a chapel was built by a pious gentleman of Foligno, at a short distance on the road to Spoleto, and it afterwards bore the name of S. Maria in Campis.[3] Its walls were covered with frescoes, of which large portions remain; an Annunciation, with two saints beneath it; Peter rescued from the waves, with a kneeling patron by its right-hand corner, and a large Crucifixion, with attendant groups, on the face behind the altar.[4] They are hardly of respectable talent, possibly by Matteo da Gualdo and Pietro Antonio, assisted perhaps by Alunno himself. The name of Pietro Antonio is suggested because he is a native of Foligno, and because we know that he studied under Benozzo; and we see the imitation of this prolific Florentine in the subjects above enumerated. There is no doubt that the Annunciation is a counterpart of Gozzoli's at S. Fortunato, tinted in his usual reddish water-colour, outlined in his wiry fashion, and copiously stippled; whilst the saints, especially the more Umbrian ones below, have the slenderness and length, with less of the defects, of those by Bartolommeo di Tommaso. The Rescue of St. Peter is taken from that of Giotto in the mosaic of

[1] The Infant holds a bird and a scroll, towards which the Virgin points; the whole under a feigned arch. Remains of the nimbuses of saints lower down on the wall are visible. What still meets the eye is injured. Since the above was written, the fresco has been detached and placed in the Communal Gallery of Foligno.

[2] A long inscription contains the date M°CCCCXXXXVIIII, but does not give the painter's name. The persons who ordered this fresco were the nuns of the convent, in remembrance of one of their number. Beneath the scene of the martyrdom is a Virgin and Child with two angels supporting a baldaquin; and farther on a St. Anthony with a nun in prayer before him. This fresco is now in the Communal Gallery at Foligno (No. 3).

[3] This is proved by an inscription outside the chapel, on a stone near the door which has been walled up since the place ceased to be used for worship. On this stone one reads: "Pietri de Cola dalle Casse la fe fare questa capella. MCCCCLII."

[4] Amongst the subjects on the remaining wall is a St. Christopher and four figures almost gone. The ceiling was originally blue and bestarred. The Christ of the Crucifixion and the Peter rescued from the waves are feebler than the remainder.

Rome, including the winds blowing at the upper corners, and the fisherman angling at the side. We can understand such an imitation being derived from one who should, like Benozzo, have just left the capital. But the Crucifixion also is taken from that in S. Francesco at Montefalco, though the attendant figures are drawn in the weedy and feeble forms and with the grimace of those by Boccati, Matteo, and even Alunno.[1]

It is not rare to find this compound style in the proportions just noticed at Foligno. It is apparent in an imperfect fresco of the Annunciation, outside the monastery del Popolo near the Ancona gate,[2] in remnants of a Virgin, Child, and saints above the door of the Convent of S. Anna,[3] inside of which Pietro Antonio left a St. Francis receiving the stigmata. The type, originally fine in Angelico, shorn of some beauty by Benozzo, is still further debased by subsequent transmission; and this is as true of the foregoing examples as it is of similar ones to which the name of

*[1] The frescoes in this church have been carefully studied by Dr. CRISTOFANI (in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 95 *sqq.*), who considers them as the work mainly of three artists—Pietro Antonio, Alunno, and an unknown follower of Benozzo—as follows:

Entrance wall—Intrados of window: Lamb bearing Cross, and two angels (reproduced *ib.*, pp. 95 *sq.*), by Pietro Antonio. On each side of window: St. Gabriel and the Virgin annunciate, by Alunno. To the right of door: St. Helen, by a feeble assistant. To the left of door: St. Lucy, by Pietro Antonio.

Right wall—St. Christopher, by a follower of Benozzo.

Left wall—Rescue of St. Peter, by Pietro Antonio and the follower of Benozzo.

Altar wall—The Crucifixion, by Alunno, and formerly signed and dated 1456 (detail reproduced *ib.*, p. 98).

Chapel at base of Campanile—Fragmentary frescoes: The Crucifixion (detail reproduced, *ib.*, p. 99); (on ceiling) the Evangelists, by Alunno.

Dr. Cristofani denies that Matteo da Gualdo had any share in the decoration of this church.

[2] The lower part of the principal figures is gone. The upper half of St. Rosa attending to the right is obliterated, but what is left is an imitation of the manner of Benozzo.

[3] The lower part of this piece is also obliterated. The Virgin supports the Child in a standing position on her knee. He gives the Benediction and holds the orb; two angels supporting a dais; two others and two saints in waiting at the sides. The distance is an ornamented balustrade, on which small wooden figures of seraphs pick flowers. The figures are rigid and motionless, round-eyed as in Sassetta's pictures, the outlines are marked, but the colour is clear and rosy. [* This fresco is undoubtedly by Pietro Antonio.]

Pietro Antonio is attached;[1] such as the Virgin and Child amongst saints above the portal of the monastery of S. Lucia, dated 1471;[2] the same subject in the same position in the monastery of S. Francesco at Foligno, dated 1499;[3] and the scenes from the life of St. James in SS. Antonio e Jacopo at Assisi.[4]

The latter, no doubt contemporary with those of Matteo da Gualdo (1468), are less devoid of power than later ones, but they prove, as indeed all the frescoes of Pietro Antonio prove, that he was an Umbrian on whose stock the Florentine character

* [1] The earliest record of this painter, who is now better known under his family name Mezzastri, dates from 1458, when he bought a vineyard (A. Rossi, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, i. 281). For various other records of him, see *ib.*, p. 281 *sq.* Dr. Cristofani (in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 103) claims, with some reason, as it seems to the editor, that the earliest extant work by Pietro Antonio, executed on a cartoon of Benozzo and under his supervision, is the lunette containing the Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Bernardino, in S. Fortunato at Montefalco, ascribed by the authors to Benozzo (*antea*, iv. 345). The cartoon for the central group was again used by Mezzastri in the fresco of S. Lucia at Foligno. Dr. Cristofani further gives to Mezzastri a Virgin and Child with angels, dated 1459, in a shrine at S. Angelo di Fanciullata, near Deruta, a delicate work under the strong influence of Benozzo (reproduced, *ib.*, p. 104).

[2] A modern inscription, but copied on the lines of an older, runs as follows: "Opus Petrus Antonius Mesastris de Fulginei pinsit. MCCCCLXXI." [* The old inscription has lately been brought to light, and runs: "Opus Petrus Antonius Mesastris de Fulginei pinscit (*sic*) 1471." See *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 129).] The Virgin and Child are reminiscent of those of Benozzo. The attendant saints are SS. Lucy and Clara. The vaulting of the arch of the lunette is full of ornament, interspersed with heads of monks and figures. The nimbuses are finely engraved, like those of Angelico.

[3] These are life-size figures. At the Virgin's sides are SS. Francis and John the Baptist; and two angels support a drapery in rear. But half of the one to the right is wanting, and the colour in other parts is scaled. It is a dull and rude work of Pietro Antonio's later years, inscribed with the following words, which will not long be legible: "Pier . . Antonio pinsit 1499." [* This fresco is now in the Communal Gallery at Foligno (No. 35).

[4] The subjects here painted are the same we have noticed in the chapel of S. Biagio in S. Girolamo at Forlì, by Palmezzano. They are taken from the legend of St. James. On the oven where the roasted fowls are made to revive by the saint are the words: "Petrus Antonius de Fuligno pinsit." In the scene to the right of this, where St. James restores the hanging youth to life, two figures have been added by a later artist, to whom we may also assign a St. James and a S. Ansano on the next lower course, in the lunette of which an Eternal appears in a glory of cherubim, and attended by angels. By the side of S. Ansano is a St. Anthony, by Pier Antonio. On the fourth wall are scenes from the life of the latter saint, and the four Evangelists fill the triangular spaces of the ceiling.

Photo, Alinari

A LEGEND OF ST. JAMES

By Pietro Antonio Mezzastri

From two frescoes in SS. Antonio e Jacopo at Assisi

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was engrafted by the teaching of Gozzoli; for he not only took the conceptions and the types of the latter; he used a thin-bodied water-colour, within engraved and continuous contours; he conscientiously and carefully employed materials familiar to the followers of Angelico, and courageously cropped the excessive luxuriance of Umbrian ornament; but he exaggerated also the rigidity observable in Benozzo, and, as was but too natural for one of his inferior talents, introduced no life into figures, which were but mechanical and imperfect copies of conventional forms. Pietro Antonio lived to the close of the fifteenth century, and perhaps longer,[1] and his industry, not confined to the circuit of Foligno or Assisi, took him, as we believe, to Narni, Trevi, and to other cities of this part of Italy.[2]

Pier Antonio, however, was surpassed in ability by his contemporary and fellow-townsman Niccolò Alunno of Foligno,[3]

*[1] He made his will on November 13, 1506 (A. Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 282).

[2] In a room, of old the refectory of S. Francesco of Foligno, is a life-size Virgin with the Child attended by seven saints, much injured, but in the style of Piero Antonio, and dated 1486. A mutilated Virgin and Child, angels, Baptist, and another saint of the same character, may be seen in S. Domenico of Foligno. [* These two paintings are now in the Communal Gallery at Foligno (Nos. 14 and 32).]

A Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and Jerome, attributed to Spagna, but doubtless by Pier Antonio, fills the lunette of the portal at S. Girolamo of Narni. In the same style, above one of the altars in S. Martino of Trevi, is a much damaged fresco, representing the Virgin and Child, SS. Francis and another friar, and six angels; further, on another altar, the Charity of St. Martin, a much injured fresco, slightly reminiscent of Tiberio d' Assisi.

In the same manner one sees at S. Girolamo, near Spello, above the door, a St. Francis receiving the stigmata. [* In addition to the works by Pietro Antonio already mentioned, the following may be enumerated:

Assisi. San Damiano, Sacristy. The Crucifixion (fresco, dated 1482; see I. Vavasour-Elder, in *Rassegna d' arte*, ix. 189, with reproduction).

Foligno. Communal Gallery. Frescoes from churches at Foligno: No. 4, The Crucifixion; No. 22, St. Gabriel (from San Domenico); No. 6, The Virgin and Child with St. Simeon and two angels (from S. Francesco); No. 9, The Virgin and angels, signed "Petrus Antonius de Fulgineo"; No. 13, St. Jerome as Cardinal and as Penitent; No. 23, The Virgin and Child with two angels (from the church of the Ospedale Vecchio).

Foligno (near). Maestà bella. The Virgin and Child with two angels and SS. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul (frescoes, signed "Petrus Antonius de Mezzastis de Fulgineo pinxit"; see Pouzet, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. iv., vol. viii., p. 131 *sqq.*, with reproductions).]

*[3] Niccolò was the son of one Liberatore, and born about 1430. The family name "Alunno," given him by Vasari, does not occur in any contemporary

whose earliest production, of the year 1458, discloses a certain ripeness of power. Six years before this, S. Maria in Campis had been decorated in the manner previously described, and we should think that Alunno was engaged there, because the influence of Benozzo, which had clearly extended to the painters of that chapel, is equally evident in the composition and spirit of Niccolò at a later time.[1]

Benozzo had inherited in some measure the mystic tenderness and softness, the kindly religious feeling, of Angelico. When he appeared in the neighbourhood of Foligno, he found an art there in which expression of sweet melancholy, purity, and resignation was the principal object aimed at. Between this Umbrian feature and the sentiment of Fra Giovanni there was so natural an affinity that their combination might have been foretold.

Alunno embodied, and gave a more rational form to the manifestation of modest composure and maternal affection in the Virgin, or of veneration and sympathy in angels. In exceptional cases he imparted energy and life to saints; he tried to assimilate some of the qualities hitherto denied to his countrymen, in foreshortening the human body; he drew minutely and carefully. His style was changed and improved by contact with Benozzo, yet he seldom excelled any more than his predecessors in balance of composition, in correctness of drawing, or in flexibility of flesh. His figures, on the contrary, are often rigid, wooden, and vicious in form; his faces are frequently repulsive; they abound in coarseness and grimace. A marked feature in him is the brown tinge of his colour, verde or reddish in shadow, ruddy in light; Sienese,

record, and it seems likely, as suggested by Rossi, that it came to be given to him through a misinterpretation of the following lines in the elegiac inscribed under the Nativity painted for the church of S. Niccolò at Foligno (see *postea*, p. 237 *sq.*):

"Si petis auctoris nomen: Nicolaus alumnus
Fulginie: patrie pulcra corona sue."

"Fulginie" obviously refers to "alumnus," and the sense is "Nicolaus, nurseling of Foligno"; but Vasari or his informer must have interpreted "alumnus" as a patronymic, and referred "Fulginie" to the next verse. Niccolò married, about 1452, Caterina, daughter of the painter Pietro Mazzatosta. See Ad. Rossi, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, i. 258 *sqq.*

*[1] As already noted (*antea*, p. 229, n. 1), the Crucifixion on the altar-wall at S. Maria in Campis was formerly signed and dated 1456.

in fact, in appearance, as it is in the method by which its peculiar stamp is attained; but withal in keeping as regards the general harmony.

Tradition assigns to Bartolommeo di Tommaso the title of Alunno's first teacher, and a comparison of the two men confirms the common belief. Educated in a local atelier, yet not without elements derived from Benozzo, Niccolò is an Umbro-Florentine, and the true representative of the art of Foligno. Without attributing to him the exaggerated importance which he is made to bear, history may admit that he was one of those who prepared the way for others of more note. His types, impressed by Vannucci with a new elegance, were of influence in the rise of the Perugian school which received its finish from Raphael.

Alunno's first altarpiece at Deruta has been deprived of its sides and predella, but the Virgin, attended by SS. Francis and Bernardino, has already the character common to the complex of the master's works. The whole piece, when perfect, was no doubt an improvement on previous ones at Foligno, and we may concede to the principal group a fair amount of composure and affectionate feeling, a feeling kindly and maternal rather than refined to religious mysticism. Its date (1458) tells us the time when Alunno lived at or laboured for Deruta, and completed not merely this for the church of S. Francesco, but the more rudely handled subjects of a standard in the Brotherhood of S. Antonio Abate.[1]

[1] This panel is so damaged that its value is much impaired. The Virgin sits on a marble throne with angels in adoration at each side. The saints kneel in front, St. Francis introducing a small kneeling patron with a scroll in his hand on which is written: "Jacobus Rubei de Deructi hoc opus . . . p. a." (the syllables "ructi" new). On the base of the Virgin's throne is the following: "Nicolaus Fulg. . . pinxit MCCCCLVIII. die . . ." [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Deruta; it is reproduced in Gnoli, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 113.] The standard is painted on both sides with subjects, now much injured, on gold ground: on one face, St. Anthony enthroned with two angels supporting the mitre above his head (St. Anthony's black dress repainted and scaled in parts); in front, kneeling brethren; and above, a Christ crucified and angels; on the other face, a very ugly Flagellation, beneath which SS. Egidio and Bernardino. In the Crucifixion we trace the imitation of Benozzo; in the angels, a reminiscence of Bartolommeo di Tommaso. The Saviour in the Flagellation herculean and coarse. * This standard is now also in the Communal Gallery at Deruta. Both faces are reproduced by Gnoli, *u.s.*, p. 121.] Another early specimen of Alunno is the

At Assisi he did much and variously; the whole front of S. Maria degli Angeli, says Vasari,[1] besides panels and flags. A mutilated Crucifixion on canvas on the high-altar of S. Crispino,[2] a Virgin of Mercy, St. Rufinus, and scenes from his legend in the Brotherhood of the same name, are weak or injured specimens of his industry.[3] A banner, called the banner of the plague, in which the patrons of Assisi pray to the Virgin who, in obedience to their entreaty, implores the Saviour's intercession, once in S. Francesco, subsequently in the Ramboux collection at Cologne, poorly illustrates Alunno's manner, and shows how Benozzo's forms of subject become extended;[4] but the best thing at Assisi is the Madonna in the Duomo, the centre of which, reduced to a circular shape, and let into a modern panelling, contains the Virgin, Child, and angels reminiscent of similar ones by Gozzoli, whilst the saints in the sides and the three little incidents of the predella demonstrate how it might chance that a well-posed figure of regular features should be found by the side of others less worthy of praise.[5]

half life-size figure of St. Michael with the prostrate demon at his feet, in a rocky landscape; a dusky picture inside and above the entrance to the Annunziatella at Foligno. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Foligno, and ascribed to Lattanzio, the son of Niccolò. From 1461 date a series of frescoes that may be assigned to Niccolò, in the Cappella Tega at Spoleto. See CRISTOFANI, *u.s.*, p. 101 *sq.*; GNOLI, in *Bollettino d'arte*, v. 258.]

[1] iii. 510.

[2] Christ crucified, and half of a Virgin and Evangelist on canvas. [* Now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi; reproduced in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, ser. i., vol. xxi., p. 122.]

[3] This standard is in a bad state. SS. Francis and Chiara, under the mantle, introduce a number of the brethren. Two angels support a crown above the Virgin's head. All the heads except that of S. Chiara are retouched. On the opposite side of the standard, St. Rufinus enthroned between SS. Vittorio and Louis, both in episcopals. Two incidents from the legend of St. Rufinus on the lower part. This side is all but obliterated. [* Now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi; the front reproduced, *u.s.*, p. 123.]

[4] No. 202 of that collection. [* It is now in the Priesterhaus at Kevelaer (see GNOLI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 63 *sqq*).]

[5] This picture is now in the capitular room in the Duomo of Assisi, and seems from its style to be later in date than that of 1465 at Milan, or that of 1466 at Perugia. On the base of the Virgin's throne one reads: "OPVS ∫ NICOLAI DE FVLGIN. O MCCCCL...." The Virgin's dress is scaled.

S. Pietro Damasio, standing writing, occupies a niche in one of the sides to the

As if it were the fate of Alunno's altarpieces to be dismembered, one of 1465 hangs in separate portions at the Brera of Milan; a Madonna with saints, the sides and pinnacles of which are but partially catalogued, yet seem as if they might easily have been put together again. Rigidity and grimace, and sharp positive colour render this piece peculiarly unattractive.[1] A more genuine and happier combination of grace and nature justly claim more indulgence for the canvas at S. Maria Nuova of Perugia. It was ordered for the Brotherhood of the SS. Annunziata in 1466, and is now framed on an altar, presenting to the spectator an angel turning with an air of veneration towards a modest and composed Virgin; whilst the Eternal in the usual glory sends down the dove of the Holy Ghost; and SS. Philip and Juliana recommend the kneeling members of the Brotherhood.[2] Alunno

left of S. Cassiano holding an inkhorn and scroll, and dictating. In the pinnacle a Virgin and three seraphs.

The S. Pietro a fine figure of regular type and naturally posed, S. Cassiano weaker, but still not without feeling. On the other side are St. Lawrence and a bishop, with the angel annunciate between three seraphs in the pinnacle; the two saints injured and the colour scaled. Predella: (1) the body of St. Rufinus on a car drawn by oxen, accompanied by clergy, soldiers, and people; (2) the martyrdom of St. Rufinus; (3) the recovery of his body. As for the Pietà and angels in lament spoken of by VASARI (iii. 510), it is said that such a picture on canvas existed, but was probably sold in past times. [* The Pietà mentioned by Vasari was a fresco, and was not in the present Duomo of Assisi, but in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore del Vescovado, which was the Cathedral of Assisi up to the eleventh century, and hence is known as the Duomo Vecchio. The fresco in question is no longer visible. See CRISTOFANI, in *Bollettino di storia patria per l' Umbria*, vol. xv., fasc. i.–ii.] Nothing is known of a panel by Alunno in S. Francesco.

[1] Of this dismembered altarpiece three parts are catalogued: No. 77 (cat. of 1838), Virgin, Child, and angels, inscribed:

"Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit
MCCCCLXV."

the Virgin's dress new, and the rest somewhat damaged; No. 100, St. Francis; No. 110, S. Bernardino. Besides this exist No. 439, St. Louis, a St. Sebastian, not numbered, and pinnacles, representing "Christ crucified and four angels," half-length: "St. Jerome," "St. Anthony," "St. John the Baptist," "a Saint," all by Alunno, and doubtless parts of the same picture. [* These panels are now arranged as they appeared in the altarpiece when intact, and numbered 504. They come from the Monastero dei Conventuali at Cagli. In executing this work, Niccolò had the assistance of his father-in-law, Pietro Mazzaforte (see GNOLI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, vi. 253, n. 1).]

[2] This is a tempera with life-size figures, on an altar to the left of the portal, with an inscription half hidden in whitewash as follows: "Sotietas SS. Aňnutiate

never drew a more graceful form than that of Gabriel with his crisp wavy hair bound in a crimson cincture; he seldom more completely shows how the Umbrian type could be improved by the adaptation of that peculiar sprightliness which Benozzo introduced under Angelico's influence. The very border of seraphs and festoons, which parts the upper from the lower groups, is on the model of Gozzoli.

The Vatican Museum now shelters the altarpiece of Montelpare dated in the year 1466,[1] with its numerous pinnacles, pilasters, and double predella, and a less complicated one with the Crucifixion for its centre, the original place of which is not ascertainable,[2] both to be classed amongst the inferior productions of Alunno. The Colonna Gallery in the same capital owns a "Madonna del Soccorso" by the same hand,[3] and the Monte di Pietà a Virgin, Child, and saints;[4] all of these much like a vast series, monumental in shape, finished in 1468 for the Chiesa del Castello at S. Severino.[5]

fecit fieri hoc opus. A. D. MCCCCLVI." Since the above was written, this picture has been placed in the Galleria Communale at Perugia (Sala IX., No. 10).

[1] See RICCI, i. 201. The central panel is empty. Six saints erect form the sides with the addition of a second and higher course containing six half-lengths. A Pietà in the central, saints and angels in the side, pinnacles. Fourteen half-lengths form one predella, beneath which is another in which are seventeen half-figures of females. On the border are the words: "Nicholaus Fulginas MCCCCLIIIIII."

[2] In the side panels of this piece are St. John the Baptist and three other saints and above the two saints is on each side a prophet in a medallion surrounded by three seraphs. In the central pinnacle is a Resurrection. [* This altarpiece was formerly in the church of S. Venanzio at Camerino. Count GNOLI (in *Bollettino d' arte*, vi. 251 *sq.*) gives good reasons for thinking that an Ascension in the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne (No. 28), and a Nativity in the Gallery at Moulin, formed part of its predella. The pinnacles of the side-panels are, according to the same author, in the Gallery at Tours; they represent St. Gabriel (No. 247) and the Virgin annunciate (No. 248).]

[3] Canvas, half life-size.

[4] Centre, the Virgin and Child (life-size). At the sides in niches are SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Jerome, and (?) Chiara. Medallions, six in number, in the spandrils, are filled each with a cherub's head. This piece is on canvas, partly scaled and partly restored. [* It is now in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome (No. 708).]

[5] Centre, the Virgin, Child, and angels, between SS. James, Severino, Francis, and youthful Hubert (profile). Pinnacles; centre: the Saviour and seraphs. Daniel, Jeremiah, and the Virgin and angel annunciate. Predella (eight feet long). Centre: Christ in a circular glory embossed with cherubs in relief, between twelve

Alunno was now modifying to a certain extent the earlier impress of Benozzo; and beginning to infuse new elements into his great composite pictures. Of these he completed one in 1471 for the church at Gualdo, where we already find some of the grimace of Crivelli; one at Nocera (1483), at Aquila (1486), at S. Niccolò of Foligno (1492), and La Bastia (1499). The majority of these may be catalogued together with others of less authenticity; but that of S. Niccolò[1] deserves more than a passing notice. It is one of those collections of panels within an architectural frame, of which we possess so many by Sienese, Umbrian, and Venetian artists. Its chief subject is a Nativity, in which the Virgin's tender action somewhat compensates for defect of form, in which St. Joseph is drawn in classic attitude, but with repulsive face. The Infant on the ground before His mother is a stuffed doll; and a crowded landscape recalls the Venetian school, and even Palmezzano. Amongst the saints in a triple course above and at the sides of the Nativity, some are caricatures; more are vulgar, grim, mouthing, or affected; but the Resurrection of Christ in the gable is one of Alunno's most successful efforts. The movement of the Redeemer, as He steps out of the tomb, reminds one of Benozzo's creations, and at the same time of the Mantegnesque in Crivelli; and this not only as regards character and drawing, but as regards mould, which remains, at the same time, Umbrian, and almost a counterpart of that usual in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. The Saviour's naked body is dry in bone and muscle, the head regular. The guard sleeping by the tomb is boldly fore-shortened, in imitation of the Mantegnesques, after the fashion adopted by Giovanni Santi at Cagli; nor would it be presumptuous to suppose that Niccolò had had occasion, ere he carried out this work, to analyze some of Signorelli's energetic types. Yet while he thus

apostles in relief in niches. The dress of the vulgar St. James is repainted. The cope of S. Severino is in part renewed. The same may be said of the mantle and tunic of the Virgin, and of the veil on the Infant. St. Francis is the best figure of the series, but the altarpiece as a whole is of an inferior quality, even for Alunno. On the border, above the predella, are the words:

"Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit.
MCCCCLXVIII."

[* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at S. Severino.]

* [1] Now in the Communal Gallery at Foligno.

attempts to adapt his style to the bolder one of a far greater master, his better-proportioned figures are still feeble. The predella which was kept in France when the chief portion of the altarpiece was restored to its original place after the peace of 1815, is marked by similar features to those above enumerated; whilst its colour is dull and brown in shadow.[1]

The following is an additional catalogue of Alunno's extant works:

Gualdo. Duomo.[2] The Virgin, attended by angels, holds the Infant erect on her knee and receives from one of the messengers of heaven a basket of cherries. A vertical split damages the panel, which is capped by a representation of the dead Christ, between Mary and John Evangelist. The contortion of the Virgin's face as she embraces the body of Christ is worthy of Crivelli. A star at the pinnacle point contains the Saviour in benediction. A double course of full and half-length saints occupies the sides, SS. Paul, Peter (his yellow dress in part new), Francis grimacing as in Crivelli), Bernardino (full length, part new, part scaled), Sebastian, Diego, Louis, Michael (half-lengths). The side pinnacles are filled with half-lengths of SS. Christopher, Clara, Stephen, and another. On the base of the Virgin's throne are the words: "Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit MCCCCLXXI." At each side of a receptacle for the wafers of the Host, in the predella, are angels with festoons of flowers, and eight saints in niches; others in the pillars parting the niches (which are double), six figures in the pilasters of the altarpiece, and an angel on each of the plinths. The St. Paul is an instance of Alunno's occasional success in the production of a good form, erect, stepping out, broad and easy in drapery, natural and flexible. The colour is powerful and harmonious. A trivial realism marks a monk, with goggles, in the predella. The whole is on gold ground.

Nocera. Duomo, Sacristy. The Nativity, the Virgin, on her knees, adoring the Infant Saviour, angels, under a dais; between SS. Law-

[1] At the sides St. Sebastian in an affected attitude, St. Nicholas very exaggerated, SS. Michael, and John the Evangelist, are placed. In the upper course of the sides are half-lengths of SS. Monica, the Baptist (vulgar and grim) Jerome (coarse mouthing and cramped in action), a bishop. At the sides of the central pinnacle are four, in each of the pilasters five, saints. The predella at the Louvre is numbered 1120, and represents Christ on the Mount, the Flagellation, Christ led to Calvary, the Crucifixion, Joseph of Arimathæa, and Nicodemus on the road to Calvary. A long inscription names the author and gives the date (1492).

[*2] Now Gualdo, Communal Gallery.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Niccolò Alunno

From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Gualdo

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rence, Rainaldus, Felician, and Francis, above which are SS. Sebastian, John the Baptist, Paul, and Catherine. A Coronation of the Virgin and four half-length doctors of the Church are in the five gables. Six half-saints are in each of two high pilasters capped by an open hand carved in wood, with a hole at the wrist for relics. A series of recesses parts the body of the piece from the predella, in which there are twelve half-lengths of Apostles. The figure of St. Felician is one of the exceptionally good ones. On the border of the chief course is the inscription: "Hoc opus Nicolai Fulginatis MCCCCLXXXIII."[1]

Aquila. Convent of S. Chiara. A fine Alunno. Christ crucified is bewailed by four angels; a monk grasps the foot of the cross, the Virgin fainting to the left, the Evangelist grieving to the right. The Redeemer is drawn with a fair show of anatomy. At the sides are: (1) Christ on the mount; (2) carrying His cross; (3) rising from the tomb; with a fourth scene from the Passion. The flesh tints in the Crucifixion are a little injured. On the border is the signature: "Nicolai Fulginatis MCCCCLXXXVII."[2]

Another picture of the same period in the same convent is the Virgin and Child between SS. Paul, Francis, Chiara, and another female saint in a double course; the Crucifixion forming a central gable. (The notes of this work are mislaid by the authors, and the painter cannot be named with precision as Alunno.)

Serra Petrona. Ricci mentions a Madonna in S. Francesco of this place, dated 1491 (*Mem.* i. 201).[3]

Foligno. S. Niccolò. A Coronation of the Virgin by Alunno is in the cappella S. Antonio, belonging to the Ruspoli of Camerino. Beneath the principal group, St. George overcoming the dragon; SS. Bernardino in ecstasy, and Anthony looking up. In the predella are medallions of the Ecce Homo, Virgin, and St. John Evangelist. On the plinths of the pilasters two shields are supported by two angels each. The distant figures have a strength and firmness which might remind one of Signorelli, the movements of some horsemen being powerful and good. The rest is in Alunno's less happy manner.

Foligno. S. Bartolommeo (*fuor di*). A Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew by flaying. In this convent church is also a poor Alunno damaged by repainting.[4]

* [1] Reproduced by Gnoli, *L' Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 119.

* [2] Now in the National Gallery (No. 1,107).

* [3] See *antea*, p. 207, n. 3.

* [4] The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew is still in this church, but the other picture mentioned by the author is apparently missing. In the codicil to his will

La Bastia. In the church of this place, which lies between Assisi and Perugia, is an enthroned Virgin and Child, surrounded by angels. Various fruits and a vase of cherries are on the foreground. SS. Sebastian and Michael Archangel are in attendance. The lunettes contain the Eternal and seraphs, the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the predella, Christ, half in the sepulchre, is embraced by the Virgin, whilst his hand is kissed by St. John Evangelist. Two angels in lamentation are to the left, one grimacing to the left, holds a light. David, Zachariah, Micah (with goggles), a saint, Isaiah, and Daniel, are divided on each side of the Pietà. The enthroned Virgin's attitude is kindly and pleasing. The angel and Virgin annunciate are amongst the best by Alunno, with something reminiscent of Giovanni Santi. Much colour has scaled away, and the predella is injured. The general tone of what remains is warm in lights, cold in shadows. On the middle border is the inscription: "Hopus Nicolai Fulginatis 1499;" and on the right plinth one reads in a cartouche: "Questa cona la fatta fare la paternetè de don Beningnio de Ser Marino de Spiello piuano de Sĉo Angilo de la Bastia p̃ l'anima sua et p̃ sua devotione." A similar cartouche on the opposite plinth is illegible.[1]

Bologna Gallery, No. 360. Standard. On one face is the Annunciation, above which is the Eternal amongst angels, conceived in the spirit of that by Signorelli at Volterra, or of Santi at Milan. The angel seems to run, and betrays all the defects of Alunno. On the obverse are SS. Francis and Sebastian attending the enthroned Madonna and Child, over whose heads the Eternal suspends a crown. This is signed: "Hopus Nicolai deliberatore." The latter word now abraded. This picture was in the hospital of Arcevia, and was presented to the Gallery of Bologna by Pius IX. See Ricci, *u.s.*, who gives the painter's signature with name and date (1482), and Gaye's notice in *Kunstblatt*, No. 85 of 1837.

Assisi. Ex-Church of S. Lorenzo al Monte, near Rocca. Here, in a ruined edifice, is a tabernacle, rudely painted in the Umbrian style, but probably not by Alunno. In it is a Virgin and child, and St. Francis with the Eternal in the vaulting, and a saint in a niche. Beneath

(August 18, 1502) Niccolò mentions an altarpiece for S. Bartolommeo as not quite finished, and entrusts his son Lattanzio with its completion (see Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 302 *sq.*).

* 1 This picture is reproduced in Gnoli. *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 127.

St. Francis are small kneeling personages. The following are remnants of a signature: ". . . chola pictor."[1]

Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. Ex-Campana Gallery, No. 111. A standard representing a Virgin of Mercy, with the faithful under the mantle in charge of SS. Francis and Chiara. The Saviour above is much injured and repainted, also numerous little saints, all by Alunno.[2] No. 88, Annunciation, genuine likewise.[3]

Berlin Museum, No. 137. Virgin adoring the Infant Saviour on her knee, an Umbrian piece without the marked features of Alunno, and rather reminiscent of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. The ground is regilt.[4]

Carlsruhe. Museum, No. 403. This, described by Dr. Gaye, who saw it at Assisi, is a standard originally in the Church of S. Gregorio of that city. In its original condition one side was filled with a S. Gregory in episcopals on a throne; a book in his left hand, his right giving a blessing. A green cloth is held back by two angels, and at the saint's feet kneel (right) the men, (left) the women, of a Brotherhood. Higher up, the Flagellation is a similar composition to that of the Alunno at Diruta. Above the pillar to which the Saviour is bound: S. P. Q. R., and near the Saviour the words: "Hopus Nicolai Fulginati 1468." On the obverse, high up, Death, with the scythe, and S. Francis in ecstasy in front of a red curtain. Below, the crucified Saviour, St. John Evangelist, and the Virgin, and the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. As now arranged, the St. Gregory and the Crucifixion are placed over each other, with a signature on the border, and the rest is absent. This must have been fine originally. The angels attending on St. Gregory are not without feeling. The St. Gregory himself is regular in shape, and there is no want of relief in the parts. The forms of the Christ in the Crucifixion are purely rendered though imperfect in proportion. The head is expressive. The imitation of Benozzo is very apparent.

London. National Gallery, No. 247. Bust of Christ ascribed to Alunno (see *antea*, Matteo da Siena).

* [1] The editor is informed by Count Gnoli that this is the work of one Cola Petrucci of Orvieto.

* [2] Now in the Gallery at Angoulême (No. 2).

* [3] Now in the Gallery at Tours (see *antea*, p. 236, n. 2).

* [4] When this picture was cleaned some time ago, the fragmentary figure of St. Petronius (holding a model of the town of Bologna) and a Dominican saint became visible on each side of the Virgin and Child. Seeing that one of the saints is the patron of Bologna, and also for considerations of style, the editor is of opinion that this is probably the work of a Bolognese artist of the following of Francesco Cossa.

Oxford University Gallery. St. Francis, St. Catherine (?) called Giotto (presented by Hon. W. Fox Strangways). The character of these two foliated panels is uncertain on account of repainting, but they seem to issue from the schools of Alunno or his pupils.[1]

St. Petersburg. Gallery of Count Paul Stroganoff. Virgin and Child ascribed to Alunno, really by Fungai (see *postea*).[2]

The career of a man of middling capacity has thus been followed in its changes. Its interest lies in the clue which it affords to the

[1] They are, without doubt, from the school of Crivelli.

[2] The following is a list of paintings by Alunno that have not yet been noticed:

Alviano. Parish Church. The Virgin in Glory (GNOLI, in *Emporium*, xxix. 144, with reproduction).

Bayeux. Gallery, No. 27A. Pietà (reproduced *ib.*, p. 138).

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, No. 514. Head of a saint (Morelli collection).

Budapest. Gallery, No. 82. San Bernardino (signed "Opus Nicolai Fulginat. 1497").

Caen. Gallery. St. Paul and an episcopal saint; fragments of pilasters. Others at Laval and Melun (GNOLI, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, vi. 252, with reproduction).

Cambridge. Mass. Fogg Museum. The Virgin and Child with angels, SS. Sebastian and Francis, and a donor; triptych (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, v. 67, with reproduction).

Camerino. Don Luigi Palazzi (Vescovato). The Pentecost (reproduced in *Bollettino d'arte*, vi. 259).

Cannara. S. Giovanni Battista. The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Sebastian, inscribed "Hoc opus fecit fieri Marinus et Masiola usor eius de Cannario 1482" (reproduced in GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 120).

Englewood, New Jersey. Mr. D. F. Platt. The Crucifixion (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, xi., 6, with reproduction).

Foligno. Duomo. Edicola with the Virgin and St. John Evangelist on each side of a crucifix in carved wood (reproduced in GNOLI, *u.s.*, p. 118).

Laval. Gallery. David and St. Anthony (see GNOLI, in *Bollettino d'arte*, vi. 252).

Lugnano (Tevere). S. Maria Assunta. The Virgin in Glory between SS Bernardino and Sebastian (GNOLI, in *Emporium*, xxix. 144, with reproduction).

Melun. Gallery. St. Stephen and an episcopal saint (GNOLI, in *Bollettino d'arte*, vi. 252, with reproduction).

Montefalco. S. Francesco. The Virgin, St. John Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Francis, on each side of a crucifix in carved wood (reproduced in GNOLI, *L'arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 114).

Ravenna. Gallery. The Man of Sorrows (reproduced in *Emporium* xxvii. 259).

Rome. Villa Albani. The Virgin and Child with saints (polyptych, signed "Nicolaus Fulgina pinxit MCCCCLXXV").

San Marino. Municipio. Four Franciscan saints.

Terni. Communal Gallery. The Crucified Christ lamented by SS. Francis and Bernardino, signed "Opus Nicholai Fulginatis 1497."

Vienna. Herr Eugen von Miller Aichholz. Pietà (from S. Agostino at Foligno; see GNOLI, in *Emporium*, xxvii. 255 *sqq.*, and xxix. 140).

various influences felt throughout Umbria and the Marches during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Its opening years are unknown to us; its close is equally obscure. No trace of Alunno has been discovered subsequent to 1499.[1]

The art which dragged on a poor existence at and about Foligno in those days was below mediocrity, and showed that Alunno was not a man of a temper to animate disciples with a vigorous life.[2] He was kept up to a certain mark by feeling rather than by any very important acquirements or talent. A production of one who might claim to have been his son, once existed in Todi. Its predella bore the inscription: "Nicolas Fulgineas fecit. Latantius filius delineavit año MCCCCLXXXXVI."[3]

*[1] Alunno lived till 1502. On August 12 of that year he made his will, adding a codicil six days later. On December 1 the sons of the painter met to effect the division of the property inherited from their father and mother (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 268 *sqq.*) Alunno enjoyed the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and was frequently elected member of the municipal administration. See the numerous records of him, published by Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 260 *sqq.*

[2] There were many, there are still, productions of these years at Foligno and in neighbouring places. The following, for instance:

Foligno. S. Maria infra Portas. This church still contains some of the paintings of which it was of old full: a St. Jerome crowned by two angels (half-length), a St. Roch on a pilaster reminiscent of Pier Antonio and Alunno [* the St. Roch is reproduced in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 101]; a Virgin in grief with the dead Saviour on her knees, a poor piece with something even of a follower of Ottaviano Nelli [* compare on this painting Cristofani, in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 94 *sq.*, with reproduction]; a Redeemer on a pilaster, by a follower of Alunno, and in the same spirit; a Crucifixion with angels, Virgin and St. John Evangelist, of which the lower part is gone; and a Virgin and Child and St. John, with an inscription giving the name of the person who ordered the fresco.

Foligno. S. Giovanni Decollato. In this church are paintings of no value, to be marked only for the sake of recording their existence.

Foligno. Alla Madonna (called Fiamminga, half a mile on the road to Spello). In the apsis is a Virgin adoring the Child on her lap, between SS. Sebastian John the Baptist, and two other saints, with angels in attendance playing instruments. The Eternal (repainted in the sixteenth century) and the town of Foligno appears above, and heads of Sybils fill a lower feigned border. These are paintings of the time subsequent to Pier Antonio and Alunno, as are likewise a St. Francis and a Madonna on the walls, which have been injured.

Foligno (near). S. Maria in Campis. Feeble fresco: Virgin, Child, St. Francis (rest gone), inscribed: "Fatto fare li rede de' Jochimi da Santo rachio per loro devozione 1507," rude work, continuation of the local school.

[3] It belonged to, and was sold by, Signor Leoni. [* Adamo Rossi (in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, i. 275) describes this predella as representing the four major prophets, with four putti, and gives the signature (on a cartello to the right)

This sketch of the progress of men exhibiting local peculiarities, modified by others greater and better than themselves, would be incomplete without an allusion to one Lorenzo, respecting whom Rumohr publishes a quaint record. The preservation of his name is due to the vanity of a citizen of Viterbo, Niccola della Tuccia, who, having compiled a book of the annals of his native place, could not resist the temptation of inserting a passage in it relative to himself. He describes how Nardo Mazzatosta, having caused a chapel in S. Maria della Verità, outside Viterbo, to be painted by Maestro Lorenzo di Pietro Paulo, that artist took him for a model in his fresco of the Presentation of the Temple, "on the 26th of April 1469."[1]

The chapel of Nardo Mazzatosta is still open to the curious of our day; and on its walls they will see, in a lunette, the Procession of Mary and her parents to the temple, with the Sposalizio in a lower course; in a second lunette, a Virgin and angel annunciate with saints, and the Nativity below; in a third, the Burial and Assumption of the Virgin; finally, in the ceiling, the symbols of the evangelists, prophets, fathers of the church, and confessors, the venerable Bede amongst them.

Nothing can be more clear than the imitation of the manner

as follows: "Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit Lactantius filius inauravit." The date M°CCCCLXXXXI. was on a cartello to the left. This Lattanzio was undoubtedly a son of Niccolò Alunno (for notices of him, see *antea*, p. 239, n. 4; and Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 287 *sqq.*). He was elected "Priore Novello" at Foligno in 1480, and was still living in 1527. A St. Gabriel by him, inscribed at the back "Lattantio fece 1523 de Junijo," formerly in the Cappella dell' Annunziata at Foligno, is now in the Communal Gallery of that city.

Among other minor painters of Foligno we may here notice the following:

Ugolino di Gisberto. Mentioned in records of 1479, 1491, and 1499 (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 285 *sq.*); author of a signed Virgin and Child with St. John Evangelist in S. Maria infra Portas at Foligno.

Feliciano de' Muti. Mentioned in records of 1490 and 1501 (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 286). A signed fresco by him, representing the Virgin and Child with angels, formerly in S. Maria della Neve, near Foligno, is now in the Palazzo Candiotti at Foligno (reproduced in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 105).

Bernardino Mezzastri. Son of Pietro Antonio Mezzastri. Mentioned in records of 1507 and 1510. The Church of S. Maria della Rotonda, near Spello, contains a fresco by him, representing, above, the Coronation of the Virgin, and, below, the Virgin and St. Anne between SS. Joseph and Michael, signed and dated 1533 (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 290 *sq.*).

[1] Rumohr, *Forschungen*, ii. 202.

and conceptions of Piero della Francesca and Melozzo in the Presentation and Sposalizio. Lorenzo not only designs with the examples of Piero in his mind; he endeavours also to reproduce his architecture and perspective. In some portraits his realism is not without power; but vulgarity and affectation are striking. He is not correct as a draughtsman. His colour is cold and dull. His perspective is false, his forms rigid. These features are, however, more striking in the Nativity than in the Annunciation, which recalls Benozzo. Nor are the reminiscences of that master confined to one subject. They are produced with equal force in the ceiling, in which a head like that of the venerable Bede seems a caricature of the Florentine, in bricky tone as well as in features.

The initials of Lorenzo, and the date 1469, confirm the annals of Niccola della Tuccia,[1] but Lorenzo was busy in other parts of S. Maria della Verità besides the chapel of Nardo Mazzatosta; and an Annunciation, a Marriage of St. Catherine, and a Madonna giving suck to the Infant Saviour, all of them completed in 1455, betray the same rude hand, and the influence of Gozzoli.[2] But we need not be surprised at this, because Lorenzo is probably the author of a series representing incidents from the lives of S. Bernardino and St. Anthony in S. Francesco of Montefalco.[3]

[1] MCCCCLXVIIII. L. V.

[2] Below the Annunciation is the inscription: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Antonius Jacobi MCCCCLV." [* The following epigram is to be read in the Mazzatosta chapel, close to the date 1469:

"Hactenus haud lustris opus istud quinque peractis
Condidit. Oh quanti est pictor utrinque vide."

(C. Ricci, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. i., p. 29). If Lorenzo was only twenty-five in 1469, he cannot, of course, be the author of frescoes painted in 1455.]

[3] The life of S. Bernardino is illustrated on one, that of St. Anthony on the other, side of the chapel. In a lunette, Christ is crucified in the presence of the Virgin and Evangelists. In the ceiling are the symbols of the four Evangelists. The lunette shows the spread of Benozzo's influence; the other frescoes reveal the extent to which the examples of Piero della Francesca were studied even by painters who could only caricature his types and exaggerate his defects. The series under notice is inferior to that of S. Maria della Verità, but the hand is apparently the same, and on the base below a fresco of a miracle by S. Bernardino are the ciphers of the date MCCCCLXI. [* For reasons similar to those given in the case of the paintings of 1455 at Viterbo, Lorenzo is impossible as a candidate for the authorship of these frescoes. They are now commonly ascribed to Pietro Antonio Mezzastri.]

CHAPTER IX

BENEDETTO BONFIGLI AND FIORENZO DI LORENZO

WE believe that no satisfactory grounds have ever been given for the conspicuous position attained by Perugia as a school of art in the fifteenth century. It is natural that we should feel surprise at the greatness of Perugino when we consider how long the earlier Umbrians remained second to their brethren of Siena;[1] but it is desirable that some explanation should be given of the causes which produced that greatness, and that we should know to whom it is due.

Unusual importance has been given to Alunno, who is supposed to have influenced the career of Pietro Vanucci. But the painters of Foligno, as well as those of Perugia, derived something from their connection with the Florentines; and whilst Alunno owes much to Gozzoli, Benedetto Bonfigli received his impulse from Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca.

We require no better clue for tracing the progress of Perugian art in the person of its first local celebrity than that afforded by the series of frescoes illustrating the legends of St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Ercolano, in the Hall of the Palazzo Comunale in that city. They were begun in 1454, partly finished in 1461, and still incomplete in 1496; they reflect changes superinduced by the progress of painting throughout Italy, as well as by accidental causes; and they prepare us for the perfection of Perugino. They are a com-

[1] In addition to examples of local wall-painting at Perugia in the earlier times, a series may now be added of frescoes of the first half of the fifteenth century, some of which have been transferred to the Galleria Communale. One of these is a lunette detached from a series of similar pieces in S. Giuliana, representing the Adoration of the Magi, and the Circumcision. The character of this piece is old Gubbian, in consideration not only of the costumes, which recall those of Ottaviano, but of the drawing. [* This fresco is not now shown in the Communal Gallery at Perugia.]

bination of the Florentine and Umbrian with the Ferrarese and Paduan.

Bearing in mind that Domenico Veneziano was at Perugia in 1438, that Piero della Francesca, his pupil, left marks of his passage there, we accept without hesitation the evidence of Bonfigli's pictures, and we perceive from whence he derived the mixture of Umbrian and Florentine character which those works reveal.

Domenico Veneziano, even when staying at Perugia, was acquainted with most of the Florentine artists of the time. Bonfigli likewise shows that he was not ignorant of their fame; and when he undertook the Crucifixion and scenes from the life of St. Louis, in the chapel of the "Magistrato," he challenged beforehand the opinion of Fra Filippo, Angelico, or Domenico. It was no wonder that he should know the latter, who had actually resided at Perugia; and that he should learn from him to revere the talents of two friars who were amongst the best men of the Florentine school.

When Domenico Veneziano was in the full expanse of his powers, Bonfigli was, however, comparatively a beginner. We trace him at his craft from 1453 to the end of the century. He may have been Domenico Veneziano's assistant, and have laboured in company with Piero della Francesca.

Although Bonfigli's name is not on the register of the Perugian guild before 1461,[1] he enjoyed all the privileges of a master in 1453, having appraised a relief by Battista di Baldassare in that year.[2] Before that time, no doubt, his works had become known,[3] and pictures exist in which a relationship is apparent between him and Giovanni Boccati, Matteo of Gualdo, or Benvenuto di Giovanni. The Annunciation, once in the Orfanelli, and later in the

[1] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt. per., u.s.*, p. 130.

[2] The sentence in full is in GUALANDI, *Memorie, u.s.*, ser. v., p. 8. It is dated: "1453, XIII. Augusti."

*[3] Bonfigli is first mentioned on March 7, 1445, when he agreed to paint a Virgin and Child with two angels for a chapel near the church of S. Pietro at Perugia. This painting has not been preserved. On December 4, 1447, Bonfigli took on lease some land near Perugia. In 1450 we find him at Rome, where, on January 18 of that year, he began to paint in the Vatican at a salary corresponding to that of Benozzo Gozzoli when Fra Angelico's assistant. Payments were made to him from the Papal exchequer on March 9, April 4, and May 17, 1450 (see BOMBE, in *Italienische Forschungen*, v. 96 *sq.*, 318).

library of Signor Vincenzo Bertelli on the Piazza at Perugia, is one of these.[1] Earnestness, feeling, and grace are not to be denied to the slender, high-waisted angel and Virgin; and the faces, marked by broad foreheads and small chins, are agreeable enough. The hands are filed to a pointed shape, whilst the feet remain coarse, and the draperies straight or broken at right angles. A clear rosy tone without much shadow, a good deal of gold in the brightly contrasted stuffs, are equally strong characteristics of the painter's Umbrian nature, whilst the angels who surround the Eternal in benediction in the golden sky are drawn in a spirit of affected elegance, with garlands of flowers forming quaint crests on their heads, reminding one of the neatness conspicuous in Gentile da Fabriano. In obedience, perhaps, to the strict terms of a written agreement, St. Luke is made to sit in the middle of the foreground, with his symbol couchant at his side. Some perspective is shown in the colonnade and terrace at the base of which the Virgin kneels; and a panelled marble screen closes the court behind the angel.

To this local work an Adoration of the Magi in S. Domenico of Perugia may be added, which has been assigned to Gentile da Fabriano on account of its essentially Gubbian features.[2] Time and restoring have injured and dimmed the colours, but there is no mistaking the style, which is that of Bonfigli, perhaps more than usually intermingled with Sienese features like those of Taddeo or Domenico Bartoli.[3] Passavant remarks that, according to tradition, this Adoration is due to the year 1460;[4] but this must be proved.[5] Bonfigli had already entered into a very extensive practice at that time. He had not only accepted (1454) the commission for frescoes in the Palazzo Comunale,[6] but (1459) another

[1] It is now exhibited in the gallery of Perugia (Sala VIII., No. 8). [* This picture is the property of the Collegio dei Notari at Perugia.]

[2] Now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala VIII., No. 1).

[3] This feature is particularly apparent in a figure of the Baptist. The distance is a landscape on a gold ground. The Infant Christ is humpbacked and angular, the draperies are straight and broken, the colour flat and positive in contrasts. VASARI (iii. 505 *sq.*) assigns to Bonfigli an Adoration of the Magi in S. Domenico, which may be supposed to have been that described in the text.

[4] PASSAVANT, *Raphael*, i. 479.

*[5] Akin to this Adoration of the Magi is a little picture of the same subject by Bonfigli, now in the National Gallery (No. 1,843).

[6] VASARI, iii. 505; and MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 132.

Photo, Alinari

THE ANNUNCIATION

By Benedetto Bonfigli

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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for a Brutus in the refectory of the Priori in the same building; and in 1461[1] he enjoyed the honour of seeing the first of these orders valued by Fra Filippo.[2]

The Priori did not at first contract for the whole chapel. They resolved that the wall hallowed by the altar should be decorated with a Crucifixion, in which SS. Louis and Ercolano should attend on the Virgin and Evangelist, whilst on the remaining area, forming one-half of the chapel, the legend of St. Louis should be illustrated. It is not difficult to ascertain the order in which the frescoes were carried out, though some of them are seriously injured; nor is there any doubt as to the portion which Fra Filippo valued. The friars' award, which is still extant, distinctly alludes to the finished part as being on the side of the chapel looking towards the old palace of the Priori. Bonfigli may thus be supposed to have first done the Crucifixion, to which a more modern one has been since substituted. To the right of that, as you face the Crucifixion, are the Consecration of St. Louis as bishop of Toulouse, the Miracle of a merchant at Marseilles, and a third subject, now almost obliterated. After the award, and therefore subsequently to the year 1461, he promised to furnish one compartment in every six months until the whole chapel should be ready; yet we find him leisurely proceeding in 1464,[3] quarrelling for salary with the General Council in 1469,[4] still taking instalments of payment in 1477, and even in his will dated 1496, leaving a provision for the completion of that which he had not found time to bring to a close.[5] The patience of the Perugians would be strange indeed, were it not for a passage in one of the Council records of 1469, which explains their equanimity. In the course of his differences with the Priori, Bonfigli threatened to throw up his engagement, if certain conditions, upon which he insisted, were not fulfilled. Had Bonfigli been considered by his townsmen as an artist easily replaced by others, his threats might have been ridiculed; but the Perugians really admired him; they declared that the frescoes of the chapel were the greatest ornament to the city; and they believed that, were they not finished with equal talent and success, an ignominious stain would be cast upon them.[6]

[1] Mariotti, p. 140. [2] *Ib.*, pp. 133, 134. [3] *Ib.*, *u.s.*, p. 134.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 135. [5] *Ib.*, p. 136. [6] *Ib.*, *u.s.*, p. 135.

Bonfigli's claim was therefore conceded. Nor can we be surprised even now that such should have been the result.

Under the new agreement he painted the funeral of St. Louis and the siege of Perugia by Totila, with the death and burial of S. Ercolano, on the wall facing the Crucifixion, and, on the remaining spaces, the translation of the saint to S. Pietro.

Large portions of the Consecration have scaled away; still the Pope may be seen enthroned giving his blessing to St. Louis, a monk near the latter, and part of a cardinal by the former; but the best preserved bit is the head of an aged friar in a peristyle to the left. It is easier, however, to judge of Bonfigli's power from the next episode; of the merchant whose money and goods had been lost in a storm at sea; whose prayer to St. Louis being heard, he recovered the gold and silver in the entrails of a fish purchased on the market-place.[1] A broader style in the treatment of drapery, good proportion, a careful nude of a fisherman taking pence, reveal a study of Piero della Francesca and of the Florentine school.

The third subject, mangled as it is, preserves some interest, because St. Louis is represented in it looking down from a circular glory in a foreshortened attitude, like that of the Eternal by Uccelli, or that of the angel in Francesca's Vision of Constantine at Arezzo. The arch, above which the saint appears, might even confirm Vasari's description of Bonfigli's visit to Rome.[2]

The fresco of the death of St. Louis is a composition of symmetrical order. The mendicant brothers surround the youthful saint, and mourn over him with decent grief, whilst males and females in lay costume stand in the aisles of the church in which the funeral ceremony is performed. The monks who bear the tapers or incense, move with some nature and animation. The architecture is drawn with a perspective skill which reveals the influence of Piero della Francesca; the figures remind us of those by Domenico Veneziano. They are inferior to these, but, like

[1] One sees a fisherman receiving money for the fish, a monk kneeling at a stand on which the fish lies with a large purse near it, persons looking on at the miracle, a city in the distance, with a sea in which two ships are floating, and an apparition of St. Louis in the sky.

[*2] As we have seen (*antea*, p. 247, n. 3), Bonfigli is now proved by contemporary records to have been at Rome in 1450.

Photo, Alinari

THE DEATH OF ST. LOUIS
BY BENEDETTO BONFIGLI
From a fresco in the Palazzo Comunale, Perugia

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them, they sin by shortness of stature and some vulgarity of features or expression.[1]

The incidents from the life of St. Herculanus can only be understood by a reference to local legendaries, which declare that the Perugian bishop was ordered to be decapitated and flayed by Totila, and that when the body was found again after forty days, and taken in procession to a consecrated resting-place, it showed a whole skin and no signs of corruption, whereas that of a child buried with it was in a state of putrefaction. In the right-hand side of one fresco the saint lies decapitated on the ground, again about to be consigned to the grave together with the child. But on the left, several men are killing an ox, and a priest addresses Totila's lieutenant, whilst a fight is depicted in the distance.[2] The next fresco shows the procession of clergy carrying the body, accompanied by the community; the whole much injured by the scaling of the wall. Both pieces are striking, because the first contains a view of the church of S. Ercolano and the Roman gate as they now stand, and the second, a perspective drawing of the old palace of Perugia, both without effect of light and shade, but wonderfully minute in drawing. Both have a fair amount of life and motion, with something of the exaggeration familiar to Matteo of Siena.

Looking at the work as a whole, we are not surprised that a man who thus modified the Umbrian style by adapting to it that of Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca should be a favourite with his countrymen. He is superior to all the Umbrians of his age except Francesca, and in respect of aim and purpose he may be ranked with those Ferrarese whose labours adorn the palace of Schifanoia. He shows familiarity with the modes of contemporary Paduans and Veronese. Looking at the frescoes with a view to the painter's development, they enable us to observe how he clung at first to Benozzo in the production of rich but ill-proportioned architecture and raised gildings; how he improved with simplicity under the influence of Fra Filippo. His progress, no doubt, was only gradual. But we have seen that in his earliest period he commanded the respect of craftsmen; and

[1] Bonfigli's frescoes are in the second story of the Town Hall at Perugia. The upper part to the left, the lower to the right, of this fresco, are scaled off.

[*2] A design for this composition, differing from the final form, is in the Uffizi.

the growth of his experience could not but increase that feeling. We accordingly find not only that his dilatoriness at the Palazzo Comunale was borne with patience by the Perugians, but that he was entrusted with commissions irrespective of an undertaking the successful termination of which was heartily desired. His appointment as umpire to decide the value of the new front, added to S. Bernardino of Perugia by the Florentine Agostino d'Antonio, was alike honourable to all engaged.[1] The numerous productions which issued from his atelier at various subsequent periods prove that the contract at the Palazzo Comunale was not to be considered as precluding him from intermediate commissions. A banner for the company of S. Bernardino (1465), a Virgin of Succour for the church of Corciano (1472), a standard for the Brotherhood of S. Fiorenzo (1476), a Virgin of Mercy for the church of the Commenda di S. Croce (1478), and many other pieces testify to Bonfigli's industry. Nor is it uninteresting to mark in them the gradual expansion of his powers.

The " Gonfalone " of S. Bernardino is a large canvas with a gold ground, on which Christ, attended by angels, gives His blessing to S. Bernardino, who stands before Him bearing the name.[2] Below, between the spectator and a view of the "August Perugia,"[3] are two incidents from the legend of S. Bernardino.[4] In the large head and festooned draperies of the Christ we see Bonfigli still clinging occasionally to the peculiarities of Taddeo and Domenico Bartoli's school; and the dull colour of a spare tempera is not agreeable to the eye. The Virgin of Succour at Corciano is an imperfect specimen, deprived of its original appearance by restoring and repainting.[5]

The standard of S. Fiorenzo is better, and almost worthy of a

[1] See the record in Mariotti, *u.s.*, pp. 72, 97. The date is 1465.

[2] The canvas is at present in the gallery of Perugia (Sala IX., No. 1). [* See also *postea*, p. 260, n. 1.]

[3] On a building of the background one reads: "Augusta Perusia. MCCCCLXIIIII."

[4] S. Bernardino burning the books of disputants and the weapons which are usually appealed to when reason does not settle differences, and Pius II.'s distribution of tapers in 1459. This picture is already assigned to Bonfigli by Vasari (iii. 506).

[5] The Eternal holds a bundle of arrows, some of which he has thrown down. They have been intercepted by the mantle of the Virgin beneath which SS.

place by the side of the frescoes in the Palace. It was commemorative like that of Corciano—allusive to the stay of a plague assigned by the indolent and superstitious to the severity of God, but attributable also to the improvidence of man. It was destined to honour the Virgin whose intercession had been prayed for; and she was represented borne in a cloth by angels, showing the Infant Saviour erect on a basket of flowers, SS. Pellegrino and Florentius, Sebastian and Philip on the foreground, attended by kneeling dames and men parted into two principal groups by an angel holding a long scroll. On this scroll a feeble poet has written the angel's proclamation. He cries out to a people full of iniquity to think of its sins, and remember that the Virgin is its successful intercessor ; and at the close of the lines one reads: "nel mille settanta cuatro cento sei."[1] The light tempera, embrowned by time, is bravely handled, and not without a judicious distribution of light and shade. Some feeling in the Virgin and grace in the angels counterbalance the defects apparent in the hard, stiff nude of the Infant Christ.

These qualities may be found in four saints; in a Virgin, Child, and angels, perhaps the centre of an altarpiece of which the foregoing were the sides; in three scenes on a small scale belonging to a predella; and in two pinnacles, hanging separate in various parts of S. Domenico of Perugia. One sees in the central panel the influence of Fra Filippo, and in the angel and Virgin annunciate of the pinnacles a gentle modesty akin to that of Alunno, who may have been at Perugia at this time.[2] But for the damage which it has sustained, we might place in the same class a picture in the

Nicholas of Tolentino, Macarius, and Sebastian stand, the latter recommending some kneeling figures. In the centre, in front, is a model of the town of Corciano; on a shield in the gate the date: "1472." Two angels loop up the Virgin's cloak.

[1] The Infant Saviour extends His hands, which show the marks of the Crucifixion. In the lower border of the canvas are incidents from the lives of the saints who attend in the body of the picture.

[2] Two figures in each side. SS. Catherine and Peter, Paul and Peter Martyr. They are well relieved by light and shade, well proportioned, and not without nature in movement and regularity of form. The central panel, which is hopelessly and almost totally injured, is not usually visible to the public. The Virgin is in the middle; the angels, four in number, at the sides of the foreground. The pieces of the predella represent the Crucifixion, which has almost disappeared, the Baptism of Christ, and the three youths saved from death by the intercession of St. Nicholas.

The two pinnacles are in the sacristy.

gallery of Perugia, of the Virgin enthroned in front of a marble screen overtopped by angels, in a court in which saints attend at each side. A part of the surface on the right of the picture is abraded, and leaves but a trace of the figures there, but the angels in prayer are amongst the most graceful by Bonfigli.[1]

The Virgin of Mercy in the church of the Commenda is a wall-painting repeating a well-known and common composition.[2] It may share attention with other pieces by the master in Santa Maria Nuova,[3] in the sacristy of S. Francesco,[4] in the Confraternità della Giustizia,[5] in the Gallery,[6] and in the Carmine of Perugia. At the Carmine, high up in the choir, the Virgin adores the Infant on her lap, and is surrounded by kneeling people, a king,

The whole of these pictures are now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala VIII.), as follows: No. 5, The Virgin and Child; No. 3, SS. Catherine and Peter; No. 6, SS. Paul and Peter Martyr; No. 2, the predella. The two pinnacles are under Nos. 4 and 7. [* The predella appears originally to have belonged to the Adoration of the Magi, previously noticed, and is now again placed under it. The altarpiece now under discussion is a joint production of Benedetto Bonfigli and Bartolommeo Caporali, both of whom, on June 14, 1468, acknowledge to have received the full payment for it (BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 104, 321 *sq.*).]

[1] Gallery of Perugia, Sala IX., No. 16. The figures are under the size of life. To the left are St. Thomas and St. Jerome, with his lion. The angels have the same crests of flowers on their heads as those in Bonfigli's picture of the Annunciation in possession of Signor Bertelli.

[2] The figures under the cloak kneel at each side, holding between them the names of a fraternity. The Eternal casts his arrows from above. The whole much injured.

[3] Perugia, S. Maria Nuova. On one of the side-altars of this church, grey with age and dust, and usually screened from view, is a large picture by Bonfigli with a gauze veil stretched over it. The principal figure is that of Christ, above life-size threatening groups at His feet with a dart. At His shoulders are the sun, the moon, and angels bearing the emblems of the Passion. To the left, the Virgin in prayer intercedes to Christ. To the right kneels St. Paulinus. Beneath all this, but in half-length, a male and female congregation prays under the protection of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, and near the latter an angel arrests the scythe of Time. This is a fine Bonfigli, in his later manner.

[4] But now Sala IX., Nos. 7 and 9, Perugia Gallery. They are two supports to a lunette by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. [* This is no longer the case.] In these supports are four angels, two at each side, holding the emblems of the Passion, all much damaged, and two of them mutilated.

[5] Now Perugia Gallery, Sala IX., Nos. 2 and 3. Two panels, in each of which two angels, half the size of life, hold baskets of roses. The colour is in part scaled. [* Two more panels of the same subject, and formerly at S. Francesco, are also in the Perugia Gallery, Sala IX., Nos. 4 and 17. See also *postea*, p. 260, n. 1.]

[6] Perugia Gallery, Sala IX., Nos. 5 and 6. Four angels kneeling and bearing emblems of the Passion seem companions to those of old in the sacristy of S. Francesco, being of similar size.

a pope, and others. A mild meditativeness, similar to that which finds expression in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Perugino, already animates the Madonna.[1] Outside Perugia, a chapel in S. Antonio Abate of Deruta remains to be noticed, in which a Virgin of Mercy, in the usual fashion, forms the ornament of one side, and four evangelists are distributed in the ceiling. The style is hard to criticize with precision, because much injury has been done by time and neglect. It reminds one of that in the frescoes of S. Maria in Campis outside Foligno. It is inferior to Bonfigli's in the Palazzo at Perugia, yet more in his character than in that of any other artist.[2]

As for the Virgin holding the dead Christ on her knees, between SS. Leonardo and Jerome, a panel of 1469, in S. Pietro of Perugia, assigned by Passavant to Bonfigli, it might have been produced by the feebler brush either of the Boccati or of Matteo da Gualdo. It may be by Lodovico d'Angeli, a scholar of Bonfigli, whose manner approaches somewhat to that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. An angel above the Virgin seems copied from Benozzo or Angelico; the outlines are hard, the colour leaden and vitreous; and the drawing is peculiarly defective.[3] We may leave this uninteresting example for the sake of inquiring whether it be true that Bonfigli ever visited Rome.[4]

[1] It is a mutilated canvas, and was no doubt a church standard.

[2] This fresco is assigned by Orsini to Alunno. See *Vita, &c., di Pietro Perugino*, by BALDASSARE ORSINI, 8°, Perugia, Baduel, 1804, note to p. 24.

We may further notice the following works by Bonfigli: Perugia Gallery, Nos. 108–112: Miracles of S. Bernardino, not very important and somewhat rude. Perugia Gallery, and transferred thither from S. Francesco (sacristy), No. 123: Deposition from the Cross. No. 124: Christ carrying His Cross. Fragments of a predella of Bonfigli's school. [* These are all parts of an altarpiece which, with other parts added to it, has been reconstructed, and at present is shown under No. 10 in the Sala VI. of the Perugia Gallery. It is now held to be by the Perugian painter Mariano d'Antonio (active 1433–67; see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 89 *sq.*, 305 *sqq.*).] In the same class, but a little lower, take: Perugia Gallery, Nos. 98 and 99, St. Francis and another saint. [* Now apparently Sala VI., Nos. 23 and 17.]

Perugia, Duomo: on a pilaster to the left, as one enters, half-length of S. Bernardino, much injured.

[3] On the lower border one reads:

"Anno domini
Millesimo CCCCLXVIIII."

*[4] As already noted (*antea*, p. 247, n. 3), this question has now been settled by contemporary records, which show that Bonfigli worked in the Vatican in 1450.

Whilst the art of Perugia was taking, under his lead, a position which entitled it to a special recognition, two youths had been silently receiving their nurture, and laying the foundation of a lasting fame. Pinturicchio and Perugino enjoyed the advantages which accrued to them from the general progress of their craft thoughout Italy. They ceased to have local, they rapidly gained an Italian, celebrity. Their field of labour became enlarged; and their distinction smothered, as it were, the humbler claims of men of whom they might at first have been but the apprentices. Pinturicchio's connection with Bonfigli, as handed down to us by Vasari, was that of an assistant and friend.[1] As Timoteo Viti, after leaving Francia, might have placed his experience at young Raphael's disposal in the years of his upward struggle, and afterwards, by a natural change of parts, become the aid of his own pupil, so Bonfigli might have followed Pinturicchio to Rome and helped him in the decorations of the Vatican. Vasari's curt remark, that Bonfigli's productions there were numerous, is expanded by Taia into a description of several frescoes and copious "grotesques" executed at the Stanze during the reign of Innocent VIII. (1482-92).[2]

There are, however, in our days, no frescoes suggestive of Bonfigli in Rome except a Crucifixion and apostles in the centre of the nave and transept of S. Giovanni Laterano.[3] What we know of Perugian chronology is not against a visit to Rome by Bonfigli between 1484 and 1486. That he was disagreeably busy in litigation with his own wife, Gioliva di Menicuccio, in 1483 and 1486, is proved by records in Mariotti;[4] whilst documents of a later date (1489), discovered by the same author,[5] show that his relations with his partner in life were curiously improved when a

[1] VASARI, iii. 505.

[2] VASARI, iii. 505. TAIA, *Description of the Vatican*, pp. 385, 407-9, *ap.* VERMIGLIOLI, pp. 24, 56.

[3] These subjects on the wall facing the tribune lead one to suppose they were originally by Bonfigli or Florenzo di Lorenzo, yet an inscription declares that they and those on the other sides, which are copiously overpainted, are due to a Florentine under Urban V. (1362), and were restored (!) under Pius VII. [* These paintings—which are on the tabernacle over the *altare papale*—may confidently be ascribed to Antoniasso Romano (see EVERETT, in *American Journal of Archæology*, ser. ii., vol. xi., p. 299).]

[4] *Lett. pitt, u.s.*, p. 141.

[5] *Ib., ib.*

third party forced him to defend an action in her favour. It is probable that this troublesome lady left him a widower shortly after, for in his will, dated July 6, 1496, he bequeathed his landed property to a couple of churches, and the residue to S. Domenico.[1] He directed that his remains should be buried in the vaults of the latter; and no doubt the dying wish was obeyed, although the date of that event has escaped the search even of the patient Mariotti.[2]

We may connect with the name of Bonfigli and with that of his contemporary Fiorenzo di Lorenzo eight panels in S. Francesco of Perugia, usually assigned, though on insufficient grounds, to Pisanello, illustrating the life and posthumous miracles of S. Bernardino, in the following order:[3]

(1) The birth of the saint at Massa; (2) a girl restored to life after falling into a well; (3) resurrection of a dead person at the prayer of the saint; (4) rescue of the youth taken to execution for a riot at Aquila; (5) the saint healing the sick; (6) the saint curing a man of a wound (apparently caused by a bull); (7, 8) miracles of the same nature.[4]

[1] *Ib., ib.*

[*2] His death occurred on July 8, 1496 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 99, 324). For a full list of records concerning Bonfigli, see *ib.*, p. 319 *sqq.* To the number of extant works by Bonfigli should probably be added a Virgin and Child with angels in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 137A). Mr. Berenson (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 157) ascribes it, however, to Bartolommeo Caporali.

[3] The panels are in the sacristy of S. Francesco, and are assigned to Pisanello by Mariotti (*u.s.*, p. 115) and Rosini (*Stor.*, iii. 218). Passavant has already refuted this assertion by inquiring whether Fiorenzo di Lorenzo might not be the author (see his *Raphael*, i., note to p. 481, and Vasari com., iii. 31).

[4] Since the above was written, they have been numbered as follows in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XIII.): 9, 8, 7, 6, 4, 2, 5, 3. [* It seems likely that all these pictures (not excepting No. 9, which the authors interpret as the Birth of S. Bernardino) represent miracles of S. Bernardino, though it is not always easy to say which exactly. The matter has been studied by Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, p. 124) and Sig. Serafini (as quoted in Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., part ii., p. 482, n. 1), who interpret the subjects as follows:

No. 9. Healing of the sterile Polissena (Bombe).
Restoration to life of the death-born boy of Giovanni and Margherita of Bâle (Serafini).

No. 8. Restoration to life of Rosa, daughter of Battista of Perugia, after she had been drowned in a well (B.)
Healing of the daughter of Giovanni Antonio of Rieti (S.).

No. 7. Healing of Niccolò Tedesco, who had been injured by falling (B.).
Healing of a paralytic of Siena (S.).

The chief interest centres in the first four of this list. They are the finest things of the school at the period of their completion, and afford a key to the identification of Perugian art before the close of the fifteenth century, explaining its development from the time of Bonfigli to that of Pinturicchio and Perugino. They combine naturalism with classicism in a form familiar to Bonfigli, and fashionable since Piero della Francesca shed his influence over the Umbrian country, whilst they reveal an approach to a kindred feeling sprung from the same source or altered by Paduan and Veronese character at the Schifanoia of Ferrara.

The birth of S. Bernardino,[1] unequally carried out in its various parts, is fair in the conception of some heads, but derives a certain quaintness from strange dresses and lean figures. It is somewhat inharmonious in the tones of a tempera resembling that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.[2]

The "Resurrection of the Girl" is superior to the Birth of S. Bernardino.[3] The well from which she has been taken is in front of a triumphal arch, ornamented in good florid classic style, and inscribed: "S. P .Q. R. divo. Tito. divi. Vespasiani. Tullio Vespasiano, Augusto . A. D. MCCCCLXXIII, finis." The child sits in the centre of the space; her mother, S. Bernardino and another Franciscan kneeling opposite, attended by a tall page in the tights and chaperon of the time, and leaning on a long stick, whilst wondering spectators, prostrate or standing, balance the group on the other side. Through the arch, the eye wanders over pastures, trees, and hills, commanded by a castle. The motives which guide the attitudes and expressions are pleasantly

No. 6. Uncertain subject: Liberation of a prisoner (B. and S.).
No. 4. Uncertain subject: Healing of a wounded man (B. and S.).
No. 2. Healing of Cosimo Lorenzi of Prato, who had been injured by a bull (B. and S.).
No. 5. Uncertain subject: Healing of a blind man (B.).
Healing of a blind, deaf, and dumb man at Aquila (S.).
No. 3. Healing of Giovanni Antonio Tornaro, who had been assaulted and injured (B.).
The assault on Giovanni Antonio Tornaro; S. Bernardino appearing to a girl of Spoleto who had been wounded in the breast (S.).

[1] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIII., No. 9.
[2] In the pictures at S. Bernardino, for instance, for which see *postea*.
[3] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIII, No. 8.

Photo, Alinari

A MIRACLE OF S. BERNARDINO

By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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suggested. The forms themselves are precisely and carefully made out, and charm by a freshness of colour for which Fiorenzo di Lorenzo is more remarkable than Bonfigli. In spite of occasionally broken and angular folds, the cloth falls with a neatness and simplicity that seem to foreshadow Perugino.

In the third miracle,[1] a female, kneeling with her back to the beholder, and a boy startled by a dog, recall Fiorenzo and even Pinturicchio, whilst a man in profile near the frightened child, and another standing on the right of the picture, more decidedly display some of the defects of Bonfigli.[2] The peculiar features of Matteo da Siena or of the Ferrarese are found united with no happy result in the "Rescue,"[3] whilst in the vision of the Saint appearing in heaven and healing a sick person,[4] the general style of Bonfigli and the handling of Fiorenzo seem commingled, and a perspective of classic edifices resembles one by Piero della Francesca, or that in frescoes at the Schifanoia of Ferrara. A rude execution and hard dry figures characterize the rest of the series.

These panels, suggesting a very different authorship from that of Pisanello, to whom they have been ascribed, introduce us to Fiorenzo, who thus becomes implicitly connected with their production in the atelier of Bonfigli.[5] We therefore assume of necessity that Fiorenzo received tuition from Benedetto; and this view is confirmed by authentic pictures exhibiting a modification of the old Umbrian and Bonfigli's style, with a partial adherence to the innovating principles on which Vannucci remodelled Perugian art. There is such an increase of gentleness and freshness, so much additional truth and symmetry and grace

[1] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIII., No. 7.

[2] A landscape of rock is arranged with the tunnelled holes peculiar at a later period to the distances painted by Pinturicchio.

[3] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIII., No. 6.

[4] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIII., No. 4.

[5] Since these lines were penned the panels have been transferred, as we have seen, to the gallery of Perugia, where the name of Mantegna has been substituted for that of Pisanello. The only justification for thus calling local Perugian pictures by such a name is to be found in the remarks above made—*e.g.*, in the existence of these pieces of mixed Paduan and Ferrarese peculiarities (such as may be noted in certain frescoes at the Schifanoia). [* The attribution to Mantegna no longer occurs in the catalogue of the Perugia Gallery.]

in his types, so marked an improvement in his drawing, in the absence of seeking observable in draperies which play quite freely round the limbs, and have the branching fold of Perugino's, that it is obvious Fiorenzo derived some advantage from his great contemporary. As a colourist in tempera—for he always remained true to the old system—his tones are gay in key, even mellow, though frequently contrasted somewhat sharply. Using the verde ground for half-tints, and covering it with warm flesh lights, he gives the shadows a brown-orange tone. He seems, in fact, to have embodied the same class of features as are found developed by Pinturicchio, and may therefore be considered as the immediate precursor of a master who, during a progressive career, received a happy influence from Raphael. Fiorenzo's works, which are rare and valuable, are undeniably of the Umbrian stamp prevailing in Alunno; but Alunno shares the peculiarities of Bonfigli in so far as both are Umbrian, Bonfigli being only more gifted and more versatile. Both placed the Perugian school on a respectable footing in the middle of the fifteenth century. Both had a share at various degrees in the cultivation of Fiorenzo's manner.[1] The feeling prominent in the painter of Foligno was

[1] Baron VON RUMOHR says with truth (*Forschungen*, ii. 321) that Fiorenzo is a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, or took much from his works. The influence of Benozzo generally, through Alunno, has already been noted. [* In the strongly plastic modelling, the design of drapery, the types, and other features, Fiorenzo's style shows so strong an affinity to that of Verrocchio that it cannot be doubted that the former studied for some time under the latter at Florence. The influence of the Pollaiuoli is also noticeable in the works of Fiorenzo.

The authorship of the Miracles of S. Bernardino have of late been the subject of much discussion. The editor is inclined to think that they were all designed by Fiorenzo, although in the execution of some of them he was assisted by pupils.

These panels are stated to have formerly adorned the shutters of a niche containing Bonfigli's Gonfalone of S. Bernardino (*cf. antea*, p. 252). A long narrow panel, showing the name of Christ in a garland surrounded by fluttering ribbons—now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XIII., No. 10), and undoubtedly by Fiorenzo—is, moreover, known to have served as the "frontespizio" of this niche. Dr. BOMBE gives (*u.s.*, p. 132 *sq.*) a reconstruction of the whole shrine. Two of the miracles appear here on the outside, and two on the inside, of each shutter; the sides of the niche are adorned with the four panels by Bonfigli, representing angels with baskets of roses, noticed *antea*, p. 254, n. 5; above the frieze of the shrine containing the panel with the name of Christ and the lunette, a figure of God the Father adored by angels, from the school of Bonfigli, and now in the Perugia Gallery.]

attractive, and Alunno certainly left an impress on the Umbrians, because there was a sympathetic connection between the ecstatic longing of his saintly figures, and the tender ones of most natives of this region; but his was not the less a defective art, ill-calculated to command exclusive sympathy, and overshadowed in many respects by the earlier and purer one of Angelico and Benozzo, —humble when compared with the deeply religious and essentially Christian creations accumulated in the age of the revival in the old sanctuary of Assisi.

If we inquire into the conduct and duration of Fiorenzo's life, we shall find few distinct facts to record. His birth, adolescence, and manhood are alike involved in obscurity.[1] Perugino and Pinturicchio have cast him into the shade. Yet Mariotti recites the terms of a contract dated 1472, in which Fiorenzo agrees to paint for 225 ducats an Assumption of the Virgin, with SS. Peter, Paul, Benedict, and Silvester; a Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Nicholas, and Paulinus, the twelve apostles and others, in a double altarpiece at S. Maria Nuova of the Silvestrines, now the Servi of Perugia.[2] It was sought for in vain by Mariotti in the convent for which it was ordered, but its principal parts seem to have found a place of safety in the Gallery at Perugia. The Virgin, upon clouds, adores the Infant seated on her knee, whilst two angels look up with kindly reverence towards her. At the sides, SS. Benedict and Peter, John Evangelist,

* [1] Fiorenzo di Lorenzo was matriculated in the Painters' Guild at Perugia between 1463 and 1469. In 1470 he was elected accountant of the Guild; the minimum age for filling this post was twenty years. In 1472 he was one of the Priori or Governors of the Republic of Perugia; the minimum age for becoming a Priore was twenty-five years, but usually only men of a more mature age were elected to this responsible position. We may therefore assume that Fiorenzo was born some time before 1447 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 122).

[2] Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 81. [* The plan set forth in this document was carried out with great delay and many alterations. On August 8, 1487, a new contract was made, according to which only one side of the altarpiece was to be painted, the work finished within two years, and the painter's fee 100 fiorini, or less than half the amount originally fixed. From a document of November 20, 1491, we learn that the work had not yet been finished by that time, and that it had not been carried out in accordance with the contract. It was now settled that the painter's fee was to be 130 fiorini, and that the work was to be finished by May 20, 1493. Three figures were to be completed by September 8, 1492 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 122 *sq.*).]

and Francis stand out of a golden ground.[1] To these, which composed the principal face, may be added the pinnacles containing the Eternal and four doctors of the church, and five longitudinal pieces in which the angel and Virgin annunciate, two full and two half-length saints, are to be seen.[2] If we confine our attention principally to the first and most important portion of this great work, we shall gain a just view of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Religious composure and modesty in the attitude of the slender Virgin, resigned timidity in the gently bending head, are relieving features in a form not entirely free from heaviness, nor altogether select in details. One feels inclined to pardon the breadth of nostril, the lean throat and collar-bone, the falling shoulders, the short, broad hand. The Infant is not the wooden mummy that disfigures the Madonnas of Giovanni Boccati. The shape is coarse, the type common. The action is still broken and exaggerated, but the lines are not angular, and their curves reveal the approach of Perugino. High surface shadows, and transparent lights give relief to the vestments, whilst the verde ground crops up through the rough touches of the flesh. The angels with their falling locks unite grace with youthfulness in their neatly draped frame, and embody a class of beauty no longer surprising when one considers that the time is that of the great Vannucci. The saints are not less remarkable as affording evidence of the progress made by Perugian art, by their dignified mien, finished drawing, and careful execution. The Evangelist, looking up with a foreshortened face, looks as if it were by Pinturicchio, and tells of an effort for the attainment of an expression of inspiration. A successful rendering of action is coupled with some squareness of shape in the frame, the head, the nose, and close eyebrows. One characteristic series of traits may be dis-

[1] These five panels are now united under No. 13 in the Gallery of Perugia. [* Compare next note.]

[2] The five pinnacles are numbered as follows in the gallery of Perugia: Nos. 172, 173, 175, 176; the four doctors, No. 174. The remaining pieces are: No. 111, full length St. John Baptist; Nos. 120, and 169 the Angel and Virgin; No. 167, half-lengths (superposed) of SS. Anthony and Francis; No. 168, St. Sebastian. These pieces are in Fiorenzo's manner, and doubtless formed part of the Silvestrini altarpiece. They have lost their brightness through the effects of time and dirt. [* In 1907 all these *disiecta membra* were again reunited, and the altarpiece, as reconstructed, is now shown under No. 1. in the Sala XII. of the Perugia Gallery.]

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS
By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo
From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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cerned in all the figures. They assume an aged look in consequence of the wrinkled aspect given to a thin casing of flesh that seems insufficiently to pad the bones. The hands are well drawn, but cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The system of colouring is throughout the same, though slightly altered by age and by repeated varnishing.[1]

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo was one of the Decemvirs of Perugia when the commission for this altarpiece was intrusted to him.[2] That he was then of mature age and experience is proved as much by the office to which he was elected as by the success which he had achieved. He had, however, not only furnished the picture of S. Maria Nuova, but many pieces in addition, of which some are preserved in the Perugia Gallery ; eight half-lengths of saints in the medallions of a predella;[3] a meagre St. Sebastian, in which the root of Fiorenzo's style may be distinctly traced to the school of Bonfigli;[4] and other less valuable productions.[5]

[1] If more detail should be required, one might add, the St. Peter is a fine figure enveloped in copious drapery. The St. Benedict is equally good, with the details of hair and beard minutely indicated, the lower part slightly damaged by rotting of the coloured surface. The St. Francis is dignified in mien, with a face of a type such as might become an habitual ascetic, the drapery not without style. The St. John holds a book in his left hand and a pen in his right; his red mantle is partly discoloured; his blue tunic adorned with embroidery on the hems, after the Perugian fashion.

[2] Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 81.

[3] SS. Michael, Bernardino, Louis of Toulouse, Francis, Chiara, Anthony of Padua, and Jerome Penitent, now in the Gallery of Perugia (Sala XII., No. 5).

[4] Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XII., No. 20. The St. Sebastian is long, lean, bound to a column resting against a pilaster in an architectural background. The tempera is spare and positive in contrasts of tone. Strange that the somewhat mannered drawing of the figure should recall the defects apparent in figures by Liberale of Verona.

[5] For example: Perugia Gallery, No. 107, S. Bernardino, a dry and feeble work on panel. No. 100, St. Sebastian (wood), injured. No. 101, Virgin and Child, in great part lost (wood). [* These are parts of one altarpiece, which was reconstructed in 1907, and is exhibited under No. 2 in Sala XII. of the Perugia Gallery.] Sala X., No. 8: Fresco from the suppressed convent of S. Giuliana of Perugia, representing the dead Christ on the Virgin's knee between a male and a female saint (part of the Virgin's head is gone). The manner is that of Fiorenzo, but the names of Lodovico Angeli and of Bartolommeo Caporali are not to be excluded. [* The central group in this painting is seen again in a picture, dated 1486, in the Perugia Duomo.] Sala XII., Nos. 24, 22, 23: Three saints—Margaret, Anthony, and Catherine—dirty and of little importance, of Fiorenzo's school, and perhaps by one of the above-mentioned subordinates.

But a more interesting relic of Fiorenzo's prime is the Eternal in a circular glory, between SS. Romanus and Roch, in S. Francesco of Deruta. Nail holes, and partial scaling of the intonaco scar the surface, and the preservation of the fresco from total obliteration is probably due to the chance which led the owners of the altar to hang a modern canvas in front of the wall. The painter's name is absent, but is no doubt Fiorenzo, and the date (1475) in the border, above a view of the town of Deruta, tells the period of completion. Nothing can be more clear than the influence, even thus early, of Perugino, and the perfection attained might entitle Fiorenzo to rank immediately after Vannucci in Perugian annals. The figures are not models of artless simplicity. On the contrary, an effort at arrangement in pose and action is apparent in them; there is a studied gracefulness and affectation not only in the frames but in the play of limbs and extremities; and the foreshortened head of St. Romanus, with its retreating lines, reminds one of those so frequently produced by the master of Raphael. The draperies are reminiscent of those in which Palmezzano revives the originals of Melozzo or Piero della Francesca. The cool red shadows, laid in upon the verde, are well fused with the lights, leaving still upon the eye an impression as of a somewhat raw and unpolished surface. As a wall-painting, this is one of the most important that has been recovered in our day. It is not less interesting, and only less authentic, than the altarpiece in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Perugia, the sides of which, containing St. Paul and St. Peter, have been removed from their natural connection with a lunette representing the Virgin in glory amongst angels, and have been placed side by side with others by a different hand.[1] These panels are as fine as those of the Perugian Gallery, and they are signed on the hems of the tunics with the words:

"Florentius Lauren . . . ti pinsit MCCCCLXXXVII."[2]

The lunette which they supported is now above the two mutilated angels by Bonfigli, of which a description has been given. Its semicircular field is covered by a half-length Virgin, grasping the

*[1] This altarpiece—including a predella with four figures of saints—has now been reconstructed, and is shown in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XIII., No. 1).

[2] The drapery of St. Peter is a little full and involved.

Photo. Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS

By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo

From an altarpiece in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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naked Infant Christ, in a glory of seraphs' heads, and attended by two angels. The influence of Perugino is naturally more sensible in 1487 than it was twelve years before, and is, in spite of still defective type, very clear in the pleasing group of the Madonna. The Child, improved in form and motion, is drawn on the principle observable at a later period in Pinturicchio. No single angels by Fiorenzo have more grace and feeling, or better Peruginesque draperies, than those at the Virgin's side looking up and with arms crossed on their breasts.[1]

Fiorenzo evidently struggled hard to keep pace with the progress which was taking place in the art of his age, and this struggle is evident not merely here, but more markedly still in a fresco of the Virgin and Child attended by two angels—a lunette in the Sala del Censo at the Public Palace of Perugia. It is reminiscent of Pinturicchio, and combines a most enticing softness and beauty with his coarse touch and copious vehicle, and would alone suffice to show where he obtained his first lessons.

The catalogue of the Berlin Museum justly assigns to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo a Virgin and Child on gold ground, bearing the date of 1481, pleasing for the gentleness of the principal figure. Something in the cast of the draperies might suggest that the painter had been in contact with a Florentine.[2] But the value of the piece is not alone due to its being by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. It leads us to judge with some certainty of an Adoration of the Magi in S. Maria Nuova of Perugia, which Vasari[3] and subsequent writers have called by the name of Perugino. It is just to the historian of Italian art, as well as to Rumohr, to add that they do not consider this altarpiece as anything else than a juvenile production of the great master.[4] But it would be truer to say

[1] They remind one of those in Perugino's Madonna (round), formerly at the Hague, now (No. 1,564) at the Louvre. The three panels above described are in good preservation, and are now united without a number in the gallery of Perugia. [* *Cf. antea*, p. 264, n. 1.]

[2] Berlin Cat., No. 129. Gold ground, inscribed: "MCCCCLXXXI."

[3] VASARI, vol. iii. 581.

[4] RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii. 339. This piece is also assigned to Perugino by MEZZANOTTE (*Life of Perugino, u.s.*, p. 15) and by PASSAVANT (*Raphael, u.s.*, i. 489). It has been transferred, since the above was written, to the Perugian Gallery, (Sala XII., No. 6), with the name of Domenico Ghirlandaio! [* This attribution has now been abandoned.]

that the artist is an old hand than that he is a beginner. The Umbrian manner here is that of Fiorenzo improved by time and by the example of the rising Perugians, embodying more delicate sentiment than is to be found in his earlier period, and a nearer relation than before to Pinturicchio.[1] Several peculiarities in it are those of Fiorenzo, and as such we should lay stress on the composition, which is somewhat stiff and formal; on the drawing, which searches out the forms with a certain hardness and angularity; on the faces, which are in a measure rigid and monotonous; on the shape of the hands and articulations, that bend strangely; and on draperies of which the breadth is injured by frequent and broken folds bound with unnecessary tightness to the frames and limbs; but particularly on the colour, both as regards its technical method and dull opacity. With respect to the latter, a novelty is apparent in the medium employed, but the absence of feeling for colour, the flatness due to scarce half-tone or shade, the gaudiness and want of atmosphere, are familiar in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, whilst they are foreign to Perugino.[2] The picture represents, we have said, an Adoration of the Magi. The Virgin sits under the pent-house with the infant on her knee, in benediction. Her head and dress are like those of the Berlin Madonna which we have attempted to describe. The infant's type is similar to that in the lunette at S. Francesco of Perugia.[3] The kneeling king on the left, with his heavy face, would look more natural but for the wooden drapery bundled about his lower extremities, and St. Joseph on the right leaning on a stick, would be more pleasing if the same fault were not striking. The king standing next to the kneeling one exposes a front face immovable in features and expression, whilst the third king, holding a cup, and a more distant figure to the right of him, are marked by some

[1] Vermiglioli cites a MS. of the eighteenth century, a chronicle of the convent of S. Maria Nuova, in which it is stated that the Adoration of the Magi was painted in 1521 for Camillo di Braccio Baglioni (VERMIGLIOLI, *Vita di Pinturicchio, u.s.* p. 212).

[2] The draperies are broader than usual in Fiorenzo, the colour is not given in the usual tempera method of the old Umbrians, but is hard in substance and high in surface. The distance is a landscape with hills, water, and a tree. A star shines in the middle of the sky. The panel is well preserved, but a split parts it vertically in the centre, dividing the figure of the kneeling king into two.

[3] Now in the gallery of Perugia, as stated *antea*.

of the mildness of air which Pinturicchio improved upon. Finally, a man to the left may be noticed as the so-called portrait of Perugino. The passion for discovering likenesses and making deductions from such discoveries, is general. There is a distant resemblance in the mask to the known one of Vannucci, but his presence in a picture of this time would not prove that he painted it any more than it would disprove the authorship of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, whose genius is more distinct and whose name is more forcibly suggested than any other.

At some period of his life, and doubtless towards the close of the fifteenth century, Fiorenzo joined the large and industrious community of which Signorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio were the chiefs at the Vatican. We trace his hand in altarpieces and frescoes illustrative alike of his skill as a tempera and a fresco painter at Rome. His Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul in the Quirinal has till now remained anonymous, but bears all the marks of his hand; and we learn that it was painted for the hall of the Rota, the twelve of that court being represented in prayer at each side of the foreground, headed by the prelate Brancadoro, its president, whose arms are on the Virgin's throne. As a tempera on gold ground this is by no means an unattractive work of the Perugian school, being delicately finished, and but little beneath the level of Pinturicchio.[1] In the same style and probably by Fiorenzo and his journeymen, we have the frescoes of the choir at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, where much animation and variety are given to incidents from the legend of the cross. In the St. Helen whose majesty is adored by a kneeling cardinal, we trace forms akin to those of Pinturicchio; in the groups of soldiers to the right of St. Helen there are reminiscences of Signorelli; in unclad

[1] Rome, Quirinal: Panel with figures about half as large as life. The upper part, which was originally elliptic, has been squared. St. Paul, to the left of the throne, holds the sword; St. Peter, to the right, the keys. The authors once believed that this altarpiece might be by Antoniasso, but further examination has convinced them that the painter is certainly Fiorenzo. [* In common with all critics of the present day, the editor believes that the previous attribution of the authors was correct. A comparison between this picture—which is now in the Vatican Gallery—and Antoniasso's signed Virgin and Child with SS. Paul and Francis, in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome, reveals the closest possible analogies of style.]

labourers raising the cross, to the left, memories of Alunno and other Umbrians; and in an Eternal with aged features and muffled draperies a type related to the types of Bonfigli. The pallid mixture of yellow and green and coppery red in flesh tints, the heavy tones of a distant landscape, inferior as they are to what we might expect from Fiorenzo, are accounted for if we suppose the master to have been assisted by journeymen like Antoniasso or the younger Caporali.[1]

The list of Fiorenzo's productions at Perugia may be completed by a reference to an early Madonna in the Fraternita della Giustizia,[2] in which the stamp of Benozzo and the grimace of Alunno are to be found in connection with some of the defects of execution common in the school.[3] We might assign to him

[1] Rome, S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The frescoes are injured by time and repainting. [* We hold of this fresco, too, that it is by Antoniasso Romano.]

In the spirit of the frescoes above described, and perhaps by the same hands, are the Crucifixion with SS. Peter and Paul and two other saints at the side of the organ, and frieze with saints on the organ, in the Church of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome.

[2] Now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XII., No. 21), a gable altarpiece with the Virgin enthroned, holding the Infant in benediction on her knee, adored by two angels in prayer, and two patrons in similar devotion nearer the foreground. At the sides are SS. Mustiola and Andrew (part scaled), Peter and Francis (the latter grimacing like one by Alunno). In a predella are Christ between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist, with SS. Jerome, Ursula (?), Bernardino, and John the Baptist at the sides. The figures are small and heavy, the colours sharp in contrast, but carefully handled.

[3] We may add the following:

Perugia, Palazzo Communale : Two panels with half-lengths of saints in prayer. *Perugia, same Palazzo :* In the Cancelleria del Censo is a lunette of the Virgin and Child in a choir of cherubs and between two angels, much in the manner of Fiorenzo; but the painter might also be Pinturicchio in his youth. *Perugia, Sacristy of S. Agostino* [* now in the Perugia Gallery, Sala XII., No. 7]: Wood, half-length of the Virgin and Child, enclosed in a circular ornament, with six cherubs' heads in it. Two heads of angels of a large size at the angles of the base are reminiscent of Mantegna. The Infant Christ is that of Fiorenzo or his school, and the colour is handled with some of the new mediums. *Perugia, S. Giorgio* [* now in the Perugia Gallery, Sala X., No. 10]: A fresco by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, but not of his best. Subject, the Marriage of St. Catherine, with St. Nicholas of Bari in attendance, rude and in part repainted (the background new). *Same church* [* now in the Perugia Gallery, Sala X., No. 13]: Nativity, a repainted fresco in which the St. Joseph is all but new, with the date "A. D. MCCCCLXXXX."

Terni, S. Francesco, Cappella di S. Antonio : Much injured altarpiece of the Virgin and Child between SS. Bonaventura, John Baptist, Francis, and Louis,

abroad a fine panel, deposited of old in the Santa Trinita Museum at Madrid, a noble head of the Redeemer between SS. Peter, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and a female martyr.[1] But having done this, our list is all but exhausted, and we are led to inquire how it comes that one whose career may be traced for so long a period, should have left so few examples behind. We must remember that there is proof of Fiorenzo's existence in 1499, when he assisted Bartolommeo Caporali in valuing a picture by Giannicola of Perugia; and that if Mariotti, from whom this fact is taken, is further correct, our artist was companion to Tiberio d'Assisi in a similar valuation as late as 1521.[2] A space of more than thirty years yields absolutely nothing.[3] Is it

with three saints in each pilaster, the Eternal between two angels in a lunette, and five coarsely executed scenes from the Passion in a predella. On the border one reads: "1485. Dio e Virgini opus erectũ Dionisie Joañis prõrate." It is difficult to judge of the authorship. The style is between Fiorenzo and Pinturicchio. [* Th s altarpiece, which is now in the Communal Gallery at Terni, is, as suggested by Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 137), a work by Antoniasso Romano, whose style is closely allied to that of Fiorenzo, with whom, as we shall see, he often has been confused.] *Ravenna, Gall. Comm.:* Triptych, gold ground, Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul, the Eternal in the pinnacle between the Virgin and angel annunciate, inscribed: "MCCCCLXXXV die XXVIII di Jugnio." The work is dry and hard, but we must remember the names of Bartolommeo Caporali and Lodovico de Angelis. [* This triptych—now transferred to the Uffizi (No. 1,558)—is also a work by Antoniasso Romano (see EVERETT, in *American Journal of Archæology*, ser. ii., vol. xi., p. 279).]

Carlsruhe Museum, Nos. 407, 406: SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist, small full-lengths on gold ground, falsely assigned to Agnolo Gaddi, but of the Perugian school, and in the manner of Fiorenzo. [* Entered in the current catalogue under "Art des Fiorenzo di Lorenzo."]

Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe Collection, No. 22: Piece of a predella, representing the Birth of the Virgin, assigned to Filippino. This piece has been noticed (*antea* iv., p. 292) under its old number (20) amongst the works of Filippino. A subsequent visit has altered our judgment. Though injured, it is painted in the style of the panels long assigned to Pisanello in S. Francesco of Perugia, and therefore recalls Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

[1] This picture is Umbrian in character, and suggests no other name than that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. It has something of Benozzo, too. [* This picture is now in the Archæological Museum at Madrid (No. 134); see WEBER, *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 145 *sq.*, and SCHMARSOW, in *L'Arte*, xiv. 118 *sq.* (ascribing it to Antoniasso)].

[2] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt., u.s.*, p. 82.

[*3] For notices of various unimportant works of decorative nature, executed by Fiorenzo between 1485 and 1512, see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 126 *sq.* On March 17, 1513, he agreed to paint an altarpiece for the Church of Pacciano, near Orvieto,

possible that Fiorenzo's labours in that interval should have remained concealed under another name?

Perugian history is cumbered with the presence of one Andrea Alovigi, commonly called L' Ingegno. We have examined the records illustrative of the person so named. They are the same which Rumohr had occasion to comment, and they had already suggested to him the following well-grounded remarks:

Vasari relates[1] that Ingegno learnt the art from Pietro Perugino, in

and received the last rate of payment for it on February 16, 1514. This altarpiece, representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Peter, John, Roch, and Sebastian, remained at Pacciano till 1856, when it was sold to one Dr. Filippo Calderini, and has not since been heard of. On February 5, 1522, Fiorenzo bought a tomb in S. Francesco at Perugia. On October 5 of the same year he was still living, whereas on February 14, 1525, his widow is mentioned as being remarried. See WEBER, *u.s.*, p. 99 *sqq.*; BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 127 *sq.*, 334 *sqq.*

The catalogue of extant paintings by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo may be extended as follows:

Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. No. 110. St. Mary Magdalen. No. 111. St. John the Baptist.

Assisi. Accademia Properziana, No. 63. The Virgin and Child (see *postea*, p. 272).

Bettona (near Perugia). Communal Gallery. St. Michael.

Boston. Mrs. J. L. Gardner. The Annunciation (formerly in S. Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi, on the outer wall of the Portiuncula).

Copenhagen. Thorwaldsen Museum. SS. Eligius and John the Baptist (see KROHN, *Italienske Billeder i Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1910, p. 22 *sqq.*).

Frankfurt. Staedel Museum, No. 15. The Virgin and Child with SS. Christopher and Sebastian.

London. National Gallery, No. 2,483. The Virgin and Child (Salting bequest). *No.* 1,103. The Virgin and Child with angels and saints (fragmentary altarpiece from the atelier of Fiorenzo).

Nantes. Gallery, No. 22. SS. Sebastian and Anthony of Padua (PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, v. 158, with reproduction).

New Haven, Conn. Jarves Collection, No. 60. St. Jerome.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,415. The Dead Christ. St. Jerome assisting two young men left to hang from the neck for eight days. Resurrection of a Bishop. *Jacquemart-André Collection.* The Virgin and Child.

Perugia. Gallery, Sala XII., No. 25. The Dead Christ lamented by the Virgin, SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen (formerly in the Church of Farneto). *Sala X., No.* 15. The Virgin of Mercy (fresco transferred to canvas; formerly in the Ospedale di S. Egidio at Perugia, and signed and dated 1476). *Sala XII., No.* 4. The Adoration of the Shepherds (from the Monastero di Monteluce at Perugia).

Mons. Marzolini. St. Jerome doing Penance (reproduced in GNOLI, *L' arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 159).

Philadelphia. Mr. John G. Johnson. St. Nicholas of Tolentino (reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, ix. 147).

[1] See VASARI, *Life of Perugino*, iii. 595 *sq.*

whose atelier he competed with Raphael; that he acted as his master's journeyman in the Cambio of Perugia, where he did some fine things which are not further distinguished. It might be hard to point out figures which Vasari himself was unable to describe with precision; yet comparatively modern writers have decided that these are the sibyls and prophets which are the finest of the series.[1] Vasari adds that Ingegno aided Perugino at Assisi, referring perhaps to the frescoes on the outerside of the chapel of St. Francis in S. Maria degli Angeli. He alludes finally to the Sixtine Chapel, where he (Ingegno) also helps our artist (Perugino), and says immediately after: "The great hopes which Ingegno had given rise to were dissipated by his premature blindness. Upon this Pope Sixtus IV. gave him a pension at Assisi, which he enjoyed till the age of eighty-six."

Sixtus IV. died in 1484. Raphael first joined the school of Perugino about 1500, when the hall of the Cambio was begun. Vasari therefore commits a gross error of chronology; for Ingegno could not have lost his sight twenty years before he competed with Raphael. Mariotti and Orsini think it impossible that Ingegno should have had a share in the decoration of the Cambio, because they believed Vasari's story of his blindness. They should rather have suspected that Vasari was ill-informed on that point. There is not a word about Ingegno in Vasari's first edition, and he is only mentioned in that of 1568. It is not unlikely that in the latter a misprint should have occurred (Papa Sisto for Papa Giulio II.), for we shall see that under the Pontificate of Julius Ingegno was appointed to a place. . . . It is at all events capable of proof that, if Andrea lost his sight at all, the event occurred later than has been stated. For the cavalier Frondini at Assisi is possessor of a book which I have examined, in which Andreas gives receipts for certain sums paid in to the account of his brother, who was a canon of the cathedral of Assisi. He there calls himself "Ingegnio di Maestro Alivisse," or "Allovisii," "Allevisi," and "Aloisi." The last receipt runs as follows: "Ingegno di Maestro Allovisi, die Mercurii, quinta Decembris 1509." Had these documents, which are all in the same hand, been written by another, the fact would have been stated; this was the

[1] Pungileoni (*Elogio storico di Timoteo Viti*, 8°, Urbino, 1835, note to p. 34) quotes from Padre Francesco Maria Angeli's *Collis Paradisi Amœnitas*, published at Montefalco in 1704, a passage in which the four prophets in the chapel of S. Lodovico at S. Francesco of Assisi are assigned to Ingegno, who is supposed to have painted on the walls previously covered by Buffalmacco, the frescoes of the latter having, in 1490, gone to ruin. The same statement, according to Pungileoni, is to be found in the registers of S. Francesco of Assisi.

legal system of the period. But it appears that the name Ingegno might not only be due to the man's talent as a painter, but to a known versatility on his part. Frondini showed me many original MSS. in which our Ingegno appears as procurator (1505), justice (1507), assistant to the authorities (1510), and finally as papal cashier (1511). . . Vasari, it is clear, confounds a pension with the salary paid to a papal cashier, which Ingegno had become in 1511. He confounds Julius II. with Sixtus IV.

Rumohr then proceeds to state that the only notice he has of an artistic work by Ingegno is that described in the following, which is an extract from a " Bolletario " in the office of the public secretary at Assisi:

" Añ. 1484. 29. Octobris. Magister Andreas Aloysii habuit bullectam pro armis pictis in platea et ad portas civitatis . . . flor. 5. solid 26."[1]

This item hardly proves more than that Ingegno had directions and funds for the payment of the painting of the arms on the square and gates of Assisi. But it does not even declare that he was the painter.[2]

But we have to deal with a certain class of pictures assigned to Andrea Alovigi, and we may perceive at once that they bear the impress of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Let us examine them:

Assisi. Inside and above the gate of S. Giacomo, a life-size Virgin in prayer, with the Infant on her knee in a glory of seraphs floating in clouds above a landscape. The Virgin and Infant are similar to those of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. A low, brown tone, altered by damp, prevails. The fresco is decidedly like one of Fiorenzo's.[3]

Assisi. In a recess of the outer face of the church of S. Andrea is a Virgin holding the Infant Christ on her knee. St. Jerome and another saint in the side of the recess. The type of the latter is fair and gentle, in general appearance like the foregoing.[4]

Assisi. Ex-Convent of Benedictine Nuns, now Delle Mantellucie, via S. Agata. In the same manner, but injured, a fresco of the Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and Jerome. In the thickness of the

[1] RUMOHR, *Forsch.*, ii. 324 *sqq.*

[*2] It seems, perhaps, over-sceptical to doubt this.

[*3] It is now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi (No. 63), and is surely by Fiorenzo.

[*4] Now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi (Nos. 41, 41 *bis*).

recess S. Bernardino and another figure which is all but obliterated; the whole above the portal. We set aside the four sybils in the lower church of Assisi, which are proved to be by Dono Doni.

Assisi. Arch of S. Antonio leading from the Piazza to Moiano, a fresco, much injured, above the key of the bend, of the Virgin, Child, and S. Francis, with remains of a landscape similar to the last.

Moiano, near Assisi. A small chapel is here in which parts of a Virgin and Child on the inner wall, a Bishop, St. Francis, and seraphs, in the vaulting, and other pieces on the outer face may still be inspected. These three frescoes, from Via S. Agata, arch of S. Antonio, and Moiano, have been transferred to canvas and placed in the Commune of Assisi.[1]

We have thus a series of ill-preserved fragments revealing an approach at last to Tiberio of Assisi, and possibly the product of a local craftsman. It may be classed under the name of Ingegno for want of a better. Following the manner of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo further, however, the catalogue may be continued.

Rome. Palazzo de' Conservadori al Campidoglio. An injured and restored Virgin (above life-size) adoring the Infant Christ on her lap with two angels at her sides. (The Virgin's dress, exclusive of the gilt border, has been repainted in oil.) This fresco, of a rough, red-brown colour, reproduces Fiorenzo's types and character. VERMIGLIOLI (*Vita di Pinturicchio, u.s.*, p. 73) attributes this fresco to his hero. PASSAVANT assigns it (*Raphael, u.s.*, i. 501) to Ingegno.

Orvieto. Casa Gualtieri. Fresco, sawn from the wall of the Gualtieri family chapel in the Capella S. Brizio of the cathedral at Orvieto. St. Michael, with a sword in his right, and his left on his haunch, tramples on the dragon. He stands in armour on the foreground of a landscape of rock and sea, interspersed with islets, ascribed successively to Raphael, Signorelli, and Ingegno. It is not by any of them, but probably by Eusebio.[2]

London. National Gallery, No. 703 (from the Wallerstein collection at Kensington). The Virgin and Child, the latter standing on a parapet in front of its mother (half-length). This piece, under the name of Pinturicchio, is similar to the following.

* 1 They are now in the Accademia Properziana at Assisi.

* 2 This fresco is now in the Leipzig Gallery (No. 480), the current catalogue of which contests the statement that it was once in the Cappella S. Brizio, in the cathedral at Orvieto.

Naples. Museum. Sala VI., No. 8. Virgin and Child,[1] which, again, is similar to the following.

Paris. Louvre. Musée Napoléon III (ex-Campana), No. 174.[2] Virgin and Child, of which there is a poorer repetition in the same collection under No. 174,[3] and yet another:

Milan. Brera, No. 474. Virgin and Child, slightly altered by oil varnish.

Of the same size as that of the National Gallery, and repeating the same subject, we have a panel at:

Urbino. Convent of S. Chiara,[4] on the back of which are the words: "Fu compra da Isabeta de Gobio matre di Rafaello Sante da Urbino fiorini 25. 1488." It is a flat and feeble tempera of grey tone on gold ground, superior, however, to the last-mentioned. But better than all of the others, and apparently the original from which they were taken, is:

London. Late Sir Anthony Stirling.[5] Half-length of the Virgin in half of an almond-shaped glory (with eight cherubs' heads in the field of it, and rays engraved in the gold ground). The Virgin supports the Infant in benediction, in front and to the left of her, whereas in the other examples the Child stands to the right. In this panel of Sir Anthony Stirling's the movements are more gentle, and the character is more tender; the forms are better rendered, and the features are more expressive; the drapery is more natural and better cast, the colour is more pleasing, and the drawing more correct than in any of the foregoing. This panel seems, indeed, to have served as a model for all the others, which are by different hands, and of more or less value (*e.g.*, after this of Sir Anthony's comes that of Urbino, then that of the National Gallery, followed by those of the ex Campana collection, of

*1 The figure of the Virgin certainly resembles that in the preceding picture, but in this composition she holds the Infant in her arms. The same remarks apply to the pictures in the Louvre, at Rodez and Milan, noticed in the following. Other repetitions of this composition are in the Budapest Gallery (No. 83), in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass.; the Bufalini collection at Città di Castello; the Darmstadt Gallery; the National Gallery (No. 702); the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson of London; the late Henri Rouart collection in Paris; the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond, etc.

*2 Entered under No. 1,573 in the current catalogue of the Louvre Gallery.

*3 Now on loan to the Museum at Rodez.

*4 Present whereabouts unknown.

*5 This picture now belongs to Major-General John Stirling, and was lent by him to the Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House, 1910 (No. 5). Compare FRY, in the *Burlington Magazine*, xvi. 268. Another version of this composition is in the Communal Gallery of Trevi.

the Naples and Brera Museums). But the Virgin of Sir Anthony Stirling is truly by Pinturicchio, to whom it is given; exhibiting, however, all the characteristics which prove that he derived his style from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, as, for instance, reminiscences of such of the creations of the latter as: the panel lunette in the sacristy at S. Francesco of Perugia (now in Perugia Gallery), the lunette fresco in the Sala del Censo at the Palace of Perugia. It might thus appear that the Madonnas now classed together have all the stamp of Fiorenzo, with features in addition reminding us of Pinturicchio.

London. Dudley House. Originally in the Bisenzio collection at Rome.[1] Virgin and Child between St. Dominic and a female saint recommending two kneeling donors. This small Madonna does not throw any light on the obscure branch of art here treated. The painter seems to have laboured after Perugino.

Carlsruhe. Museum, No. 412. Catalogued as Ingegno.[2] Virgin and Child attended by two angels, between SS. Dominic and Jordanus a Duke and Duchess of Urbino (?), with their respective suites kneeling at the sides of the foreground. Umbrian, of the close of the sixteenth century, and not like any other so-called Ingegno (wood-oil).

Florence. Metzger and Volkman Collections.[3] RUMOHR (*Forsch.*, ii. 328) and PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, i. 503) notice a small Madonna bearing the initials " A. A. P.," which they interpret " Andreas Aloysii pinxit."

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,372. Virgin and Child enthroned and saints, classed as Ingegno,[4] in the mode observable in the ceiling of the chapel of the Cambio at Perugia by Giannicola Manni. We shall revert to this.

If it can be shown that the majority of the works above noticed are by Ingegno, it would follow that the master so-called was at the school of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and a companion of Pinturicchio; but until better evidence shall be brought forward than the initials of a name or the records of Assisi doubts must continue to be entertained. Yet we may accept Ingegno as a password to qualify pictures of the same class in various parts of Europe.[5]

*[1] Now in the National Gallery (No. 2,484; Salting bequest).

*[2] Now put down as a later copy after an Umbrian picture of the late fifteenth century.

*[3] Now in the National Gallery (No. 1,220).

*[4] Now officially ascribed to Manni.

*[5] After the publication of the first edition of this work, only one piece of contemporary information concerning Ingegno has come to light. This is to the effect

A more real apparition in the history of Umbro-Perugian art than Ingegno is Lodovico Angeli, who was registered in the guild of his native place in 1481 and 1506,[1] whose performances betray a positive mediocrity, yet at the same time the education of Bonfigli. Judging from a canvas bearing his signature and the date of 1489, we should add to the pieces of which he may be called the author, a panel in S. Pietro of Perugia representing the Virgin embracing the corpse of the Redeemer, attended by St. Jerome, seated at a bench with his lion by him, and an erect figure of St. Leonardo. An angel above the principal group recalls, and seems copied from, one by Benozzo Gozzoli. The nude of Christ is wooden, lean, and defective, the drawing wiry and unsound, the tempera hard, vitreous, and of a leaden hue. On the border one reads: "Anno Domini Miliesimo CCCCLXVIIII." This is one of the few things attributed without authority to Bonfigli. The style is not his, but a poor mixture of it with that of Fiorenzo, a mixture observable in the following:

Perugia. S. Simone. A panel dated 1487.

Perugia. Duomo.[2] Cloth, tempera, representing Christ erect (of life size) in benediction, between a female saint, SS. Anthony the Abbot, Jerome and Francis. On the inner frieze of the hall behind the figures is the inscription, "A. D. MCCCCLXXXVIIII Lodovicus Angioli fecit." Of feeble character and poor type, the figures are cold in tone and laid in with a hard spare vehicle. Frequent folds mark the draperies.

Perugia. Gallery. Sala XII., Nos. 24, 22, 23. Styled Fiorenzo. Panels with half-lengths of SS. Dignamerita, Anthony the Abbot, and Catherine, on gold ground, a little less defective than the foregoing, reminiscent of the Mantegnesque, possibly by Lodovico.

that when Perugino in 1490 left Orvieto without beginning the paintings he had undertaken to execute in the cathedral, "Andreas alias Ingegno famulus dicti magistri" remained in that city (see Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, Rome, 1891, p. 399).

[1] Mariotti, *Lett. per.*, p. 85. [* The family name of this painter is Mattioli; he was still living in 1524. His father (Angelo), uncle (Battista), and grandfather (Baldassare) were also painters, Battista being, in addition, also sculptor and architect. By him is the picture of the Risen Christ, with a bas-relief of Christ and the Virgin, in the Duomo of Perugia (executed 1451–53). See Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 91 *sqq.*]

* [2] Formerly in the sacristy of the Scuola dei SS. Simone e Fiorenzo at Perugia (Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 95).

Berlin. Museum. No. 317. A Virgin and Child, not without merit (but see *antea*, Alunno).

Corciano. S. Francesco. An approach to the method of Lodovico is apparent in a very rude panel here of the Virgin and Child, between SS. Jerome and Francis, Anthony and Mary Magdalen attended by angels. At all events, this is a cross between Bonfigli and Fiorenzo.

The narrative of the lives of the great Perugians Vannucci and Pinturicchio inevitably takes the historian to Rome, where their skill exhibited its mastery during a period of full fifteen years. Before them, we have said, Piero della Francesca and Melozzo extended the influence of Umbrian art. The lustre of these brilliant names has perhaps contributed to the neglect of men whose boast might be that as Romans they partook of the progress made by their Perugian contemporaries.

Vasari relates that when Filippino Lippi in 1493 gave up a chapel complete in its decoration to Cardinal Caraffa, his frescoes were valued by Lanzilago of Padua and Antonio, *alias* Antoniasso the Roman, the two best painters of that time in the capital.[1] Antonio di Benedetto Aquilio was a man of repute as an artist at Rome about the time of Angelico's death. He was apparently one of the first of his class who felt the influence of Benozzo Gozzoli. One of the earliest records of his industry is to be accounted that which tells how he copied in the Liberian Basilica for Alexander Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, an old Madonna assigned by tradition to St. Luke; and it is curious to find a fact so apparently uninteresting preserved in a contemporary epigram. When Cardinal Bessarion in 1460 took possession of the chapel of St. Eugenia in the church of the Santissimi Apostoli at Rome, he commissioned Antonio to paint the frescoes on the walls, and the documents which certify this commission gave to the painter the nickname of Antonazo or Antoniasso, which clung to him in after years.[2] In the church of S. Antonio del Monte of Rieti we find an altarpiece dated 1464, and marked with the name of "Antonius de Roma." It represents the Virgin giving the breast

[1] Vasari, iii. 470.

[*2] Antoniasso contracted to execute these frescoes on August 3, 1465 (see Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, ii. 82 *sq.* The year before, on September 14, Bessarion had commissioned him to paint the chapel of S. Angelo in the same

to the Infant Christ erect on her knee, attended by SS. Anthony and Francis receiving the stigmata.[1] If, as we may believe, Antonius of Rome and Antoniasso are one person, it would appear that our artist at this period combined the local form of Roman art with some of the elements derived from Benozzo. In 1469 Antoniasso coloured the scutcheon of Cardinal de Rohan which Rossellino had carved on the façade of Sant'Agostino in Campo Marzio at Rome. He was one of those who composed the scenes of the Passion exhibited on Good Friday in the Flavian Amphitheatre. In 1470 he painted in Santa Maria della Consolazione at Rome, and one of the Madonnas which he executed in that church was subsequently celebrated for its miracles. The Virgin as "Queen of Heaven," bearing his name and the date of 1483, is said to be still in the cathedral of Velletri, and is asserted to have been copied from an earlier picture.[2] Somewhat later than this we trace the reaction of the styles of Fiorenzo and Pinturicchio in Antoniasso in a ruined altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Stephen and Lucy, ordered for the Archbishop of Capua, Gerolamo Gaetano, in 1489. It once bore the (now illegible) signature: "Antonatius Romanus M. For. p. MCCCCLXXXIX."[3]

This picture gives a clue to the author of other Roman productions. The same mediocre style is apparent in a David and

church. The painter is called "Antonatzius" also in this contract (*ib.*, p. 82). The earliest mention of Antoniasso dates from February 14, 1452, when he was fined for an offence against one Mancino Ogliararo (see EVERETT, in *American Journal of Archæology*, ser. ii., vol. xi., p. 281).

[1] The Virgin is less than life-size, in a tunic of gold. Her blue mantle is all but gone. The saints on the side panels are on gold ground, abraded entirely in that of St. Anthony. The tempera is light. The central panel hangs in the sacristy, the side panels apart in the choir. On the former we read: "ANTONIVS DE ROMA DEPINXIT M.CCCCLXIIII." [* This triptych is now in the Communal Gallery at Rieti.]

[2] Velletri, Duomo. The Virgin, in a blue mantle, has the Child on her knee with the orb in His hand. The picture is signed: "ANTONATIVS ROMANVS ME PIXIT ANNO MCCCCLXXXIII." This and other facts relative to Antoniasso here recorded are extracted from COSTANTINO CORVISIERI'S notices of the Antoniassi in the *Buonarroti* published at Rome, ser. ii., vol. iv., No. for June, 1869. [* According to Professor A. VENTURI, in *Le gallerie nazionali italiane*, iii. 289, the signature of Antoniasso is not to be found on this picture.]

[3] We should not have been able to decipher these words. But Canon Gabrielli Gianelli of Capua had them transcribed, and states that they were legible before the panel was last restored. To his authority also must be referred the facts

Solomon, an Eternal in glory, and a Conception, ruined frescoes in the third chapel to the left in S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome, where some trace of Perugino and Spagna is found intermingled with imitation of Fiorenzo and Pinturicchio.[1]

In the sacristy of S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome a Virgin and Child between SS. Paul and Benedict, Peter and Justina (life-size) with injured heads, and a repainted sky, may be placed in the same class as the altarpiece of the Quirinal,[2] also four saints singly (see my notes).

In the church belonging to the Pagnani family,[3] at Castel Nuovo, on the road from Rignano to Rome, there is a Christ enthroned in benediction, assigned to Perugino, but in type recalling certain figures by Bartolommeo Caporali in Castiglione del Lago. A long inscription on this panel closes with the date 1501. In the same church a St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist illustrate the same artistic direction, and remind one, as do the works of Antoniasso, of the better frescoes at S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome.[4] It is unfortunate that Antoniasso's frescoes and altarpiece executed in 1491–92 for Guglielmo Pererio, auditor of the Rota, in Santa Maria della Pace at Rome, should have perished, as well as the Madonna with saints and Fran-

stated respecting this altarpiece and its patron. On the Virgin's throne one still sees in the midst of arabesques the letters: S.P.Q.R. A.R.P. S.P.Q.R., showing that the Archbishop of Capua was a Roman noble. The figures are almost life-size. The picture is on the first altar to the right, in the Duomo of Capua.

[1] The figures of the prophets are at each side of a scutcheon. The Eternal is in an almond-shaped halo.

*[2] Four single figures of saints in this sacristy are also by Antoniasso.

[3] The church previously belonged to the family of the Effetti.

*[4] The figure of Christ was originally the centre of a triptych; the figures of the two SS. John appear on two panels which were the wings of this triptych, and, moreover, contain the figures of the Virgin and St. Sebastian. Centre and wings are reproduced in *L'Arte*, v. 40 *sq.*, and may confidently be ascribed to Antoniasso. A figure of Christ which is practically identical with that in this triptych is seen in the centre of one which is in the Church of S. Lorenzo at Zagarolo, near Rome, and the side panels of which represent SS. Peter and Paul. This triptych is inscribed on the central panel "Singniore Francesco Colonna MCCCCLXXXXVII," and on that to the right "Cintius Santese." The last words were interpreted by Signor Rossi (in *Bollettino d'arte*, ii. 138 *sqq.*) as the name of the painter, but Count Gnoli (*ib.*, p. 336, n. 5) has shown that they refer to one Cinzio, administrator of the church. Also this triptych is in all probability by Antoniasso.

ciscan devotees which he finished in 1497 for Santa Maria di Campagnana.[1]

[1] According to CORVISIERI (*u.s.*), Antoniasso painted in the tribune of S. Maria della Pace the transfiguration, in the tribune arch some figures of angels, and on the altar a Madonna between St. Sebastian and St. Fabian adored by Pietro di Altissena and Guglielmo Pererio. These adornments were doubtless removed in the sixteenth century to make room for Sebastian del Piombo's wall paintings. [* A fragment of this altarpiece is probably the figure of St. Fabian, formerly in the collection of Sig. Pio Fabri of Rome, and now in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. See OKKONEN, *Melozzo da Forlì*, p. 136.]

The Madonna at S. Maria di Campagnana was signed "ANTONATIVS ROMANVS ME PINXIT MCCCC97." It represented the Virgin and Child between SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and Francis. It perished by lightning in 1744. [* Antoniasso did a considerable amount of work for the Popes, and painted on several occasions in the Vatican (*e.g.*, 1480–81, together with Melozzo da Forlì, in the Bibliotheca secreta). He was also frequently employed by the Papal Court to paint arms, banners, and similar objects of decoration for coronations, funerals, etc. He kept, in consequence, a large workshop. In a letter of 1491 he speaks of his "turba di lavoranti." In 1478 he was appointed to draw up the statutes of the Academy of St. Luke. He made his will on March 25, 1508, adding a codicil on April 19. On September 12, 1512, he is mentioned as dead.

The works by Antoniasso, especially in the earlier stage of his career, show a strong affinity to the style of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, with whom, as we have seen, he has frequently been confused. The usual explanation of this has been that Antoniasso must have been influenced by Fiorenzo; but Count GNOLI points out (in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 64) that, since the Fiorenzo-like features appear already in the triptych at Rieti (1464) and Subiaco (1467; *cf. postea*), both of which are earlier than the certain works by Fiorenzo, it might well have been Antoniasso who influenced Fiorenzo. Antoniasso certainly felt the influence of Melozzo da Forlì. Several works by him have been discovered in addition to those mentioned by the authors, and may be enumerated as follows:

Altenburg. Lindenau Museum, No. 112. The Virgin and Child.

Bracciano. Castle, under archway leading to main court. Virgilio Orsini and his family (frescoes, probably executed in 1491).

Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Museum. The Virgin and Child and the little St. John.

Città di Castello. Signor Magherini-Graziani. The Virgin and Child (reproduced in GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 141).

Englewood, New Jersey. Mr. D. F. Platt. St. Francis (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, x. 100, with reproduction).

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,593. The Virgin and Child. *No.* 1,558. The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Paul (triptych, dated 1485; see *antea*, p. 268, n. 3).

Fondi. S. Pietro. The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Paul and the donor, Onorato Caetani (signed "Antonatius Romanus pinxit").

Lewes. Mr. E. P. Warren. The Virgin adoring the Child.

London. Mr. R. H. Benson. The Virgin and Child with seraphs. *Late Mr. Charles Butler.* The Virgin and Pope Leo IX. (reproduced in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. vii., p. 155).

Montefalco. S. Francesco. SS. Vincent, Catherine and Nicholas of Tolentino,

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Antoniasso Romano

From a picture in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome

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The second Antoniasso is Marcus Antonius, the second son of Antoniasso,[1] the painter of a Resurrection between SS. Stephen

New York. Mr. George Blumenthal. The Virgin and Child (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, ii. 36, with reproduction).

Paris. Louvre. The Virgin and Child, signed "Antonatius Romanus (mensis) Mai 1494." *M. Spiridion.* The Virgin and Child (replica of the picture in Mr. Benson's collection; reproduced in VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vi., part ii., p. 271).

Philadelphia. Mr. John G. Johnson. The Virgin and Child.

Ponticelli. Franciscan Convent. Altarpiece with SS. Anthony and Francis (signed).

Rieti. Communal Gallery. The Virgin and Child (GNOLI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 334, with reproduction). St. Catherina of Siena (fresco transferred to canvas, formerly in S. Domenico at Rieti, *ib.*). *Duomo.* Cappella di S. Ignazio. The Virgin and Child with saints (mutilated fresco, *ib.*). *Front of the Monte Frumentario.* The Dead Christ with SS. Paul and Bernardino of Feltre (fresco, *ib.*, p. 336).

Rome. Vatican Gallery. The Virgin and Child with SS. Paul and Peter and members of the tribunal of the Rota (*cf. antea*, p. 267). *Palazzo Corsini, No.* 2,371. The Virgin and Child with SS. Paul and Francis (signed "Antonatius Romanus pinxit MCCCCLXXXVIII"; formerly in the convent of S. Paolo at Poggio Nativo). *No.* 6,820. St. Sebastian adored by two donors. The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Paul (not shown). *Galleria Doria. No.* 139. The Virgin and Child. *S. Croce in Gerusalemme.* Semi-dome of choir: Discovery of the true Cross (see *antea*, p. 267 *sq.*) *S. Giovanni in Laterano.* Tabernacle: Frescoes (see *antea*, p. 256, n. 3). *S. Maria sopra Minerva.* Fourth altar to the right: The Virgin Annunciate, distributing dowries to three orphan maidens, introduced by Cardinal Turrecremata. Camera di S. Caterina da Siena. Frescoes. *Pantheon.* Chapel to the right of the high-altar: The Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and John the Baptist. *S. Pietro, Grotte Vaticane.* The Virgin and Child (fresco). *SS. Vito e Modesto.* Left wall: SS. Sebastian, Margaret, and Vitus (fresco). *Sodalizio dei Piceni.* The Virgin and Child.

Subiaco. S. Francesco. High-altar: The Virgin and Child with SS. Anthony of Padua and Francis. (Signed "A. D. M.CCCCLXVII Antonius de Roma me pinxit die II. Octobris.")

Terni. Communal Gallery. The Virgin and Child with saints, dated 1485 (see *antea*, p. 268, n. 3.)

Tivoli. S. Giovanni Evangelista. Frescoes. Left wall: The Assumption of the Virgin. Right wall: The Nativity of the Baptist. Ceiling: The four evangelists and the four doctors of the Church. Intrados of arch between nave and choir: The twelve Sibyls.

Compare on Antoniasso, BERTOLOTTI, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vi. 215 *sqq.*; GOTTSCHEWSKI, *Die Fresken des Antoniazzo Romano im Sterbezimmer der heil. Catarina von Siena zu S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rom* (Strassburg, 1904); EVERETT, *u.s.*, p. 279 *sqq.*; E. JACOBSEN, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxix. 104 *sqq.*; B. BERENSON, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 133 *sqq.*; A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., part ii., p. 257 *sqq.*

[1] CORVISIERI, *u.s.*, who adds that a record of July 14, 1517, mentions Antoniasso as being then deceased.

and Lawrence, with the Eternal in a lunette between SS. Francis and Anthony, a domed altarpiece in the refectory of the convent of S. Chiara at Rieti. The predella contains the Capture, the Flagellation, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, and the Entombment, and on a border one reads: "Marcus Antoïus Magrĩ Antonatii romanus depinxit MDXI." The central Christ is ill-proportioned, the sleeping soldiers ill-arranged by one who has seen the works of Perugino.[1]

The Antoniassi are a local Roman family and worthy of being remembered, not because they have done much independently, but because they probably acted as assistants to the great men who visited Rome at the close of the fifteenth century. They are entitled, indeed, to the same degree of attention as Bartolommeo Caporali, or Melanzio who has been mentioned in these volumes in connection with poor wall-paintings at Subiaco.

*[1] This altarpiece is now in the Communal Gallery at Rieti. A number of works are attributed to Marcantonio by Count GNOLI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, v. 339. Another son of Antoniasso, Bernardino, was also active as a painter (see BERTOLOTTI, *u.s.*, p. 228; VENTURI, *u.s.*, p. 292).

CHAPTER X

PIETRO PERUGINO

WE are accustomed to think of Pietro Perugino as humbly connected and inured at the tenderest age to privation; but he was, without any doubt, of a respectable family, a branch of which enjoyed the freedom of Perugia in the early part of the fifteenth century.[1] His father, Cristoforo Vannucci, lived at Città della Pieve, and we learn from the hearth-register of that village that Pietro was one of several children, and that he was born in 1446.[2]

In those days, when small peasant proprietors clung to the shelter of feudal towers, and had no certainty of protection from the inroads of predatory neighbours, it may have been a hard task for the father of a numerous family to dispose of his sons so as to secure to them a decent and respectable future. He would naturally send his younger boys to the nearest town, and if he had the means, apprentice them. Pietro Perugino left the paternal home before he was nine years old, and was articled to a master at Perugia.[3]

[1] MARIOTTI, *Lett. pitt., u.s.*, p. 121.

[2] The root of the Vannucci family compiled from the records at Città della Pieve by Marchese Giuseppe della Fargna, is given in the appendix to B. ORSINI'S *Vita, &c., di Pietro Perugino*, 8°, 1804, pp. 236, 237. [* In stating that Perugino was born in 1446, della Fargna does not quote any hearth-register; and the hearth-registers of Città della Pieve previous to that of 1538 are now no longer preserved. It is possible that the above statement concerning the date of Perugino's birth was arrived at merely by deducting 78—according to Vasari, the age of Perugino at his death—from 1524, the year in which Vasari states that Perugino died. But we know from contemporary records that Perugino died in 1523 (see *postea*, p. 357, n. 2).]

[3] His name is no longer on the hearth-register of Città della Pieve for 1455 (see DELLA FARGNA in ORSINI, *u.s.*, pp. 236, 237). [* He is not mentioned, either, in a census list of 1460; but in 1466, 1467, and 1469 he paid tax on his vintage

This master, says Vasari, was of no great talent, yet he had a feeling for his art, and a great veneration for those who distinguished themselves in it, and he always assured his pupil "that of all places in which perfect painting might be attained, none was more advantageous than Florence, where men were taught by competition to use their wits and work with industry, in order that they might rise above an intolerable mediocrity, and ascend to fame and honours."[1] In these words the Aretine biographer probably sketches the character of Bonfigli, whom elsewhere he has described as the favourite of the Perugians before Vannucci became known; we may doubt whether he meant Fiorenzo, a man of fair repute, who took good lessons from his contemporaries, and was the companion rather than the teacher of Pietro. We should be content, in this uncertainty, to reflect that Perugino received a most fortunate education, which was not to be had except in a good school; we may assume that he learnt most of the secrets of his profession at Perugia, and that then he fancied there was yet room for greater acquirements. It would not be far wrong, indeed, to suppose that he wandered as a journeyman, and that he thus became the associate of Piero della Francesca; for Vasari mentions at least two frescoes at Arezzo, and suggests that they were produced by Perugino when he was Piero's assistant.[2] From thence he bent his steps to Florence, eager to see the masterpieces of that capital, or to become acquainted with the persons of artists whose names had already been heard in the workshops of the provinces. Bonfigli

at Città della Pieve (see BOMBE, in *Italienische Forschungen*, vi. 354).] That he was apprenticed to a Perugian painter is stated by VASARI (iii. 566). Yet his father might have entrusted him, had he chosen, to a local artist. There is a Crucifixion in a very dark corner of the church of Pacciano respecting which a record (p. 150 of the "protocolli" of the Commune) states that it was done in 1472. This date (or rather the illegible trace of it) is followed on the wall by the words: "Fu fatto questo lavorio al tempo che era priore Andrea di Giovanni della Compagnia della fraternita di S. Maria. Franciscus de Castro Plebis pinxit." The painting is injured and blackened, and hardly visible, so that the worth of Francesco is not to be judged. But the fact remains that Città della Pieve had also a painter of its own.

[1] VASARI, iii. 566 *sqq.*

[2] VASARI, ii. 500. The frescoes (which were in S. Agostino and S. Catarina) are gone.

and Piero della Francesca would both have impressed his mind with the grandeur of Florentine examples, have told him the wonders of the Carmine, of Santa Croce, S. Maria Novella, and S. Marco. We know that he frequented the Carmine; and in the Brancacci chapel he might meet all the rising men of his generation,[1] Michael Angelo, Credi, and Leonardo, whom Santi couples with him in the lines:

> "Due giovin par d'etate e par d'amori
> Leonardo da Vinci e'l Perusino
> Pier della Pieve ch'è un divin pittore."[2]

After leaving Piero della Francesca, from whom perspective and the chemistry of painting had received so great an impulse, he would strive for admission into an atelier in which his knowledge in these branches might be improved.[3] For chemical researches he could not find a better place than Verrocchio's shop. He would be the companion of Leonardo, to whom the science of art owes its chief progress, and to whom the perfection of the innovating system of mediums at Florence is due. Both might labour simultaneously to fathom the secrets of colours and of mediums, the one with the precision of a trained mathematician, the other with the feeling of a colourist.[4] Both would necessarily go deep into the *technica*, seeking and searching like the Van Eycks, and applying the results according to the powers with which nature had endowed them. It would thus happen that Leonardo should add to the imperfect method of Piero della

[1] Vasari says he studied in the Brancacci (vol. ii. 299).

[2] See the Rhyme chronicle in Pungileoni, *Elogio storico di Gio. Santi*, p. 73.

[3] We may believe that Perugino learnt perspective from Piero della Francesca. But at Perugia he might also have perfected his knowledge of the science under Pacioli, who had a chair of mathematics there in 1478. See Tiraboschi, *Stor. della lett.*; Vermiglioli, *Vita di Pinturicchio, u.s.*, p. 254; and Mariotti, *Lett., u.s.*, p. 127.

[4] "Questa arte" (painting in oil) says Vasari, . . . (Andrea del Castagno) "la insegnò agli altri maestri; con i quali si andò ampliando l'arte ed acquistando sino a Pietro Perugino, a Lionardo da Vinci ed a Raffaello da Urbino" (Vasari, *Introd.*, i. 185). And again: "Certamente i colori furono della intelligenza di Pietro conosciuti, e cosi il fresco come l'olio; onde obligo gli hanno tutti i periti artefici, che per suo mezzo hanno cognizione de' lumi che per le sue opere si veggono" (Vasari, iii. 577).

Francesca the atmosphere in which it was wanting, and ascend gradually to the culminating point of his career in the production of the Mona Lisa, whilst Perugino should arrive at a height almost equally surprising in the Madonna of the Certosa,[1] the first attaining depth by calculation, the second yielding the same quality by an innate sense of the value of tone, and by peculiar knack of handling, both succeeding in that smoothness of tints which "caused the crowd to gather round their work and think it was a marvel."[2]

But the community of thought and of aim in Perugino and Leonardo would not end there. Perugino is justly celebrated for his proficiency in perspective.[3] He might have learnt the elements of it from Piero della Francesca, and have sought to master its intricacies under Luca Pacioli who held the chair of mathematics at Perugia in 1478.[4] But he would be sure to find a congenial spirit in Leonardo, who was to show the students of his academy at Milan all the secrets of perspective that were known to that age. Da Vinci and Perugino are named in one sentence by Caporali. He says they both knew the use of "two centres of vision,"[5] and it is quite as certain of Leonardo that he taught that rule, as it is of Perugino that he put it into practice. We shall see how the latter adopted Da Vinci's principles of composition, how both in different ways excelled in giving atmosphere to landscape. That they were together under Verrocchio, is only stated by Vasari;[6] but Vasari is confirmed by the creations of the three painters, and he speaks of them in conjunction too frequently to permit a doubt as to his conviction. Nothing can be clearer, or more true than that Perugino and Da Vinci gave the last polish to the Florentine art of oil-painting on the lines laid down with so much labour and patience by the Peselli,

[1] Now in the National Gallery.

[2] VASARI, *Proemio* (iv. 11).

[3] VASARI (iii. 575) says truly that Perugino "ne faceva professione particolare."

[4] See TIRABOSCHI, *Stor. della letteratura.*

[5] CAPORALI, VITRUV., *u.s.*, p. 16.

[6] *Ib.*, iii. 371. [* Vasari really only mentions Perugino and Leonardo along with each other as pupils of Verrocchio, but does not say that they studied together.]

Photo, Verri

ST. SEBASTIAN

By Pietro Perugino

From a fresco in the church at Cerqueto

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the Pollaiuoli, and Verrocchio;[1] nothing more just than that Perugino should be coupled with Francesco Francia as gifted with incomparable feeling in lending softness to form.[2] But Vasari's statements receive additional confirmation from the pictures of Lorenzo di Credi, the favourite pupil of Verrocchio, whose altarpieces are so remarkable for the devotional grace of action, the smoothness of surface, and the cast of lined drapery which, whilst they remind us of Leonardo, recall the Umbrian qualities of Vannucci. We shall see that these Umbrian qualities were not contemned at Florence, but that on the contrary they exercised an influence similar to that of the Sienese in previous centuries. What these had done of old to temper the severity of Orcagna, and to contribute in forming Angelico, the Perugians did anew by means of Pietro Perugino. It may be due to him that the somewhat rugged grandeur of the Florentine school, as represented by Ghirlandaio, was chastened, and that the coarse realism of the Peselli and of Castagno from which neither Botticelli, the Pollaiuoli, nor Verrocchio, Piero della Francesca, nor Signorelli were entirely free, was modified. Perugino and Leonardo are both entitled in separate measures to claim the merit of having helped to form Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto.

We cannot affect to decide in what year Perugino first visited Florence,[3] nor whether that event occurred before 1475, when he had commissions for painting in the public Palace of Perugia;[4] or after 1478, when he produced the ruined frescoes of Cerqueto.[5]

[1] We must not forget that Vasari is proved to be incorrect when he attempts to show that the oil painting of the Florentines descends from that of Antonello da Messina. Yet it is high praise to Perugino that his biographer should make him close the period of progress in the use of the new medium (Vasari, *Introd.*, i. 185).

[2] Vasari, iv. 11.

[*3] We now know that he was matriculated in the Painters' Guild at Florence in 1472 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 354).

[4] Rumohr publishes the payment to Perugino for this work (*Forsch. u.s.*, ii. 338).

[5] We have not visited Cerqueto, but nearly a century has expired since Orsini ascertained that there was nothing remaining of Perugino's work except a solitary figure of St. Sebastian in the church of the village, and a fresco in a tabernacle representing the Virgin and Child between St. Lucy and another saint, with a figure of Scævola and a Sacrifice in the side walls. In Orsini's own time the in-

His name had become familiar at Florence in 1482,[1] and he was allowed at that time to compete with Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and others, in the Palazzo Pubblico. It is true that he did not carry out his commission, which was revoked in favour of Filippino.[2] But it is not possible to say where he was employed even then. If it should be asked what piece amongst those of continental galleries best illustrates his early style, we might choose the round of the Virgin and Child enthroned between saints in a landscape—a tempera panel at the Louvre.[3] A picture of this kind, if pre-

scription in the church was only known by an attested copy: "S. popul. de Cerqto a fatta fare questa capella AD. Maria Madalena pe' C H da peste Gi usci liberare cavandoli da G Hoscie D. tal Pena Cusi gli piaccia Cuq. HV operare che mu e semp ne Abbia Ad scampare e Tutti qlli CH in lei AN. Devotion. AD. laude Di Div quisto sermone."

Petrus Perusinus pinxit M.CCCC.LXXVIII" (ORSINI, *Vita di Pietro Perugino*, *u.s.*, p. 202 *sqq.*). [* For an attempt to make sense of this inscription, see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 160. The figure of St. Sebastian is of great beauty, and reveals the strong influence of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.]

[1] It is probable that Perugino came to Florence in 1479. Vasari says that he arrived there "partitosi dalle estreme calamità di Perugia," and just at this time war raged in Umbria between the Papal party and the Florentines. [* Our knowledge of Perugino's life and work between 1478 and 1482 has now been considerably increased. It seems likely that he went to Rome soon after having finished the frescoes at Cerqueto. Jacopo Grimaldi mentions in a MS. of 1621 a fresco by Perugino in the apse of the choir of old St. Peter's, and it may be conjectured that it had been completed by December, 1479, when the chapel of the choir was invested with new indulgences (see STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, i. 98 *sq.*). This fresco represented the Virgin and Child with St. Peter introducing Sixtus IV., SS. Francis, Paul, and Anthony of Padua. Grimaldi gives a slight sketch of it, reproduced in SCHMARSOW, *Melozzo da Forlì*, Plate XI.). Shortly afterwards Perugino must have begun to work in the Sixtine Chapel. On October 27, 1481, he, Cosimo Rosselli, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio, undertook to execute ten frescoes in that building, which were to be ready by March 15, 1482. The other frescoes in the Sixtine Chapel had probably been painted when this agreement was made. On January 17, 1482, four frescoes by the above-mentioned painters were valued (STEINMANN, *u.s.*, p. 187 *sq.*). The completion of the paintings in the Sixtine Chapel seems, however, to have been delayed as the first service was held in the chapel only on August 9, 1483. In or shortly after 1481 Perugino was matriculated in the Painters' Guild at Perugia (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 166); and on October 5, 1482, we find him at Florence, where he, together with the Florentine painter, Biagio di Antonio Tuccio, undertook to paint a wall in the Great Hall of the Palazzo Pubblico—a work which, however, as also stated by the authors, eventually was given to Filippino Lippi.]

[2] See the records in GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 578.

[3] Louvre, No. 1,564, and previously in the royal collection at the Hague, and in the Corsini Palace at Rome.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS
By Pietro Perugino
From a picture in the Louvre, Paris

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sented to a Florentine at the close of the fifteenth century, would undoubtedly have been admired as embodying the carefulness and finish and the devotional resignation of Umbrian types, with a most attractive freshness.[1] To us it represents Perugino in his ascending period, a geniune painter of Perugia still, but fortunate in having instilled a new life and beauty into the art of his countrymen. Conventional and quaint as it is to see the Virgin in rich clothing, seated on a throne partitioned off from a pleasant wilderness by parapets of stone, to watch two angels praying behind in tender adoration, and female saints in gorgeous apparel standing by in elegantly sought attitude; there is a calm sweetness about them all; they seem so innocent and gently happy, it would be pity to disturb them. Yet this dreamy impression is created by no cloudiness of form or yearning after effect. The graceful and slender figures are drawn with a clear outline. The dresses are crisp in fold, the hems are minutely overlaid with golden borders and jewels, the veils are subtle in texture and lightly disposed. True harmonies of pure colour variegate the vestments where the bright cloth turns its bright lining to the eye, or the mantle decks the tunic. Tempera was never handled with more skill to yield by stippling a warm flesh-tone of a light fair yellow, fused with great softness into grey shadow. Still we see something of the anxious care natural to one who has not yet settled into the resolute assertion of himself. The child is affected and a little unmeaning, the draperies are not yet cast with breadth. The contours are too sharp, and the forms are a little lean. Perugia, however, had not as yet boasted of an artist equal to such a work as this, and if Vannucci had produced it there, it is probable that the fact would have been chronicled and preserved. The names of painters without renown, and the contracts into which they entered at Perugia whilst Pietro was refusing commissions at Florence, exist to this day. They interest us indirectly by proving that none of the great Perugians, Bonfigli, Fiorenzo, Perugino, or Pinturicchio, were open to public engagements in their own town during three

[1] "E bene gli venne fatto (that Perugino settled at Florence) conciò sia che al suo tempo le cose della maniera sua furono tenute in pregio grandissimo" (Vasari, iii. 568).

or four seasons preceding the close of 1483. An altarpiece, intended for the chapel of the Magistracy, was ordered from an obscure artist called Pietro di Maestro Galeotto in 1479, who stipulated for two years' time to finish it, and who died in May, 1483, without having done any more than the frame.[1] Six months later Vannucci chanced to visit Perugia, and he solemnly promised that he would deliver the altarpiece in March, 1484, and one of its sections in the first four weeks of December, 1483. The reason why it was desirable that one portion should be done before the rest is clear. There were eleven priors in the college, and they were only elected for a term. The lunette was to contain the Virgin of Mercy and the portraits of the priors and their notary in a kneeling posture beneath the Virgin's cloak. The magistrates naturally wished to secure the completion of this part of the agreement before their tenure of office expired; but Perugino, who was perhaps on his way from Florence to Rome, had probably intended to leave the commission in the hands of some apprentice. He quitted Perugia without beginning the required portraits, and we see distinct symptoms of irascibility in the wording of a new contract, in which the authorities excuse themselves for the breach of the old one. The order was transferred to Santi di Apollonio, who took[2] the likenesses from life; but the rest was left unfinished, and it was soon discovered that no more trust was to be put in Santi than in Pietro di Galeotto, or in Perugino. Chuckling and mindless of this disappointment, the runaway was doubtless on the road to Rome, where for a time his frescoes were to fill the post of honour at the Sixtine Chapel.[3]

[1] See the contract of June 7, 1479, in MARIOTTI, *Lett.* (p. 144), records of advances in 1480 (*ib.*, p. 145), and the registry of Pietro di Galeotto's death, May, 1483 (*ib.*, p. 146).

[2] See the documents relative to this incident in MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, pp. 146, 147, 148. Perugino's contract is dated November 28, 1483, that of Santi di Apollonio December 31, of the same year.

[*3] As we have seen (*antea*, p. 288, n. 1), the frescoes in the Sixtine Chapel were finished when this incident occurred. It may, however, be supposed that Perugino went from Perugia to Rome in 1483, as he is probably identical with the "Pietro of Perugia" who, on September 14 and November 29, 1484, and May 26, 1485, received payment from the Papal exchequer for various work of a decorative nature, done in company with Antoniasso Romano. In 1484 he was, however also member of the Consiglio Generale of Città della Pieve. On July 23, 1485, he

We say "for a time," because a greater painter followed, and destroyed his work. Everyone knows that Perugino covered the altar face of the chapel, dividing it into three fields. In the central fresco of the Assumption he introduced the kneeling portrait of Sixtus IV., in the side ones the Nativity and the Finding of Moses. Michael Angelo's Judgment occupied their place some years later ;[1] and all that remains of Perugino is the "Moses and Zipporah," the "Baptism of Christ," and "Christ's delivery of the Keys to Peter."

Modern writers have frequently assigned the first of these to Signorelli.[2] It contains several incidents in one frame; the angel appearing to Moses and ordering him to circumcise Gershom, the circumcision and the wedding-dance in the distance.[3] The conception and setting and the landscape are Peruginesque, as well as the action and shape of the figures; but Perugino's admirers might suggest that finish, harmony, and balance are still less striking in this than in the two other subjects. There is more hardness and angularity than Perugino would have given, and though resolute movement is lent to the angel arresting the progress of the patriarch, heaviness deprives the children's forms

at Perugia received the first rate of payment for the altarpiece he was to paint for the chapel of the Priori (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 166 *sq.*, 356). In December, 1486, we find him at Florence (see *postea*, p. 296).

* [1] The composition of the fresco of the Assumption is known from a drawing in the Albertina at Vienna (reproduced in STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, i. 285). Professor WICKHOFF, who was the first to recognize the connection between this drawing and the lost fresco (in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, ser. i., vol. xix., p. 58 *sqq.*), gave it to Pinturicchio, and thought it a design for the painting. Although the drawing stands very close to Pinturicchio, it seems, however, inferior to him in quality, and the great carefulness of execution rather points to its being copied from the fresco. Judging from this drawing, the fresco would certainly seem to be the work of Pinturicchio, although Vasari gives it to Perugino, and it would appear strange that the principal painting in the chapel was executed by the assistant, and not by the master. Professor STEINMANN (*u.s.*, p. 288 *sqq.*) has, with some probability, sought to connect various drawings in the Venetian sketchbook with the two lost frescoes of the Nativity of Christ and the Finding of Moses.

[2] Annot. VASARI, iii. 692.

* [3] There is no indication that the scene in the middle distance to the left is a wedding-dance; it is probably, as Professor STEINMANN thinks (*u.s.*, p. 298), merely a pastoral scene, without any historical significance. In the centre of the middle distance is seen the parting of Moses and Zipporah from Jethro and his wife.

of their greatest charm. The truth may be that Perugino did not devote much of his own labour to this bit. The children may have been by Della Gatta, and he, again, may have been second to Perugino's assistant Pinturicchio.[1] Pinturicchio accompanied his master to Rome, under very favourable conditions. He was a Perugian by birth and education. He had followed, with moderate talent, the lessons of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and afterwards joined the atelier of Perugino.[2] He had all the qualities that should be sought in a subordinate, and might have become indispensable to one who undertook large commissions and required an orderly superintendent for his apprentices. It was natural that Perugino should take him into partnership and give him a third of his profits.[3] Nor do the Sixtine frescoes discountenance the belief that the two men stood in this relation to each other in 1484.[4] The frescoes of Pinturicchio in the Borgia Chambers and at Araceli warrant us in believing that it was so; they fully explain how Pinturicchio prepared himself for independence by a constant intercourse with Vannucci and a judicious study of the Florentine examples at the Sixtine. Perugino himself had not looked in vain at the productions of his contemporaries, and a strong impression had been created on his mind by the frescoes of Domenico Ghirlandaio. In the Baptism, at least, he reflected this; and Pinturicchio might have been led into a similar path by the necessity of carrying out the designs of his elder partner. The composition of Perugino's second fresco is essentially Umbrian. It is overcrowded and monotonous; the groups are not bound together with such art as to produce the effect of unity, and simplicity and nature are wanting. Yet a pleasing impression is created by isolated parts. The Saviour in front, receiving the water poured on his head by St. John, attracts by an Umbrian softness. The type of both is purely Perugino's,[5] whilst the standing acolytes on the right embody something of

[1] It is difficult to see any evidence of Della Gatta's hand in this fresco; but as to Pinturicchio, he may, indeed, be considered as the principal author of it. For an attempt to determine the shares of Perugino and Pinturicchio in this painting, see STEINMANN, *u.s.*, p. 311 *sqq.*

[2] VASARI, iii. 494. [3] *Ib.*, iii. 494. [4] For 1484, read 1480–82.

[5] The drawings of these two figures seem to have found a resting-place at the Louvre.

the grand laws of movement and pose which are illustrated in Ghirlandaio. The nude of a man stripping near the Baptist is well given, and the youth erect at his side might have been conceived by Pinturicchio. The formal arrangement of the Sermon of John on a hill to the left, and that of Christ on a mound to the right, the kneeling angels, the Eternal in a round glory of cherubs' heads, with four seraphs in waiting at equal intervals, the wide expanse of country in which the episodes are placed—all these may have been grateful to the eye before time and restoring destroyed their harmony.[1] It is doubtful, however, whether the execution was originally as careful as that of the Delivery of the Keys to Peter, a reproduction of which is annexed to these pages.

It is rare to find one piece in which the character of a painter is revealed in all its aspects. The arrangement, the drawing, the colour are not all and severally the artist's best. Perugino's Delivery of the Keys is no exception to this remark; but it is certainly one of his finest wall-paintings for division, design, action, and expression. The incident he depicts is simple, yet demands, from the deep meaning attached to it as related to the history of the Roman Church, a certain grandeur and solemnity of treatment. Christ gives the keys to the fisherman. The apostles attend, displaying in movement and glance their conviction of the weight and greatness of their mission; but the scene is not laid in the country of Bethlehem, nor is the charge given to the twelve alone. Numerous groups are gathered in a palatial court. The idea of the Church in its victorious might is symbolized by the temple in the centre and the triumphal arches at its sides. In carrying out all this, Perugino achieves a symmetrical harmony. He infuses a charm of tenderness, of devotion, and resignation into his impersonations. The lines are drawn in gentle curves, and the dresses are elegantly cut in cloth of double stuff, branching at the top of the fold, and well studied

[1] The head of the Baptist is disfigured by spots. The youth stripping is injured; and a group on the left foreground is much damaged and restored. The flesh parts are everywhere discoloured, especially in the shadows, which have blackened. The entire distance is abraded [* Compare on this fresco, in which Pinturicchio undoubtedly had a large share, SCHINMANN, *u.s.*, p. 318 *sqq.*]

in fall and undulation. Some of the apostles convey an idea of firmness and nobleness, that reveal Perugino's contact with the Florentines. The weight and dignity in their bearing point to influences unfamiliar to the pure Umbrian. There is life in the Saviour, breadth of form and of drapery, allied to fine proportion, in the kneeling Peter, whose type is an evident approach to those of Signorelli. This is the fair side of a picture in which the peculiarities which forbid perfection in the master are discernible. In Perugino's symmetry the seeking is by no means hidden; his art, being well under the curb, is without fancy, and his steps have a studied and measured regularity. The conventional marshalling of the *dramatis personæ* prevents the flow of that current which should run through the composition, binding its parts, and making them all tend to the production of one great whole. Figures, again, if appropriate and full of feeling in themselves, are seldom sufficiently united. They rarely conceal the effort made by the painter to realize gracefulness of pose at the expense of freedom and beauty. Certain attitudes have been set and studied once with the deepest attention in various aspects, have been committed to memory, and introduced afterwards without a return to nature, and without due consideration as to place. The hands have been cramped into certain invariable positions, the limbs have a well-known and frequently repeated stride, the heads a constant bend; one might guess the spot where the pins have been stuck to pucker the drapery. The drawing of extremities is often untrue, affected in shape as well as in action. These are most usually the characteristics of Perugino, and they are apparent to a slight extent in the best of his Sixtine frescoes. Knowledge of perspective is evident in the temple and arches of his distance, where, however, the blocks are all parallel or at right angles to the plane of the picture, and he only requires the centre of vision with the distance-points to measure by; but he takes little advantage of his knowledge when connecting groups and figures with the ground on which they stand and the edifices which surround them. It serves his purpose to have the centre of vision high, in order that the bases of his buildings shall be seen far above the foreground personages; these form a row in front, and are remarkable for their staid demeanour. Just above

Photo, Anderson

CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER
BY PIETRO PERUGINO
From a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome

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them, he throws in another string of people remarkable for excessive liveliness of motion. Above these are the bases of his temples and arches, which stand on a given line and in regular order. He thus covers his surface literally, but he does not conceal the voids between the ranks, and he still leaves the impression of conventionalism and monotony. Though Ghirlandaio was less perfect in perspective than Perugino, than Piero della Francesca, or Mantegna, he applied its general principles in combination with the great maxims of composition, and so obtained far more important results than could be hoped for by any exclusive professor of the science. Perugino, no doubt, was not unmindful of Ghirlandaio's masterpieces when he designed the Delivery of the Keys, but he had not as yet Ghirlandaio's art in distributing space, nor his talent in combining figures with scenery or edifices. Of his landscapes at the Sixtine there is less to be said than of his architecture, in considering which, particularly with reference to the fresco before us, it is noteworthy how much the octagon temple has in common with that of the Caen Sposalizio, or that of Raphael's Marriage at the Brera. The ruling style in these is represented in the works of the architects collectively known under the name of Bramante, and is found in its simplest and most classic form in the S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi by Bramante of Urbino.[1] But an early example of it may be seen in a study of buildings as S. Chiara of Urbino, due, as we have supposed, to the pencil of Piero della Francesca. Perugino is one of the great men of his time who does not seem to have undertaken architectural commissions. In Rome he might, if he chose, associate with men of name in that branch, and the probability that he did so is increased by the circumstance that amongst the spectators in the Delivery of the Keys one on the extreme right stands (in profile), holding a set square, pointing with his forefinger as he talks to his neighbour handling a pair of compasses. To the left of both, a man in upright attitude separates the two first from a fourth personage wearing a skull-

[1] Completed in 1504, according to Pungileoni, in *Vita di Bramante*, p. 29, [* As a matter of fact, it was begun in 1508 by Cola di Matteuccio da Caprarola, and finished in 1516–24 by Ambrogio da Milano and Francesco da Vito Lombardo, save for the dome, which was added in 1606.]

cap. There are no means of knowing who were the architects thus portrayed by Perugino, but he might have received from them the sketches for the arches which adorn his distance. Two or three figures besides those described may be considered as taken from life; but it would be vain to think of assigning names to them. They may be likenesses of Perugino's associates in Rome at the period of his stay, or of men who desired to see their persons immortalized in a sacred place; but we do not see amongst them either Pinturicchio or Della Gatta, whose labours are indeed more easily traced in the Moses and Zipporah, and in the Baptism, than they are in the Delivery of the Keys.[1]

As a wall-painter Perugino at the Sixtine followed the practice familiar to him in the production of temperas on panel. He laid in the flesh with the usual pale grey-green, and stippled the lights and shadows over all, retouching the dry surface at last with rough hatchings which have been blackened by the effects of time. His system was that which Pinturicchio continued at Rome after Perugino's departure.

This event, no doubt, occurred after the completion of the Sixtine Chapel in 1486,[2] and this we infer not from any knowledge as to the manner in which Perugino's masterpieces were received, but because he had returned to Florence in the autumn of that year. It appears from the criminal records of Florence that Perugino and a companion called Aulista di Angelo of Perugia were convicted of having disguised themselves on some of the long nights of December, and waited with staves at the corner of a street to waylay some person near S. Pietro Maggiore. The evidence adduced before the "*Otto di Custodia*," in their sittings of July, 1487, established most damning facts against Aulista, who was proved to have murdered one man, and struck or wounded others at Rome. It further appeared that he had proposed to murder the person against whom he and Perugia had a grudge, but that the latter wished to end the matter with a drubbing only. Fortunately for the threatened party, the conspirators were taken into custody, and sentenced,

[1] VASARI mentions the Sixtine frescoes (iii. 578 *sq.*).

*[2] As we have seen, the Sixtine Chapel was completed by August 9, 1483.

Perugino to a fine of ten florins of gold, Aulista to perpetual exile.[1]

The payment for the Sixtine frescoes was not authorized till August, 1489, when Perugino became entitled to draw on the apostolic *camera* at Perugia for a rest of 180 ducats.[2] In the interval he sent (1488) an altarpiece to S. Domenico of Fiesole,[3] and (1489) he received an invitation to Orvieto.

During forty-four years which had elapsed since Angelico's time, the scaffoldings had not been taken down in the Cappella di S. Brizio. The superintendents had never been able to satisfy

[1] 1487. *Archiv. Cent. di Stato di Firenze.* Delib. e partiti degli Otto di Custodia e pratica ad annum. Die X. Julii 1487.—Prefati Octoviri adunati &c. actento (?) qualiter Pierus Christofori pictor de Perusis de mense decembris anno proxime preterito 1486, animo et intentione excessum malleficium et delictum committendi, pluries et pluries una cum Aulista Angeli de Perusio nocturno tempore accesserunt armati quibusdam bastonibus in populum S^{i} Petri maioris de Florentia, ut quemdam percuterent et ferirent dictis bastonibus; et qualiter dictus Pierus conduxit Aulistam predictum occasione et causa rei turpis, et predicta et quelibet predictorum vera fuerunt et sunt, prout ex predictorum Pieri et Aulista confessione dicti Octoviri constare asseruerunt; ideo ad faciendum jus et justitiam vigore eorum auctoritatis et balie servatis servandis, et obtento partito, secundum ordinamenta deliberaverunt, sententiaverunt et condemnaverunt dictum et infrascriptum Pierum Christophori pictorem de Perusio in Florenis viginti auri largis de auro dandis et solvendis provisori eorum officii pro expensis dicti officii—salvo quod dictus Pierus per totum diem crastinum dederit et solverit provisori predicto, ut supra recipienti, florenos decem auri largos in auro; tali casu dictus Pierus intelligatur esse et omnino sit liber et absolutus a minori summa predicta.

XI. July. Decree by which "Aulista Angeli, pictor of Perugia, seeing that he did at Rome murder one of Perugia, that he has struck and wounded others . . . in urbe vero Florentie quemdam occisurum se obtulit Piero Christophori pictori de Perusio, et dicto Piero recusante sed volente quod ipse illum pluribus bastonatis percuteret id suscepit et pluries et pluries accessit nocturno tempore armatus et variis et alienis vestibus vestitus ut negotium conficeret, &c."—sentences said Aulista to be banished from Florence for life, never to return within its confines nor molest the said Piero or others of Perugia. Favoured by Dr. Gaetano Milanesi.

[2] Mariotti, *Lett. pitt.*, p. 150.

[3] Chronica S. Dom. de Fesulis in MS. Convent. of S. Marco of Florence, exc. in com. Vasari (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 67. He painted more than one altarpiece for S. Domenico of Fiesole, as may be seen hereafter, but that of 1488 is not forthcoming (see Vasari, iii. 584 *sq.*). [* According to Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, pp. 357, 359), the above-mentioned altarpiece was only ordered in 1488, but finished in 1493, and is identical with the one now in the Uffizi (No. 1,122), noticed *postea*, p 304. On August 21, 1488, Perugino is stated to have witnessed a document at Fano, where we find him again the following year (see *postea*, p. 298, n. 1).]

the demands of a master of name, or they had wilfully neglected to engage one, till Perugino visited Orvieto.[1] They seem to have felt on this occasion that their duty compelled them to remove what they admitted to be a stain on their administration, especially as an artist stood within their reach "whose fame had been spread throughout Italy by his completion of the frescoes in the apostolic palace at Rome." They asked Perugino to examine the chapel, and tender for its decoration. He did so; and we may judge from his offer at what a price he valued himself. He would take the whole chapel, he said, for 1,500 ducats, if he were furnished with scaffoldings, lime, gold, and ultramarine. He would use such subjects as might be submitted to him, and personally execute the faces and hands of all the figures. With prudent reserve the superintendents contracted[2] only for the ceilings and all the spaces above the capitals, promising to give 200 ducats for the work, on condition that Vannucci should begin in April 1490, and go on throughout the whole of the following summer. Perugino upon this left Orvieto, probably for Florence, and was not again heard of during that year.[3] It is possible that his ambition had suggested the chance of more interesting employment at Florence. In Orvieto the adornment of a chapel in the cathedral had been left for half a century in abeyance. In Florence the disgrace was more sensible, for the front of S. Maria del Fiore had never been touched since the façade had been raised

*1 As a matter of fact, Perugino came to Orvieto (in December, 1489) at the special request of the superintendents, who had sent for him twice (May 27 and July 26, 1489) to Fano, and once (at some undetermined date in 1489) to Città della Pieve. See FUMI, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 397; BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 357.

*2 On December 29-30, 1489. See FUMI, *u.s.*, p. 397 *sq.*

*3 In the light of subsequent discoveries we must correct the authors' account of Perugino's life in 1490. On March 5 of that year he at Perugia acknowledged the receipt of the money, for the payment of which the Papal exchequer had made an order on August 8, 1489 (see *antea*, p. 297). He had returned to Orvieto before April 13, but went soon afterwards to Rome. On May 14 a messenger was sent there to summon him to return. He did so, and received at Orvieto, on September 22, a sum of money to buy some ultramarine, and on September 30, 10 ducats as first rate of payment for his work. Directly afterwards he left for Florence, while his pupil, Andrea Alovigi, called L' Ingegno, remained at Orvieto. On October 5 a messenger was sent to Florence, with letters from the Bishop and Municipality of Orvieto, urging Perugino to return. See FUMI, *u.s.*, p. 398 *sq.*; BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 167 *sq.*, 358.

on the plans of Neri di Fioravante, Benci Cioni, Francesco Salvetti, Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi, and Niccola Tommasi.[1] It was a common subject of conversation in 1490 that the exterior of the cathedral of Florence was in an unsafe condition, and (we read the words with some surprise) it was no heresy to declare in the journals of the guild of woolstaplers, that the front was a mongrel structure, and built in defiance of all architectural rules or order.[2] Lorenzo de' Medici, the virtual leader of the Florentines, would no doubt have been pleased if the Duomo of his native city could have been perfected in his lifetime; he therefore gave his support to the guild of woolstaplers when they ordered the *operai* to take the necessary steps for obtaining plans and funds for this new enterprise. The skill of Italians of every grade was consulted. Architects, sculptors, and painters from every part of the country were desired to compete, and in the course of the year eleven designs and one model were ready. January 5, 1491, was the day fixed for the meeting of the promoters in S. Maria del Fiore. Foremost in the assembly the two consuls of the woolstaplers, Silvestro de' Popoleschi and Ridolfo Falconi, appeared in virtue of their office. They were followed by a host of men of position in Florence, the Soderini, Niccolini, Giugni, Serristori, Salviati, Cavalcanti, Tornabuoni, Strozzi, Scala, Filicaria, Martelli. Designs were presented by the Canon Carolus Benci, by Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, Francesco di Giorgio, Filippino Lippi, Giovanni (? Giuliano) Verrocchio, Bernardo Ghalluzzo, Antonio Pollaiuolo, Francesco da Fiesole, Francesco, herald of the Florentines. The only model exhibited was by Jacopo Piattola. All the professional men of importance in Italy were invited, and most of them came: Perugino, Vittorio the son of Ghiberti, Simone Pollaiuolo, Monciatti, Benedetto da Maiano, Francione, Domenico

[1] It is now proved, as we have seen, that the façade was not begun by Giotto, but was due to the masters named in the text, whose plan was made public after long deliberation in October, 1357 (Ces. Guasti in *Archivio storico*, Nuova serie, vol. xvii., part i., p. 140 ; Florence, 1863).

[2] Record of deliberation of guild of woolstaplers at Florence, dated February 9, 1490, in com. Vasari, iv. 304. We also see that Albertini held the same opinion. He says in the *Memoriale* (*u.s.*, p. 10): "Decta facciata, la quale Lorenzo de Medici voleva levare e riducerla a perfectione, mi pare senza ordine o misura." But Albertini is a prejudiced critic, for he had built a model of a new front and wished to see it carried out.

Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, Lorenzo di Credi, Giovanni Graffione, Andrea di Monte San Savino, Clemente del Tasso, Andrea della Robbia, Sandro Botticelli, Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea da Fiesole, Lapo, and prominent amidst them all the commanding figure of Lorenzo de' Medici. One might have thought that the time chosen for this competition would be favourable beyond any other. As a State, Florence enjoyed peace and prosperity, both a guarantee for the speedy prosecution of a great architectural undertaking, and Lorenzo de' Medici was in the fullness of his power; but when the names of the competitors are considered, it seems doubtful whether the talent which they represented would have sufficed. This, it appears, was felt by most persons at the meeting, for after Tommaso Minerbetti had opened the proceedings with a statement of the labours of the *operai*, more than one speaker rose for the purpose of recommending delay and mature consideration, and Lorenzo de' Medici closed the debate with a eulogy upon those who had sent designs, but at the same time with a suggestion that there would be no inconvenience in postponing a matter of such gravity to a future time. In this manner the hopes that might have been entertained as to finishing S. Maria del Fiore were dashed to the ground. The model and designs were consigned to oblivion, and the persons present parted to their several homes.

Whatever may have been Perugino's expectation in reference to this affair, he was not long in making up his mind as to the course which he should pursue. Avoiding Orvieto, where he might have been sued for the penalties on his breach of contract, he proceeded to Perugia, where he drew the remnant of his pay for the Sixtine frescoes (March 5, 1491) at the apostolic chamber,[1] and then went onwards to try his fortune anew at Rome.

During his absence Pinturicchio, together with the somewhat lazy Filippino Lippi, had taken the lead as a decorator, and alternately received the commissions of Innocent VIII., and the Cibos, of the Borgias, and Della Roveres. Perugino, for a short time, divided with him the patronage of the latter, and was em-

* [1] This payment was made, as already stated, on March 5, 1490, not 1491, and we have therefore no proof that Perugino went to Perugia in 1491.

ployed by Cardinal Giuliano[1] to adorn his palace. This prelate, then Bishop of Ostia, was of the same impetuous and exacting temper as when, under the name of Julius II., he ruled the Church; ambitious, in 1491, as in 1503 and 1508, to attach the greatest living artists to his person, caring much and paying royally for the best works, but always ready to destroy them for the sake of getting better. Raphael had not as yet ascended to the eminence from which he afterwards looked down upon his master, and Perugino enjoyed for the time the fullest confidence of his patron. He did not conceal from the Cardinal that, unless an efficient protection could be extended to him, the superintendents of Orvieto might venture upon measures of annoyance, and when they, at last, determined to cancel his contract, Giuliano was induced to write to the priors and council a letter as insolent as his temper and power allowed him to do. The superintendents, in obedience to a promise extracted from them by the Cardinal, had remained quiescent during the whole of 1491, but in January of the following year they began to deliberate what their best course should be, considering Perugino's delay. The result was a resolution to ask Pietro's whether he intended to come or not. He replied in April that he proposed doing so at the next opportunity;[2] yet he took no immediate step towards the fulfilment of his promise, so that the superintendents were obliged at last to let him know they would appoint someone else in his stead. This was the signal for Cardinal Giuliano to interfere. He penned a letter on June 2 reminding the council of Orvieto that they had agreed to wait, knowing that Perugino would be ready for them in a few months; but he added:

[1] Giuliano della Rovere succeeded Pius III. in the Papal chair.

[*2] In stating that the Orvieto authorities remained quiet in 1491, the authors were misled by Della Valle, who gives the date of some records as 1492 instead of 1491. What really happened was this: On January 15, 1491, it was resolved that either Perugino or Antoniasso Romano was to be got to execute the paintings in the Cappella di S. Brizio. On February 12 of the same year it was again resolved to urge Perugino to come and do the work. On April 28, 1491, Perugino at Orvieto received 10 ducats as earnest money, and promised to return to Orvieto and commence the painting of the chapel within May. He did not, however, keep this promise. Then followed the resolution of the superintendents to appoint another painter, whereupon Giuliano della Rovere, on June 2. 1492, wrote his letter to the superintendents. Fumi, *u.s.*, p. 399 *sq.*; Bombe. *u.s.*, p. 358.

"Now Maestro Pietro has stated that, contrary to your word, you intend to substitute for him another painter who shall do your work; this is, indeed, truly remarkable (conduct). We laboured under the impression that you were to be compliant as best suits the love we have ever borne to your community. And so we now again exhort and pray that you do reserve this place which is his due, to Maestro Pietro, and refrain from molesting him for the short time during which he has to expedite our affairs."[1]

In the meanwhile the Orvietans had been in correspondence with Pinturicchio, who announced his arrival almost at the moment when they received Giuliano's letter.[2] Not venturing to offend so important a dignitary as the Cardinal, they obeyed his injunctions by keeping for Perugino his place in the cappella S. Brizio, and Pinturicchio received instructions to labour in a different part of the cathedral.

The only memory of this busy and interesting period in Perugino's life is an altarpiece in the Albani Villa near Rome, the decorations of the Cardinal's palace having perished; but this altarpiece alone, with its date of 1491, gives us sufficient knowledge of his manner at the period. Its principal subject is the Nativity in the form which Perugino subsequently repeated with slight changes on various occasions, and this again is surmounted by three panels of the Crucifixion between the Angel and the Virgin annunciate. The stable of Bethlehem is transformed, after the true Umbrian fashion, into a wide and roomy inclosure, protected from the weather by arches resting on pillars, in one corner of which the ox and the ass are penned behind a palisade. The Infant Christ lies on the foreground in the middle of the floor, with the Virgin and St. Joseph on their knees, in rear of him, and two angels between them in adoration. In the aisles SS. Michael and John the Baptist, SS. George and Jerome, kneel and stand in prayer. The light pouring in from the openings to the left casts

[1] This letter is printed in original in *Alcuni documenti artistici*, etc., *u.s.*, p. 17. [* See also FUMI, *u.s.*, p. 400.] The remaining facts respecting this period of Perugino's life may be found in DELLA VALLE, *Duomo di Orvieto*, pp. 316, 319; in com. VASARI, iii. 610; and in VERMIGLIOLI'S *Vita di Pinturicchio*, *u.s.*, app. pp. XXXV–XL.

[2] In June, 1492 (com. VASARI, iii., 529).

pleasant shadows on a fine architecture, and illumines a pretty distance of hills and lakes seen through the apertures. Above, the Saviour on the Cross in a landscape is bewailed by the Magdalen, who lies prostrate with her arms about the tree, between the lamenting Virgin and Evangelist. For a tempera, slightly injured by abrasion, restoring, and other accidents, this is still a very transparent and softly fused picture with warm lights and grey shadows, carefully united by reddish-grey half tones in the flesh. It is one of the master's most graceful pieces, with freshness in the types, resignation and modesty in the poses, and tender expression in the features. It is still Umbrian in sentiment as well as in the minuteness of its finish and in its details, but free from exaggeration or coarseness. The St. Michael is young, modestly noble in mien, and intent as he prays, his form reminding us of those of Raphael. The Baptist and St. George are almost equally charming, whilst the St. Joseph and the St. Jerome are more ordinary conceptions. There is great dignity in the slender figure of the Virgin, and an improvement upon the older Umbrians is seen in the shape of the Infant Christ. The Annunciation is full of feeling, and the form of the martyred Redeemer is as fine as its movement is fair, the whole scene of the Crucifixion almost foreshadowing a similar one by Fra Bartolommeo.[1]

The death of Innocent VIII. and the accession of Alexander VI.

[1] The figures in the Nativity are half the life-size, those in the Crucifixion and Annunciation less than half the size again. The panels seem to have been separated at one time, and to have been put together anew, the upper edge of the central panels being cut down, and the beading covering too much of those in the second course. On the capitals of the four principal pillars one reads: "Petrus—de Perusia—pinxit—M°CCCC°VIIII° Primo." A split runs down the drapery of the Virgin to the foreground. The cushion on which the Infant Christ leans is repainted. The same may be said of the vest of the Baptist, the hands of St. Michael, the dresses of St. Joseph, the angels, and the Virgin. The St. Michael is in a burnished steel cuirass bearing a head of Medusa on its breast. His wings are touched in gold. Rumohr has erroneously read the date of this altarpiece, which he assigns to the year 1481 (*Forsch.*, ii. 342). [* Close to this work may be placed a triptych (the Crucified Christ between the Virgin, St. John, St. Jerome, and the Magdalen), presented to the church of the Dominicans at S. Gimignano by Bartolommeo Quarquagli, Bishop of Cagli (d. 1497), and now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (No. 1,665). With this triptych we may again associate the Apollo and Marsyas in the Louvre (No. 1,509).]

occurring in July of 1492, possibly induced Perugino to leave Rome and return to Florence without attending to his commission at Orvieto.[1] From the Borgia, indeed, he had little to expect, and perhaps something to fear, in consequence of His Holiness having patronized Pinturicchio and recommended him to the Orvietans; but Perugino was now so famous that he was less anxious to receive, than he was to be able to satisfy, his numerous commissions. He was ballotted into the municipal council of Città della Pieve for May and June, 1493, and is said to have served his time there in due course;[2] but two large altar-pieces produced at Florence at the same period give proof of continued attention to his art. With a true instinct and shrewdness he perceived that the days of tempera painting were numbered, and he began to practise more constantly on the innovating system of which he had, no doubt, long known the theory. If we look at the Virgin and Child between the Baptist and St. Sebastian, now at the Uffizi, but originally at S. Domenico of Fiesole, it is apparent that he had not thoroughly caught the routine of colouring in the new methods, for the marks of hatching and stippling are still clear in the light olive flesh tones. As a composer and a draughtsman, however, he was improving. His figures are still gracile and posed in the usual Umbrian attitudes, the St. Sebastian is lean and withered in frame and limb, but the Virgin is well proportioned, and handsome in face, and forms a pleasant group with the plump infant on her lap. The saints are resolutely drawn with legs in correct foreshortening. The drapery is well cast, and one sees a striving towards higher aims than the creation of mere tenderness and grace.[3] With less

[1] VASARI says that, in Rome, Perugino painted a Martyrdom in S. Marco (iii. 579). This has perished, but a figure of St. Mark is still assigned to him there, which, however, is a work of the Venetian school of the Vivarini. [* As noted previously (p. 36, n. 1), it is by Melozzo da Forlì.] Vasari also describes the Sciarra Palace as having been adorned by Vannucci, but these works have been lost (VASARI, iii. 579). [* On March 28, 1493, the 10 ducats paid to Perugino on April 28, 1491 (see *antea*, p. 301, n. 2), were refunded to the accountant of the Orvieto Duomo (see FUMI, *u.s.*, p. 402).] [2] LA FARGNA in ORSINI, p. 237.

[3] The picture (wood) is No. 1,122 at the Uffizi.

The Virgin's throne is on a plinth in an arched way through which a landscape is seen. The figures are size of life. On the plinth one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit an. MCCCCLXXXXIII." VASARI is strong in praise of the work (iii. 584 *sq.*). [* *Cf. antea*, p. 297, n. 3.]

finish or carefulness of handling, with less judicious arrangement of drapery and choice of type, the Madonna and saints of 1493, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, illustrates the same phase in Pietro's career.[1]

Being now a permanent resident at Florence,[2] and a candidate for employment in all the branches of his profession, Perugino opened a regular shop, and whilst he sold panels to distant purchasers, he painted frescoes for Florentine convents. Of these, the most celebrated is that of the Gesuati, which contained a Brotherhood familiar with the pursuits of art. The Gesuati had built for themselves a monastery outside the Porta a Pinti, and erected workshops for the production of painted glass. They carried on a flourishing business, and took part in almost all great undertakings during the last half of the fifteenth century. For these friars Perugino drew numerous cartoons, and painted on wall, and on panel, decorating two cloisters with frescoes, and the convent church with two altarpieces.[3] Their establishment became for this reason doubly famous to visitors whom curiosity prompted to see the creations of a famous master, to customers desirous of excellent wares; but as the Imperial army advanced in 1529 to the siege of Florence, the exposed situation of the edifice, and the advantage which it might have afforded to Philip of Orange, induced the Generals of the threatened city to demolish it. The frescoes were, consequently, lost, and all that remained

[1] Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 27. Wood. Virgin and Child, enthroned between SS. Peter and Jerome, Paul and John the Baptist. On the base of the throne are the words: "Presbiter . Johannes . Christofori . de . Terreno . fieri fecit: MCCCCLXXXXIII." The colour, of olive tone, is a little raw, being given at one painting. The drapery has breadth, but the picture is not free from injury, the yellow mantle of St. Peter being new. The figures are life-size.

[*2] He married, on September 1, 1493, at Fiesole, Chiara, daughter of the architect and engineer, Luca Fancelli (Bombe, *u.s.* p. 172). The fresco of the Crucifixion in S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi (or the Chiesa del Cestello, as it was then called; *cf. postea*, p. 319 *sqq.*) was ordered from Perugino on November 20, 1493, but not finished until April 20, 1496 (Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 170 *sq.*, 176).

[3] Albertini, in his *Memoriale* (*u.s.*, p. 17), speaks of Perugino's works in the church, the cloisters, and the convent.

Vasari also gives a full description of this convent, and of Perugino's frescoes and altarpieces (iii. p. 570 *sqq.*). Records in the archives of S. Maria del Fiore prove that the Gesuati had the furnishing of six glass windows in the lantern of the cupola of that church in 1466 (Guasti, *La cupola*, *u.s.*, p. 107).

of the wreck was taken to S. Giovannino della Calza, or S. Giusto, where two or three pictures remained until the time of their transfer to the Academy of Arts.[1] Of these, the earliest seems to have been the Pietà, in which the dead Saviour, lying on the lap of the grieving Virgin, is supported by the head on the shoulders of Joseph, by the feet on the knees of the sitting Magdalen, whilst St. John the Evangelist looks up in prayer to heaven on the left, and another saint stands silently mourning on the right. The scene is laid in front of a colonnade, drawn in bold perspective with a low centre of vision. Any one familiar with Francia's lunette in the National Gallery will be able to understand the beauty of this very similar composition, which, in Perugino's hands, is treated with greater success and feeling, and with a higher command than he had yet exhibited of correct proportion. By giving great melancholy to the Virgin, who bears the weight of her Son's frame, thoughtful intentness to the Magdalen who gazes at the feet once anointed by her care, delicate tenderness to Joseph, presenting the full face of the Saviour to the spectator, and a natural rigidity to the select shape of the Redeemer, Perugino showed a sense of discrimination worthy of praise. He proved himself a judicious observer of the Florentines, without losing the characteristic features of the Umbrian, preserving certain foreshortened movements reminiscent of the Perugian school in the upturned head of the longing Evangelist, keeping up its old fashion of drapery, but applying renewed vigour and conscientiousness to the clear rendering of form and the true perspective of its lines, and clothing it in a broader cast of fold. All this he accompanied originally with clearness in the handling of oil-colours, partaking in tone of the greyness of tempera, and justly balanced in harmonies.[2] It was a work which probably

[1] VASARI, iii. 573.

[2] This Pietà is now in the Academy of Arts at Florence, No. 56. It was taken, says RICHA (*Chiese*, ix. 103) by Mary Magdalen of Austria to the villa near the porta Romana, and a copy of it was given to the convent of S. Giovannino della Calza. It is possible that this copy, which has disappeared from Florence, should be a so-called replica described by the annot. of VASARI (iii. 573) as once forming part of the Orleans Gallery. In its present condition one hardly realizes the probable beauty of the original colour. The flesh is of a fair yellow, shaded with bluish grey, the whole abraded; half the head of the figure on the right repainted;

created a great impression on Lorenzo di Credi, and might well stir a sympathetic fibre in Fra Bartolommeo. In 1494, Perugino's experience had become still further enlarged. A nobler style than he had as yet gained may be found in the Madonna and Saints of S. Agostino at Cremona, on which the stamp of Florentine art, as expressed in the dignity of Ghirlandaio's creations, is obvious. The finely shaped Virgin on her pedestal is still slender in frame, but she has little Umbrian languor. The Child is square in its fullness, yet inspired. The attitudes have more of the Florentine gravity, the draperies are more grandly cast than before, and the oil-colour, of strong tone, is touched with increased mastery and force.[1]

A new feature in Pietro is also revealed in this year by a portrait at the Uffizi, which seems the forerunner of two others of Vallombrosan friars in the Academy of Arts at Florence. It was for a long time held that this portrait was one which Perugino had painted after himself, but this will probably appear to be an error.[2] The person represented is a man of imposing air and plump face, with small dark eyes under a fleshy brow, a short but well-cut nose, and sensual lips, broad cheeks, and a bull neck. His ample furnishing of bushy but frizzled hair tells of a genuine native strength, but he prides himself on an elegant hand. The unity of the parts, the fused enamel surface, and the bold, clean touch, coupled with good modelling and precision of contours, suggest a comparison of this masterpiece with those of Antonello

the eyes and forehead of the Virgin retouched, and the background thrown out of harmony. VASARI mentions this piece (iii. 573).

[1] The picture, on the altar of the Roncadelli family, has kept its place very constantly, being mentioned by the *Anonimo* (ed. MORELLI, p. 35), who, however, transcribes the date erroneously as 1492. It was taken to France, and afterwards returned. The scene is in front of an arch. The Virgin enthroned, with the Child, on a plinth on which one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit MCCCCLXXXXIIII." St. James, on the left, is a fine figure, in type, movement, and colour. He is contemplated by the Child, whose head is in his direction, whilst the Virgin glances at St. Augustine on the right, who also looks away, though pointing with his left hand towards Christ. The figures are life-size. A few worm-holes have been carefully stopped, and the picture is well preserved.

*[2] As appears from the inscription at the back of this panel (see *postea*, p. 308, n. 1), the sitter is Francesco dell' Opere (b. 1451, d. 1496), brother of Giovanni delle Corniole, the famour engraver of gems.

da Messina.[1] The work has more nerve than is found in Francia, to whom it was long assigned, but is not essentially different from the Vallombrosan friars in the Academy, the freshness and life in whose faces, together with a lively warmth and neat design, have also caused many to believe that Raphael was no stranger to their production.[2]

As Perugino now became better known for the colour in his pictures, the demand for them quickly extended towards Northern Italy, where that quality was more usually sought than in the South. Besides the Madonna which was sent to Cremona, a miracle of the cross had been finished in 1494 for the school of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Venice,[3] and Vannucci was now[4] induced by the Council of that city to consider the draught of a contract for "the flight of Pope Alexander the Third," and "the battle of Spoleto" in the Sala del gran Consiglio. It was proposed that these should be done for 400 ducats without any limit as to time. Perugino boldly claimed 800 ducats, and the negotiation failed, no doubt in consequence of the exorbitance of his demand.[5] But it was of advantage to him that he should

[1] No. 287, Uffizi. On the back of the panel the following is engraved: "1494. di lugli. Pietro Perugino pins^{e} pm^{o} die . . . . ." [* This inscription should read "1494 de luglo. Pietro Perugino pinse Franc^{o} del Opere."] He wears a black skull cap, a red vest laced over a white shirt, a purple coat with brown facing. One hand leans on a parapet; the other holds a scroll, on which one reads "Timete deum." The colour is a little veiled. The distance is sky, hills, and water.

[2] Flor. Acad. of Arts, Nos. 242, 241 (wood, oil). Both are profiles, looking up as if appealing to heaven; one turned to the right, inscribed: "Blasio Gen. Servo tuo succurre"; the other turned to the left, inscribed: "D. Balthasar Monaco s. tuo succurre." Both come from the convent of Vallombrosa, and are on small panels.

[3] CICOGNA, *Iscriz. venet., u.s.*, i. 47, who says the picture perished by fire.

[*4] On August 9, 1494 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 359).

[5] The record is published in GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 69, 70, but the contract does not seem to have been ratified; for in January, 1515, Titian offered to cover the space previously intended for Perugino, and to do the work for 400 ducats and the reversion of the Sanseria in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. He takes credit, in a letter making this offer, for liberal intentions, inasmuch as his claim "is the half of what Perugino required for the same labour." It has been supposed that the Pietro Peroxino of the record of 1494 and the Perusin of Titian are not the same person as Pietro Perugino; but this view can scarcely be supported, and was not held by Gaye or Cadorin (see *Dei miei studi, &c.*, by Abb. CADORIN, in the *Atti dell'Ateneo*, at Venice. 1846). [* For a convincing demonstration that the docu-

not be obliged to leave Florence, where a casual absentee might speedily lose a practice reared by patient industry.[1]

He had thus far endeavoured to combine a diligent study of composition with an honest striving towards a faithful reproduction of nature. He had tried to master the idea of his subjects, and to give to his personages the appearance, the passion, the action, and the meaning suited to them. He was already quoted as one of the most able men in Central Italy for the application of the system of oil. A short year elapsed, and the Pietà of 1495 at the Pitti marked him out amongst Florentine craftsmen as a candidate for the highest celebrity. One of the greatest attractions of this piece consisted, according to Vasari, in the brilliancy of its tones and of its backgrounds;[2] and even now that time and restoring have dimmed and altered it, the landscape is one of Perugino's best. It was natural, indeed, that independently of all else, his cleverness in distances should excite admiration in a city where they had long been noted for a comparatively monotonous surface, upon which trees or buildings were laid in with touches of opaque substance, copiously impregnated with vehicle, and necessarily rough in consequence. By introducing transparent and varied tints into them, and thus adding a charm all but unknown to the Peselli, Pollaiuoli, Verrocchio, and Signorelli, he captivated the spectator. His pre-eminence in this respect was due to his command of means in the use of the mediums, now in course of rapid improvement, at Florence; but not to that cause alone. The Umbrians had long bestowed an extraordinary

ment of 1494 refers to Perugino, see GRONAU, in *Rassegna d' arte*, ix. 132.] One reason adduced for the belief in the existence of a Venetian Pietro Perugino is that a picture once in the Rinuccini Gallery, representing SS. Mark between Jerome and Gerard, is signed: "Pietro Perugino pinx. anno 1512," and is evidently not by Pietro Vannucci. This is perfectly correct. The picture in question is by a Venetian of whom we shall have to speak. It is of a reddish tone of much impasto, with lively draperies. We shall not raise a question as to this signature at present, but merely say there is no second picture in existence that bears a similar one. The names of the saints at the base of their niches are repainted. [* The authors return to this picture in the *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, iii. 89, suggesting that it may be a work by Pellegrino da San Daniele or Morto da Feltre. Its present whereabouts is not known.]

* [1] He was back at Florence by October 30, 1494, when he bought a house in the Borgo Pinti of that city (BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 173, 360).

[2] VASARI, iii. 569.

attention upon details of landscape. Perugino took this speciality with him to Florence; but instead of considering that section of his art as definitely acquired, he carefully looked at Masaccio in the Carmine. At Rome he saw how Ghirlandaio added interest to his wall-paintings by wide expanses of vales and of lakes, and when he returned to Florence, how admirably Domenico combined his incidents with scenery, in the Sassetti chapel and in the choir of S. Maria Novella. Instead of laying the Pietà in a formal convergence of rays by placing the centre of vision in the middle of the picture—instead of pursuing the course which he had followed in the Delivery of the Keys, and which he afterwards repeated so frequently in the days of his decline, he set the centre of vision at one side, and broke up the features of the country into simple yet graceful sinuosities to show pools of water disappearing in the horizon, and limpid on the outskirts of a city. He fitted trees and shrubbery so cleverly that in spite of all the calculation which it reveals, the result seems a spontaneous creation of nature. It was not enough for him to have thus given a special beauty to one particular part; he also made the lines of the country complementary to those of the figures, which he ceased to place with Umbrian symmetry and regularity, in order to put them together pyramidally on the principles illustrated by his predecessors. The Saviour's body, still full of the flexibility of life, but supine in death, is supported in its winding sheet on a stone by Joseph of Arimathea; the head is held up by the Magdalen, the left arm by the Virgin. Mary Cleofas, looking over the heads of both, completes the pyramid, with Mary Salomé kneeling at her side between the Virgin and a youth, who stoops to raise the corners of the cloth at the Redeemer's feet. St. John and the wife of Zebedee, Nicodemus, and two others stand to the right and left. In this arrangement, Perugino leaves nothing to desire, balancing and harmonizing everything with a sobriety and fitness only to be found in the best composers, emulating the Masaccios and Ghirlandaios without servilely copying them, and imparting to all at the same time his own peculiar sentiment. The Virgin shows her maternal love in an agony of grief, without grimace. In the Magdalen, sorrow and sympathy are united in the face and in the action. Joseph of Arimathea turns away his head,

overcome by the melancholy of the scene, whilst the youth at the Saviour's feet is less affected. In thus modifying the intensity and form of pain in each person, as in transmitting individuality to the features, Perugino's merit is undeniable. Softness of expression and select grace give it the impress of its originality —an originality well calculated to temper the rugged grandeur of the nobler, or the realism of the more naturalistic, Florentines, and prepare the way for Raphael. As a study of nude, the Redeemer is finely proportioned, without the false conventionalism so often conspicuous in the hands, feet, or articulations, of earlier and later creations, and without their stiffness, length, or leanness. One sees in it as in the surrounding mourners, the forerunner of that splendid work of the sixteenth century, the Pietà of Fra Bartolommeo at the Pitti, in the greater spontaneity and more intense feeling of which one still traces a happy impress derived from Perugino.[1]

The year 1495 was thus remarkable in the career of Vannucci. It was that in which an Umbrian, imbibing the principles, slowly developed throughout two centuries since Giotto, successfully applied the laws of composition, and added a calm tenderness to the gravity of the Florentine school, and, through his influence on Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael, replaced, as far as it was possible to do so, the pious mysticism that had perished with Angelico. The time, indeed, was one when no artist could hope to revive the simplicity of old convent art, when no reformer, were he talented or enthusiastic as Savonarola proved himself, could restore a religious spirit incompatible with the condition of society during the ebb of republican liberty; but it was still a time when a pleasing gentleness, an expression of purity in representing heart in conjunction with positive beauty, might be substituted

[1] This picture is now No. 164 in the Pitti Gallery, and was originally in the convent of S. Chiara at Florence. It is inscribed on the stone supporting the Redeemer's body as follows: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit A. D. M.CCCCLXXXXV." The colour was doubtless charming before it was altered by exposure. The head of an old man praying, right of Nicodemus, is changed in tone, as well as the face of Mary Cleofas. [* The cartoon for the head of Joseph of Arimathea is at Christ Church Library, Oxford. See Robinson, *A Critical Account of the Drawings of Michael Angelo and Raffaelle in the University Galleries, Oxford* (Oxford, 1870) p. 155.]

for the deeper and more imposing sentiment of Giotto, Orcagna, Traini, and Fra Giovanni.

When the nuns of S. Chiara, for whom the Pietà was finished, were in possession of it, a rich Florentine, Francesco del Pugliese, offered them threefold its price if they should consent to exchange it for a counterpart by Perugino himself. The offer was rejected, because the nuns ascertained from Vannucci that he did not think he could repeat it without failure.[1] He had probably not the courage to copy a picture on which his own labour had been exclusively bestowed, and fearing that his pupils would not make a replica as good as the original, he preferred undertaking new subjects. He thus produced at intervals the Christ in prayer on the Mount of Olives for the Gesuati, the Crucifixion for S. Girolamo delle Poverine at Florence, the Madonna with Saints for the Magistracy, and that of the Virgin and Child for S. Pietro Martire of Perugia. In every instance he maintained the ground he had previously won, or he exhibited his fullest powers as a colourist. We may be grateful indeed for the preservation of these examples in their original loveliness, and value them for affording that insight into Perugino's progress in oil-painting which is denied in the faded though still beautiful ones of the same period, previously described. The Christ on the Mount is now in the Academy of Florence,[2] where one sees how well Perugino has placed the Redeemer on an elevation, kneeling and praying, whilst an Angel brings the cup. The three apostles lie sleeping on the foreground as Iscariot, in the distance, leads the soldiers to the capture. With much thought in the conception, and much freshness in the types, the picture gains an additional charm from the hour with which Perugino marks the time of the action. The sun has just set, and a strong reflection still rests on the Saviour and apostles, who detach themselves in gloom from the pale horizon of the sky. In this twilight the forms are finely brought out by well-modelled relief. In the Crucifixion the Virgin and St. Jerome stand at the sides of the cross in a landscape after sunset, and in order to strengthen the melancholy of the scene, Perugino gives it a mysterious depth of atmosphere in a low key

[1] VASARI, iii. 569 *sq.*

[2] Academy of Arts, No. 53.

of warmth, and thus corrects the defects of figures made out with less than usual care and conscientiousness.[1]

The Madonna and Saints executed in 1496[2] for the chapel of the Magistracy at Perugia, and now at the Vatican, is, unlike the two last, a bright daylight piece. The Madonna is enthroned in front of a colonnade on a pedestal between the four patron saints of the city. Her shape is slender, and her appearance extremely gentle. The saints breathe contentment and sympathizing tenderness. But the colouring is vigorous and masterly, of a pleasing richness in the flesh, tending to that brownish ruddy tinge attractive in Antonello and the Bellini, and in the early Giorgiones; whilst the draperies are prepared and glazed with a perfect knowledge of the laws of contrast, and with great skill in technical handling.[3] The Virgin and Child of S. Pietro Martire was finished in 1498.[4] It represents the Virgin seated in a landscape attended by two angels in flight, and the Infant Saviour on her lap blessing six brethren in white, kneeling behind. The child is a little fat and square, and the features of His mother are a little vulgar; but the expression and action are softly meditative, and this impression is heightened by the calm glow of evening which overspreads the groups, not with the vividness of that in the Christ at the Mount, but with a clearer, milder

[1] Academy of Arts, No. 78, noticed in its original place by Richa (*Chiese*, ii. 301).

[*2] For 1496 read 1495 (see *postea*, p. 315, n. 3).

[3] This picture was dismembered and taken by the French to Paris. The frame and a Pietà forming the pinnacle remained in the Sala del Magistrato at Perugia, now in the Public Gallery. The Madonna was returned at the peace of 1815, not to Perugia, but to Rome. It is in the Vatican, and signed on the pedestal of the Virgin's throne: "Hoc Petrus de Chastro plebis pinxit" (see Vasari, iii. 580).

[4] Since the text was written, the panel has been deposited in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XV., No. 2). The Brotherhood of S. Pietro Martire was originally called "Confraternity di S. M. Novella," afterwards "della Consolazione." It appears from the *Ann. Decemvirali* for 1498 that the picture was painted in March of that year (Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 156). [* The Municipality of Perugia granted on April 20, 1496, the Confraternita dei Disciplinati di S. M. Novella a subsidy of 10 florins "pro una tabula fienda in dicta fraternitate cum figure." Perugino had begun the picture by May 3, 1497, and it was finished by March 3, 1498. Dr. Bombe identifies it, however, not with the Virgin and Child above-mentioned, but with the Virgin and Child appearing to SS. Francis and Bernardino, noticed *postea*, p. 358 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 362 *sqq.*, 178).]

reddish-brown, polished as enamel. It is another of those instances in which Perugino adapts the *technica* of his art to the rendering of an idea, and trusts for effect to colour rather than to form, emulating the Venetians, who harmonize their tints with the incidents they depict. The system upon which all these panels were wrought was almost the perfection of that which had been inaugurated by the Peselli and the Pollaiuoli, improved by Verrocchio, by Leonardo and Perugino. It was not simple, nor was it acquired at once.

Perugino prepared flesh with a warm brown tone which he worked into rotundity by successive strata, leaving the high lights for the close.[1] These strata were such that each should be lighter in colour, yet fuller in body than the last, and therefore the final and most substantial one was the high light which occupied the least space in the picture. Care was taken in laying the second not to lose all trace of the first, but to let its value appear through the superposed colour. This, in a few words, was the technic of the Van Eycks; it created flesh-tints merging from thin to full body in proportion as the parts fell out of shadow, receiving light from without, and transparency from within. The consequence was a somewhat unbroken surface, with insufficient half-tone; but this disadvantage was corrected (*ex. gr.* in the Madonna of the Vatican) by strengthening the darkest spots with a final scumble, which remained higher on the panel than the rest, and the result was a clear and lucid enamel betraying less of the secrets of manipulation than the painting of the earlier innovators. To complete a picture by these means was a matter of calculation and certainty of hand, an undertaking in which a false step involved absolute failure; but the method was perfectly familiar to Perugino, and was invariably used during his transition from this period to the more advanced one in which he carried out the altarpiece of the National Gallery. In draperies, the processes varied; all cold mixtures were put in first

[1] Vasari alludes, no doubt, to this when he says (speaking of the crackling of the surface in Perugino's pictures at the Gesuati): "Ciò avviene perchè quando si lavora il primo colore che si pone sopra la mestica (perciocchè tre mani di colori si danno, l'un sopra l'altro) non è ben secco; onde poi col tempo nello seccarsi tirano per la grossezza loro, e vengono ad aver forza di fare que' crepati" (VASARI, iii. 574).

with warm substrata, covered over like the flesh-tints, and glazed.[1] Vice versa, warm or glowing colours were rubbed on with cold undertones, and this method was followed with unwavering consistency even in changing hues. Reds and lake-reds alone were sometimes laid on above cool preparations in half-body with high surface lights and shadows, and glazed; sometimes the glaze preceded the lights and shadows, sometimes the lights were furnished by the undertone. In general all colours except lake-reds were opaque and of solid impasto, receiving light from without, with shadows superposed, and occasional hatching in the projections. The brightest shades were invariably chosen for the foreground, changing hues for the middle distance.[2]

During the whole of these years, until the Perugians determined to decorate the college of the Cambio, Vannucci resided almost entirely at Florence, visiting Perugia occasionally for the purpose of painting a picture, or receiving orders for new ones. At one of these visits, the Vatican Madonna, which he had promised in 1483, was allotted to him a second time on March 6, 1496 (n. s.);[3] Santi di Apollonio's likenesses of the members of the Council of 1483, which had been upwards of twelve years in some secluded garret, were cancelled by the Council of 1496,[4] and Perugino substituted for them a Pietà. He was to deliver the whole in six months from the date of the contract, and no doubt did so; but he was not satisfied with so little, and two days later he signed with the prior of the Benedictines of S. Pietro for an Ascension, to be completed in two years. Nor is it unlikely that he agreed at the very same time for the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire.[5] On his return to Florence, after finishing the altarpiece of the Magistrato,[6] he invested some of his money in a purchase

[1] The use of verdigris or bitumen in glazes for drapery has caused many of those parts in Perugino's pictures to blacken.

[2] See Vasari's opinion, already quoted, p. 285.

[3] Mariotti publishes the contract (*Lett. pitt., u.s.*, note to p. 157). [* The date should be March 6, 1495 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 362).]

[4] *Ib., ib.* [* For 1496, read again 1495.]

[*5] *Cf. antea*, p. 313, n. 4. Towards the end of 1495, Perugino again visited Venice (Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 362).

[6] In November (24), 1496, he contracts at Perugia with the Benedictines of S. Pietro for the frame (and certain figures of prophets in it) of the Ascension. The contract in Mezzanotte, *u.s.*, pp. 297, 298. [* Perugino received various rates of

of land in the parish of S. Piero Maggiore, where he usually lived, and thus appears to have contemplated a permanent stay.[1] Permanent, indeed, it still remained for some time, for in the midst of other labours he found leisure to attend various consultations on matters of art. In January, 1497, he accompanied Benozzo Gozzoli, Cosimo Rosselli, and Filippino Lippi to value the frescoes of Alesso Baldovinetti in the Church of S. Trinita at Florence, and in the language and orthography of his "opinion" shows himself undoubtedly the most illiterate of the four.[2] In June, 1498, he was present at a most important discussion.

Upon the death of Lorenzo de' Medici it was observed by the superstition of the people that various signs and omens of a highly doleful nature gave notice of coming misfortunes. The most striking amongst these was the destruction of the lantern of S. Maria del Fiore by lightning, which prefigured, as Macchiavelli believed, the ruin of the republic.[3] The fall of the lantern was not in itself an irreparable injury, and though months went by before the marks of the accident were obliterated, it was finally replaced in its original state. Simon Pollaiuoli, the superintendent of the cathedral, was induced either by the consuls of the woolstaplers, or by his own fear of responsibility, to submit the repairs to a meeting of architects, sculptors, and painters, and at this meeting, Filippino Lippi, Lorenzo di Credi, and Perugino all tendered their advice.[4] There was, in fact, hardly a public or private deliberation to which Perugino was not called, and thus reap the fruit of a life of privation, during which a bed was long an unknown luxury, and night was turned into day for the sake of learning.[5] Yet, as sometimes happens to men who have struggled, the sweets of the harvest were so pleasant to Perugino that he began to look upon their accumulation as of

payment for this altarpiece between January 18, 1496, and April 23, 1498 (Bombe. *u.s.*, p. 361 *sqq.*). The fresco of the Crucifixion in S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi at Florence (*cf. postea*, p. 320 *sq.*) was finished on April 20, 1496.]

[1] Annot. Vasari, iii. 589. He is called in the record: "Habitator in populo S. Petri Majoris."

[2] The record in full is in *Alcuni documenti*, *u.s.*, *Nozze Farinola Vai*, p. 18.

[3] Macchiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, Niccolini's edition, 8°, Flor., 1848, p. 413.

[4] The minutes of this meeting are in Guasti, *La cupola*, *u.s.*, pp. 119–21, and Vannucci is described in it as "Florentiæ degens."

[5] Vasari, iii. 565.

more interest than the preservation of his fame; and from this time dates the beginning of an activity in which his pupils and journeymen had a share as great as his own, and in which their mediocrity, covered with his name, was necessarily calculated to injure him in public estimation. This phase in the master's career is already marked in the Ascension of S. Pietro of Perugia which was taken to Paris by the French, and was not returned in its primitive condition. The central Ascension is in the Museum of Lyons, the lunette in S. Gervais at Paris, the predella in the Museum of Rouen, three of the pilaster saints in the Vatican at Rome, and the other five in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Perugia.[1] The Ascension is on a conventional model, fitted to please men not yet initiated to the more perfect and natural creations of Perugino's successors.[2] The Redeemer is draped to the hip, and points upwards with both hands, suggesting that the two angels who support his glory of cherubs' heads are taking him to the region of bliss, where two seraphs attend the Eternal in a circular glory of the same kind issuing from a cloud in benediction.[3] The joys of the heavenly host are represented by four winged players in couples at the side of the Saviour. The Virgin, in the foreground of the landscape above which He ascends, turns her head up-

[1] The contract is in full in the appendix to Mezzanotte's *Life of Perugino u.s.*, pp. 295, 297. But a description of the picture as it stood in S. Pietro, and of the predella and pilaster saints as they were preserved in the sacristy of the church at the close of the last century, is given in Constantini's *Guida di Perugia*, 2nd ed., 1818, p. 41, and in Orsini, *Vita di Perugino, u.s.*, p. 160. [* Two rounds, containing the figures of David and Isaiah, now in the Museum at Nantes (Nos. 384, 385), are stated by Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, p. 175 *sq.*) to have formed part of the S. Pietro polyptych. A fragment of the predella is, according to the same writer, in the Perugia Gallery (Sala X., No. 6 *bis*).]

[2] No. 58, Museum of Lyons. Claimed in 1815, but given to the town of Lyons, by Pius VII. Transferred to canvas, but showing the marks of two splits running vertically down the picture. Restored with punctuated stippling of a red tone. The flesh lights pallid and chalky from abrasion—*e.g.*, in the Virgin's face and the torso of the Christ. The blue sky is scaled, restored, and out of harmony. The distance is so carelessly repainted that the heads of some foreground figures are covered at the outlines. The glazes over the angels' forms are removed. Figures all but life-size.

[3] The upper part of the Eternal's frame is seen. This portion of the picture is not now in its old place in S. Gervais. When there it had suffered from cleaning and subsequent dust. A horizontal split cut the Eternal in half, and the prism of the glory had become blue by the abrasion of the other colours.

wards, whilst SS. Peter and Paul and the company of the apostles, in diverse attitudes, follow her example. In the predella the Adoration of the Magi is rich in distant incidents. The Baptism is formal, the frame of the Saviour being finely rendered. The Resurrection comprises the usual number of soldiers asleep about the tomb, on the edge of which Christ is standing with the banner. But the foreshortenings are drawn with little success, and would prove Perugino to have been inferior in the reproduction of difficult positions to Signorelli.[1] The half-lengths of the pilasters at Perugia and at Rome are fair enough for the place they were destined to fill.[2]

The whole composition and isolated bits of it were frequently repeated by Perugino. A replica of the Ascension without the lunette or predella was taken for the Cathedral of Borgo S. Sepolcro, where it still exists in a bad condition,[3] having been apparently confided exclusively to assistants. The glory of the Eternal was used anew in the arched sky of the Assumption at the Academy of Arts at Florence; the players and the two angels supporting the Redeemer's glory, deprived of scrolls, were transferred to the same picture. The Eternal was given without alteration in the fresco of the sybils and prophets at the Cambio of Perugia. The glory of angels and some saints were introduced into the altarpiece of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi at Florence, and variations of these again into an Assumption in the parish church of Corciano near Perugia, and into the Caraffa panel in the Duomo at Naples.[4] The handling of the original at S. Pietro was once

[1] Rouen Museum, No. 472, Adoration. No. 473, Baptism. No. 474, Resurrection, under the name of Raphael. [* Now officially ascribed to Perugino.] In the first of these the Virgin sits to the right, with the Child on her knee, the kings in front to the left, the foremost one with one knee on the ground, and his arms across on his breast. Between the kneeling king and Virgin, backwards, St. Joseph. Suite of kings with horses in distance to the left, and the announcement to the shepherds on a hill to the right. In the second, Christ with the Baptist in centre, between four angels in adoration. Two figures in converse at each side of the foreground. In the third, as in the second, a strip of the foreground has been renewed (ten figures).

[2] At S. Pietro, Perugia, SS. Scolastica, Ercolano, Pietro abate, Costanzo, and Mauro. At Rome, Vatican Gallery, SS. Benedict, Placido, and Flavia. These eight panels, fairly preserved, of a low brownish tone, with high surface shadows.

[3] It was painted at Florence and sent from thence (VASARI, iii. 578).

[4] Noticed by VASARI (iii. 578).

bold and free, but in its conception and execution has neither the unity nor the charm of the contemporary Christ on the Mount, and Madonna with Saints at the Vatican. It stands in this respect on an equality with the Virgin of 1497 in S. Maria Nuova of Fano, where six saints at the sides of the throned Madonna and Child combine the gentleness of Umbrian types with the fine choice of Florentine proportions. A charming predella with scenes from the life of Mary contains compositions in the best style; but a lunette representing the dead Saviour supported on His tomb is incorrect and coarse in the nude.[1] This altarpiece, again, is superior to the Annunciation of (?) 1498 in the same church,[2] though on a par with a much-damaged Virgin,Child, and Saints in S. Maria delle Grazie, outside Sinigaglia.[3] It was about this

[1] The Virgin enthroned supports the Infant erect on her knee; left, S. John, a bishop, and S. Francis; right, SS. Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalen. On the step of the throne the words: "Durantis Phanen. ad intemerate Virginis laudē tercentūm aureis alq. Ꝺ hujus templi Bonō centū superaditis hanc solerti cura fieri demandavit. Mateo de Martinotiis fidei commissario procuranti MCCCC97. . . . . Petrus Perusinus pinxit." Wood, oil, with two vertical splits. The surface darkened, the blues and shadows generally of high surface. In the lunette Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus. The Virgin is to the left, St. John Evangelist to the right. The lunette has a larger base than the central panel, which, however, is now without its pilasters. In the predella the Birth of the Virgin is a composition of eight figures, and Florentine in character. The Presentation in the Temple is very prettily arranged, recalling the same subject by the youthful Raphael (eleven figures). The Marriage of the Virgin (ten figures). The Annunciation is under a long arcade in vanishing perspective. The Assumption comprises the gift of the girdle to St. Thomas.

Three pieces, copies (feeble) of the Nativity, Marriage, and Assumption, are in the Brera in Milan (No. 483). [* These formed originally the predella of an altarpiece in the church of the Minori Conventuali at Montone (near Città di Castello), dated 1507, the principal panel of which is lost (*cf. postea*, p. 345, n. 2).]

[2] In the upper part, the Eternal in a circular glory filled with cherubs' heads. There is freshness in the figure of the angel, and a feeble rosy tone pervades the panel. Note a long split vertically in the centre, a modern silver crown on the Virgin's head [* now removed.] In some parts abraded colour. On the desk before the Virgin the following mutilated inscription: "S. A. T. . . . cale . . . ttique Patrui olim pon . . . enerii hac tabula er . . gi in . . . ohc tura a . . . . . VII MCCC. . . . . III." ? (1498). "Petrus de C . . . tro pl. . ."

[3] Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John Baptist, Louis, and Francis (left), and Peter, Paul, and James the Elder (right), in front of an arcade through which a landscape is seen (figures life-size). On the throne a vase is depicted, and beneath it a scutcheon. The picture is very much injured, and scaling in

time, no doubt, that Perugino composed and executed the Crucifixion at Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi of Florence,[1] a fresco in which we are less struck by the delicate sentiment and elevation pervading the Pietà of Santa Chiara, than by the large and spirited display of form which marks a later altarpiece at Vallombrosa. In disposing the figures after the Umbrian fashion as seen through the arches of a colonnade, Perugino probably followed no greater constraint than that which was imposed on him by habit; but we almost regret to find a display of power so extraordinary confined by such artificial means. Through the central arching we see the crucified Redeemer adored by the Magdalen on her knees, whilst in similar archings to the right and left we observe the Virgin and SS. Bernard and John the Evangelist, with St. Benedict. Amongst Perugino's sacred compositions it would be difficult to find one in which the Saviour is more nobly represented. Perugino never combined with happier art the forms and proportions of Leonardo with the tenderness and resignation of Angelico. There is something inexpressibly resigned in the bending head and drooping eyes; there is a masterly clearness and correctness of outline and a natural simplicity of shape in every part that surprises us in a man of Perugino's conventional form. In the standing Virgin and Evangelist, or kneeling Bernard and Benedict, we are face to face with the yearning piety and absolute resignation of the master's religious impersonations generally, and yet there is so much supple force in the movements and so much truth in the expressions that we are carried, as it were, beyond the usual mark of Perugino. Type, mask, and drapery are all beautiful in their softness. We detect in the yielding St. Bernard one of the models which so powerfully affected Raphael—the very counterpart of those monks of Vallombrosa at the Florence Academy which some critics still think (though we do not) to be Sanzio's own. By the side of St. John, who stands with bending head and looking up to Christ, we have the

consequence of a strong varnish. St. Louis, much injured, also right arm and part of left leg of Baptist, and part of the Infant's head. Restored by one Romano in 1857. Wood.

*[1] As already stated (*antea*, p. 305. n. 2), it was ordered from Perugino on November 20, 1493, and finished on April 20, 1496.

Photo, Alinari

THE CRUCIFIXION

By Pietro Perugino

From a fresco in S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Florence

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grandiose St. Benedict, whose air and face strongly recall the St. Jerome in Raphael's Madonna di Foligno. The landscapes are truly described by Vasari as admirable. In none of his frescoes does Perugino produce a finer effect of colour. His tones are clear, yet rich and luscious, and strongly relieved against the lighter tints of the sky and landscape, and there is much less use than usual of dry retouches and hatchings.[1]

It was not extraordinary, considering the quantity of works which Perugino thus delivered in a couple of years, that some of them should be inferior to others, nor is it a wonder that some parts of a picture should be better than the rest; but it is possible that time elapsed before Perugino seriously injured himself by trusting too much to his helpmates, or by his habits of repetition. His reputation was still intact when, in 1498, the Orvietans, not as yet tired of waiting for his arrival, applied to him again to visit the Cappella S. Brizio, and when the guild of the Cambio, in 1499, asked him to decorate their audience-hall.[2] Two such requests, received simultaneously, were well calculated to flatter his self-love. They could hardly leave him in doubt as to which of them would be most gratifying to his pride. In both cases he should be obliged to leave his permanent abode at Florence; but if he went to Orvieto he would still be distant from his native place, whilst a stay at Perugia would enable him to revisit it and to enjoy

[1] Florence, Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. This convent was for a long time unapproachable. It is now open. The fresco is in the chapter-house, covering one wall with figures as large as life. It is not free from damage and restoring, as will appear from the following remarks: The cross, which now descends to the foreground, was of old considerably within the picture; the prolongation by restoring damages the general effect, leaving the Magdalen far in rear and out of place, and cutting into the drapery of that figure's dress. It is equally clear that a strip of ground along the whole fresco is repainted. The Magdalen's red mantle and its lining is an old restoration, and the colour in the pupils of the eyes has scaled away. The distance above and behind St. Benedict is retouched, and the retouches affect the outline of St. John's form. The dress of St. Benedict is retouched except in the sleeves. (*Cf.* Vasari, iii. 584; Albertini, *Memoriale*, p. 13; and Rumohr, *Forschungen*, ii. 344.)

*[2] It is not known when the guild issued this invitation. Already, on January 26, 1496, the question was raised at a meeting of the guild whether the hall was to be decorated with paintings "manu m. Petri vel alterius magistri." The earliest payment was made to Perugino on February 25, 1499 (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 181 *sqq.*; Gnoli, in *Rassegna d'arte*, xiii. 75).

amongst his townsmen the respect due to his name and success. He chose Perugia, and after writing to the Orvietans to say that he was otherwise engaged, he accepted the offer of the guild of the Cambio. In April, 1499, Signorelli was appointed to the Chapel of S. Brizio, and Perugino had probably begun his equally important commission.[1]

The audience-hall of the guild of changers, or bankers, at Perugia was built and inaugurated in 1453 without any pictorial adornments.[2] It was a cube with the sides halved and arched elliptically so as to give the ceiling a rich groining; a noble area for an artist to cover with appropriate designs. Of these, it would appear that Perugino was not allowed to dictate the subjects, which were submitted to him on the part of the "auditors" by Francesco Maturanzio, professor of rhetoric at Perugia and secretary to the office of the decemvirs.[3] Under his auspices it was determined that the vaulting should receive the seven planets and the signs of the Zodiac. The wall fronting the entrance was to contain the Nativity and the Transfiguration, that to the spectator's left, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude, and illustrative portraits of classic heroes; that to the right, the Eternal, the prophets and sybils; and a square near the entrance, Cato as the emblem of wisdom. A vacant half-space was committed to a cunning wood-carver, Antonio di Mercatello of Massa, whose labours were completed immediately after those of Perugino. The full pilasters at the angles were ordered to be filled with arabesque ornament, and the divisions with imitated pilasters in the same style.

[1] See the deliberations of the Orvietans appointing Signorelli in which it is stated that Perugino had written to declare his intention of not coming (*antea*, and DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo d' Orvieto*, *u.s.*, pp. 316, 319). [* See also FUMI, *u.s.*, p. 405 *sq.*; BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 364 *sq.*]

[2] MARCHESI (Ab°. Raffaello), *Il Cambio di Perugia*, 8°, Perugia, 1853, p. 111; and MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, pp. 157, 158. [* For a complete history of the building of the Cambio, see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 180 *sq.*]

[3] This may be inferred from the fact that the inscriptions on the tablets in the frescoes of the walls are contained in a MS. of poetical works by Maturanzio, now preserved in the municipal library of Perugia. Maturanzio seems to have derived some of the subjects from a MS. Cicero, also in the Perugia library, in which there are miniatures of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, with the heroes of antiquity celebrated for the exercise of those virtues (MARCHESI, *u.s.*, pp. 357, 358).

In dealing with such incidents as these the skill of the composer is of less moment than that of the ornamental draughtsman. Apart from the Nativity and Transfiguration there was no incident to depict, and in the setting of the former Perugino had now nothing new to express. He did not attempt to introduce any fundamental changes into the Nativity, which in his eyes had already been perfected in the altarpiece of the Albani Villa, and he merely substituted two shepherds for the angels between the Virgin and St. Joseph, adding three seraphim in song in the heaven. He went confessedly[1] on the principle that a composition which had once been received with applause might be admired again in a repetition, and thus throughout his lifetime the Nativity received little alteration at his hands. Whenever he was required to paint that episode, he took out the old cartoon and applied it afresh, instructing his pupils, no doubt, to think meanwhile of the original at the Cambio or elsewhere; and so the churches of S. Francesco of Montefalco and S. Francesco al Monte of Perugia were adorned without much trouble to himself.

The Transfiguration might have afforded him an occasion for displaying qualities exceptionally eminent in the Pietà of S. Chiara, if success had not already blunted his energies in the conception of new forms of distribution. His Christ, erect on the clouds, with a breeze playing gracefully in the draperies, listens full of serene dignity to the words, whilst Moses and Elias stoop in humble prayer at the sides of his glory; but the disproportion between these and the wondering apostles below is not so pardonable in an artist of Perugino's time as it would be in one of the fourteenth century, and the crouching of the recumbent Peter is too affected even for Vannucci. Yet this transfiguration also was preserved for future use and transposed with slight diversity into a picture at S. Maria Nuova of Perugia. Still, we should not forget that the Nativity and Transfiguration, like their companions at the Cambio, are admirable for the brilliancy of their colour, the feeling and freshness transfused into the figures, and the excellence of the handling. In the Triumph of Religion, as well as in the Cardinal Virtues, the simplest known arrangement is that adopted by Perugino. The Eternal is attended by two

[1] Vasari, iii. 586 *sq.*

angels, and gives his blessing. He presides, as it were, over the groups beneath him. The prophets, headed by Solomon, the sybils by the Erythrean, occupy the foreground. Isaiah, Moses, Daniel, David, and Jeremiah; the Persian, Cuman, Lybian, Tiburtine, and Delphic prophetesses, are in converse, and each hold a scroll with a motto. They are all graceful apparitions in the well-considered and affectedly elegant motion that Perugino sought in every instance to realize, but fine in proportion, and individually grand.

The Virtues are likewise seated on clouds, and bear their appropriate emblems, whilst their embodiment is illustrated in a long line of heroes; in Fabius Maximus, Socrates, and Numa, the prudent; in Furius Camillus, Pittacus, and Trajan, celebrated for their justice; in Lucius Sicinius, Leonidas, and Cocles, men of undaunted fortitude; in Scipio, Pericles, and Cincinnatus, the glorious representatives of temperance. The same calm resignation and gentle action marks them all, irrespective of difference of race, of time, and of character. In Sicinius alone Perugino repeats the movement given to St. George or St. Michael in many of his sacred pieces; and imitates with more than usual power the typical pose of Donatello's statue. He bears in mind the examples left by Ghirlandaio in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, and though he cannot rival the high mien, the noble stature, or the dignified expression of that master's classic champions, the memory of them gives strength to his less masculine conceptions of them. In the Virtues he remembers other Florentines, and his Fortitude is derived from that of Botticelli. In the execution, he is prodigal of all the qualities that he possesses. His style expands to its breadth. The forms are remarkably firm, perfect, and well chosen. The proportions are most correct, and the attitudes are as natural as their forced grace will allow. The cast of his draperies is charming. His merits are in fact conspicuous.[1]

[1] Nativity: The distance and architecture are much injured by restoring. To the left the angel appears to the shepherds.

Transfiguration: The best of the lower figures is that of St. John protecting his eyes with his left hand, and raising himself on the right arm. The sky is repainted, and the words, "Bonum est nos hic esse," are partially covered over.

Sibyls and prophets: The former, it is needless to repeat, are not by Ingegno,

Of the ceiling he gives the drawing which he confides to his pupils. A central lozenge, occupying one quarter of its surface, circumscribes a square in which Apollo on his biga is driven by four horses of various colours. The speed is great, and the ribbands curl in the wind as the wheels revolve; and the god himself, with flowing hair, appears to bound as he throws his weight on one foot and poises the other behind him. He is very thin and young in type; and his head seems studied from the classic models of the ancient time. The production of the sides of the principal lozenge forms six triangular spaces. Each of them contains a round, in one of which Jupiter, on a car drawn by eagles, receives a cup of nectar from Hebe. The helmeted Mars in armour sits on a similar seat commanding two rampant steeds. Saturn with his scythe is driven leisurely by two dragons; Venus is wafted through the sky on a throne by two doves, and expects the dart of Amor, who shoots from the clouds. Luna, as Diana the huntress, nude to the waist, sits in a chariot with two nymphs in harness. Mercury, at ease on one leg, holds the serpentine wand, and cleaves the air with the cocks bound to his chair. The signs of the Zodiac are on the wheels of the chariots. The lozenges and triangles are fringed with supporting ornament, of monsters, beasts, birds, vases, and twining flowers. The rounds are framed most tastily, and are harmonically varied with all the hues of the prism.

The sketches for the different parts of the vaulting, we have said, are by Perugino, and the manual labour by his pupils. This is not a mere abstract supposition, but a probability supported

nor are they by Raphael; and it is impossible to admit that the Daniel is a portrait of Sanzio. The execution of this fresco is masterly. One can still trace the pouncing. The sky is new.

Prudence and Justice: The face of the first-named virtue is discoloured, the forehead of the Justice is abraded, and the fresco generally is the most dim in the hall. At the sides of the Virtues in this, as in the next piece, mottoes are inscribed on two tablets supported between two naked children. The heads of Fabius, Socrates, and Numa, are much injured.

Fortitude and Temperance: The sky is dimmed in parts by restoring, and dirty in parts from varnish. The heads of Cocles, Pericles, and Cincinnatus are ill-preserved. Cato is paltry, altered and darkened by time. The base of the frescoes is about six feet from the ground, and the sybils, prophets, and heroes are life-size.

on very forcible grounds. The Cambio ceiling is one of the most perfect examples of a system of decoration for which the Umbrian school was celebrated; it realizes an exquisitely fanciful and admirably distributed pattern. Yet, the interpreter of the master's idea is a subordinate, careful and minute to a fault, but without the swing or power of a finished artist. The leanness noticed in the Apollo extends to the rest of the planets, the nudes of which betray the immature but conscientious effort of a youth of the greatest promise. The Jupiter, it is true, is rendered with some nature. The Luna, though disproportioned and affected, is accompanied by two well-made nymphs in good momentary action; but in Mars and Saturn slenderness is united to stiffness. In Venus, a strained motion usual in dancing-girls mars the grace of her thin shape; and the same fault may be found with the Mercury, although his step sets off to advantage a fairly studied figure and a pleasing classic type of head. The garments adhere so tightly that they make the leanness of the wearers more apparent. Their folds are closely fitting, angularly drawn in a straight direction and at sharp angles. A general dryness characterizes the whole; yet there is a perfume of poetry and sentiment in it which sets one seeking who amongst the rising talents in Perugino's shop could have been intrusted with it. Many of the younger assistants—for instance, Spagna—might, it may be granted, have drawn in this manner, for the steps of beginners have an habitual uniformity; but few would have combined such clean carefulness of line with so much feeling;[1] and the way in which Perugino's thought and conception are realized is worthy of the youth of Raphael.[2]

Nor is it difficult to perceive a variety in the technical execution of the ceiling as compared with that of the walls at the Cambio. In the latter, Perugino's great practice is evident in the skill with which the colour is handled, in the power of the transitions from

[1] The area of the ceiling is about 580 square feet. It was restored eighty years ago by Carattoli.

Apollo, head spotted and scaled. Jupiter, flesh-parts, eagles, and dress of the youth presenting the nectar, blackened or renewed. The rest has been partially retouched in most places to fill up splits chiefly. The colour has thus lost much freshness.

[2] We shall return to this point in the Life of Raphael.

light to shadow, and in the vigour and harmony of the tones, whereas the surface of the former is rough and blistered in consequence of the distemper-hatching of red and darker shades on grey-green underground.[1]

Perugino has left his own portrait to posterity on the middle pilaster of the hall. It stands, a bust, in an imitated border hanging by a string of beads from a nail. It is the face of a man not above the common, with some few wrinkles creeping over the forehead, beneath which the small eyes twinkle maliciously under pothook-brows, but rubicund and healthy in aspect, with a stiff, copious brush of hair straggling out of a blood-red cap. Above it, the ciphers of the date 1453 confirm the record which tells that the building was ready in that year, whilst his name below the portrait-frame, and those of "Anno salut. MD." on the opposite pilaster indicate the author of the decorations and the period of their completion.[2] We can only account for the final receipt of Vannucci for payment as late as 1507 by supposing that he drew upon the auditors of the Cambio as suited his occasions,[3] and that his final acknowledgment is for those sums and for a slight remainder still due to him at that time. The formal discharge signed by Perugino is not the only document which has been preserved.[4] The record of it is also due to the "juror of the Cam-

*[1] Professor A. Venturi (*Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. vii., pt. ii., p. 764 *sq.*, 827 *sqq.*), has ascribed to Raphael the figure of Fortitude on the left wall and the whole of the frescoes on the right wall. With Count Gnoli (in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 75 *sqq.*), the editor can only follow him as far as the figure of Fortitude is concerned.

[2] His name is inscribed as follows: "Petrus Perusinus pictor. Perdita si fuerit pingendi hic retulit artem: Si nusquam inventa est hactenus ille dedit." The whole, no doubt, dictated as the subjects of the hall had been before.

*[3] The books of account of the Cambio for 1500 and 1501 are now missing. On March 16, 1502, Perugino is stated to be the creditor of the Cambio for 174 fiorini and 7 soldi; he had thus received by far the greater part (394 fiorini and 68 soldi) of his whole fee (350 ducati d' oro larghi, or 568 fiorini and 75 soldi). There can be no doubt that, by this time at any rate, the whole decoration of the hall was finished. Sundry small payments were, in 1502 and 1504, made either to Perugino personally or to his pupils, Giovanni Ciambella (called Il Fantasia) and Roberto da Montevarchi (mentioned by Vasari, iii. 591). During 1505 and 1506, Perugino received nothing from the Cambio, and the whole balance of his fee (140 fiorini and 27 soldi) was paid to him on June 15, 1507. See Gnoli, *u.s.*, p. 75 *sqq.*

[4] Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, note to p. 158.

bio," Alberto de' Mansueti, who prides himself on being able to note in the matricular register of his guild that he settled Pietro's account.[1]

We may accept the belief that the Audience Hall of the Cambio was finished in 1500 with the more readiness, as tangible proofs exist that Perugino had leisure to complete other important works in the same year. The Assumption which he then delivered to the monks of Vallombrosa is one of those pieces in which Pietro is open to the charge of repetition, because the seraphs attending the Eternal are the same as those in the picture of S. Pietro Martire; and those at the Virgin's side and feet are taken from the cartoons of the Lyons Ascension. But the type of the Almighty rivals the later ones of Raphael; the Virgin who looks up to him is one of the finest in shape, in features, and in attitude that was ever produced by Perugino; and the four saints in the foreground are magnificent as isolated creations.[2] The time had not yet come when Vannucci sacrificed everything to mechanical speed. He was in the prime of life. His sense of the beautiful was unaltered; his power of realizing it increased; and this at the fortunate period when Raphael was taking his most important lessons. It may be conceived with what reverence the scholar watched the completion of the noble frescoes at the Cambio; with what ardour he shared the labours in the hall. We can fancy the zest with which he strove when he saw that his master, after fifty, was still progressing, and could give to the saints in an altarpiece like that of Vallombrosa a greater readiness, a fuller and more pleasing form than before. Raphael could not have joined Vannucci at a more favourable juncture, not only for profiting by the long experience of a tried artist, but for contrasting his performances with those of Pinturicchio, who had also settled at Perugia, or with those, again, of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Bartolommeo Caporali, and Giannicola Manni. None of these had a thought of setting themselves up as Vannucci's rivals. They were willing, on the

[1] According to this evidence also, the receipt was given by Perugino on June 15, 1507. The record is in MARCHESI'S *Il Cambio, u.s.*, note to p. 117.

[2] Academy of Arts, Florence, No. 57, inscribed: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit. A. D. MCCCCC." Wood, oil. Figures life-size. Split; has often been cleaned and retouched, in parts flayed down to the preparation, in others blistered and threatening to scale. VASARI mentions this picture (iii. 577).

contrary, to aid him, and they all endeavoured to imitate his manner. A gallant band of youths, besides, struck by the opportunity of the occasion, offered its services, and was taken into the shop. And thus, no doubt, Raphael attracted the attention of Pinturicchio, and contracted friendship with Spagna, Domenico Alfani, and perhaps Genga. The pictorial resources at Vannucci's command were thus so copious that he might have accepted any number of orders without fear of being disabled from carrying them out.

The works dating from the first years of the century bear such frequent marks of the employment of assistants that it is probable he did not resist the temptation which a fortunate chance had placed in his way. Circumstances occurred, also, which might oblige him to trust more than usual to the industry and tact of his subordinates. In January and February, 1501, he was elected to serve as one of the priors of Perugia.[1] This duty involved residence in the town-hall, and daily attendance for the transaction of civic, to the exclusion of all other, business.[2] Between December, 1501, and February, 1502, he superintended the division of property between himself and his nephews, Agnolo and Giacomo di Giovanni of Città della Pieve, in consequence of the death of his uncle Giovanni.[3] But in spite of these occupations he undertook the Marriage of the Virgin for the chapel of the Brotherhood of S. Giuseppe in S. Lorenzo at Perugia.[4] He signed

[1] Mariotti, *Lett., u.s.*, p. 164; Orsini, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 237.

[2] The priors were obliged to this because they received a salary from the funds of the municipality (Marchesi, *Il Cambio, u.s.*, p. 38).

[3] Della Fargna, in Orsini, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 237. Two records of this division exist, one dated December 11, 1501, the other February 24, 1502.

[4] In February (22), 1495, the Company of S. Giuseppe received grant of a subsidy from the Municipality for an altarpiece (Mariotti, *Lett., u.s.*, p. 155), but discoveries of records in the Perugian archives prove that the picture had not been commenced in November, 1500 (Professor Adam Rossi, in Marchesi's *Il Cambio, u.s.*, p. 323). [* Already, on May 31, 1486, the Company of S. Giuseppe received a subsidy of 200 florins for this altarpiece. It was ordered on September 16, 1489, from Pinturicchio, who, however, left his task unfulfilled. On April 11, 1499, the committee of the Company deliberated whether Perugino or another painter should be entrusted with the painting of the altarpiece. Three members of the committee wished a postponement of the commission until sufficient funds had been collected, but all were unanimous in holding that Perugino was to be the painter. On November 3, 1500, the Company received a further

a contract on September 10, 1502, with the guardian of the convent of San Francesco al Monte, to paint the saints and angels about a carved statue of the Redeemer, and a Coronation of the Virgin.[1] He agreed on October 10 following to give the Florentine Baccio d'Agnolo designs for the stalls of the choir of S. Agostino, and pledged himself as Baccio's security;[2] and finally he took a commission from the fathers of S. Agostino for a Nativity and Baptism of Christ.[3]

As time passed, and increased the interval which separated Perugino from his last days in Florence, old associations and the reminiscences of his youth overpowered the impressions of the capital; and it is striking to see him revert in the Sposalizio to some of the characteristic features of his earlier style. This altarpiece, which did not find its way back to Italy after the Peace of Tolentino, is now in the Museum of Caen in Normandy, and represents the life-size Virgin and St. Joseph united by the high priest in presence of two carefully parted groups of men and women in front of an octagon temple.[4] The composition is a modification of the Delivery of the Keys at the Sixtine, and is open

subsidy of fifteen florins from the Municipality for the altarpiece which had not yet been begun. Even towards the end of 1503 it was still unfinished. This is proved by the will of the merchant Paride di Baldassare Petrini of Perugia, dated December 26, 1503, in which five florins are bequeathed to the Company of S. Giuseppe "pro solvendo magistro Petro pictori de Perusio pro pictura tabule Capelle dicte Fraternitatis solvendos tunc quando ditta tabula perfecte fuerit et non ante, videlicet dicto magistro Petro seu alteri magistro qui eam perfecerit" (Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 193 *sq.*).]

[1] The contract is in Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 164. The payment (120 florins) was to be made in instalments.

[2] Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 168.

[3] *Ib.*, *ib.*, pp. 165, 177, 182. [* On August 4, 1502, Cristoforo and Mariano Chigi at Siena, commissioned Perugino to paint an altarpiece for their family chapel in S. Agostino of that city for a fee of 200 gold ducats. The altarpiece was to be finished within one year. In a letter from Francesco Malatesta to Isabella d' Este, dated September 23, 1502, it is stated about Perugino that "esso è de presente a Siena a lavorare et non è per venire (to Florence) fina octo o dieci giorni." The picture, which is still in S. Agostino, and is noticed by the authors (*postea*, p. 348), appears, however, to have been completed only in 1506, when, on June 13 and August 10, Perugino received two rates of payment for it, amounting to 137 gold ducats. See Cugnoni, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, ii. 481 *sqq.*; Braghirolli, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, ii. 159 *sq.*]

[4] Museum of Caen, No. 34.

Photo, Giraudon

THE SPOSALIZIO

By Pietro Perugino

From a picture in the Gallery at Caen

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to the same grave objections. It is remarkable that an arrangement which places the foreground personages on one line, those of the middle distance on a second, and the temple on a third, showing the complete elevation of all three with empty spaces between them, should have been copied with such fidelity by Raphael in his adaptation of 1504. But Raphael remained an Umbrian in feeling and habits till he visited Florence, and had a fair excuse for repeating a conventional subject, whereas Perugino might have remembered how grandly the same theme had been treated by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the choir of S. Maria Novella at Florence. With this exception, the Sposalizio of Caen is worthy of Vannucci. Its bright and harmonious colour is light and transparent, and marks a phase in his progress to perfection in the technical system of oil;[1] but his forms are less pliant than of old; and his tints have not the glow that charms in some of the pictures of the earlier Florentine period. The whole bears the impress of his own hand[2] which the double altarpiece of the Minorites of S. Francesco al Monte does not.

On one side,[3] the Saviour crowns the Virgin in an almond-shaped glory, round which four angels sport with strings of pearls and flowers. The apostles look upwards from the foreground. At a glance we know the draughtsman again whose acquaintance we made in the ceiling of the Cambio. Here is the Virgin, with a head modelled on that of the Apollo or Luna, with a frame so

[1] The under preparation is visible in almost every part of the picture, and the drawing is seen through the grey-green of the shadows. The warm, reddish half-tones are equally limpid, and the whole is worked in without much stippling or hatching. The ground is higher in substance than the figures, and the draperies higher than the flesh. The result is less charming than in such examples as the Christ on the Mount or the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire at Perugia.

*[2] Mr. Berenson (*The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, ii. 1 *sqq.*) has put forward the theory that the picture now at Caen is not by Perugino, but a work by Lo Spagna, executed about 1506. The deliberation of the Committee of the Company of S. Giuseppe on April 11, 1499, the wording of the clause in Paride Petrini's will, under which five florins are left to the Company, and the fact that Vasari (iii. 581) gives the Caen picture to Perugino, point, however, to its having been at least designed by him and executed in his atelier. But beyond this, if it be permissible to argue only from reproductions, it certainly seems to the editor that Perugino can have had but little share in this work, which must for the most part have been carried out by assistants.

*[3] Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XII., No. 19.

slender and action so decided that nature seems but fancifully imitated, yet so soft and saturated with feeling in the midst of this exuberance, that one is still attracted. Here are angels full of playful frolic, and apostles with youthful faces and small, prim features, but with long frames and developed articulations. The drawing is not absolutely perfect, but the sentiment that might be expected from the eagerness of a youth is everywhere apparent; and the general aspect is that of Raphael's Sposalizio at Milan. A flat, rosy flesh-tone, laid out in the method of tempera; tight drapery with incorrect folds, tell likewise of incomplete education. Had Perugino furnished his own cartoon for this Coronation, the pupil would scarcely have ventured to wander so far from its lines; but the small one, formerly in Dr. Wellesley's fine collection at Oxford, from which the figures were enlarged, is not by Perugino; and must have been a clean copy from one of his rough sketches.[1] The opposite side of the altarpiece[2] is equally characteristic. Above the Saviour in relief, the sun and moon are depicted. An angel in profile holds a vase beneath the wounds of the palms. The Virgin to the left, the Magdalen near her looking up, St. Francis to the right gazing at the Redeemer with his arms across on his breast, St. John Evangelist erect in a very sinuous action; a calm, simple landscape, and the tempera handling, all create an effect akin to that produced by Raphael's Crucifixion at Dudley House.[3] The saints, it is true, are not identical nor in the same relative positions at the Minorites as at Dudley House. Nor is the execution in the first instance of the same quality as in the second; yet the hand of Raphael[4] is suggested in the former, as it is in the Coronation; and he cannot be excluded from a claim to a share in the production of these pieces.

This, however, is but one of many occasions where Raphael was employed on works for the completion of which Perugino was

[1] This cartoon is discoloured and abraded in some parts, and is not entire, but it has not been retouched. It is 15½ inches by 11½, on cardboard; the drawing by the same hand as that which carried out the panel of S. Francesco al Monte. Perugino therefore doubtless gave the sketch which the pupil transferred to the cartoon, and the cartoon itself was enlarged on the altarpiece by the same person.

*[2] Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XIV., No. 22.

*[3] Now in the collection of the late Dr. L. Mond.

[4] If not the hand of Raphael, that at least of Spagna.

Photo, Alinari

THE RESURRECTION

By Pietro Perugino

From a picture in the Vatican Gallery, Rome

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answerable. In S. Francesco of Perugia a Resurrection of the Saviour hung for a long time above the door of a chapel near the choir. It had been invariably attributed to Perugino, whilst tradition assigned a share in it to Raphael.[1] At the Vatican Gallery, where the picture now is,[2] it is said to be the joint labour of both; and the sleeping guard on the right is described as Raphael's portrait, that of the flying soldier as the likeness of Perugino. No tenable grounds appear to exist for the truth of these last suppositions; Perugino probably entrusted the composition to his pupil; and the Resurrection seems entirely done on his master's lines by Raphael. Affectation and stiffness in the lean shapes of the long-waisted Saviour are combined with poorly rendered drapery. The limbs of the two sleepers on the foreground are feeble and imperfectly foreshortened, yet isolated portions in all the figures are correct. In this characteristic combination of imperfect knowledge of general proportion and perspective, with simple yet minute working out of parts and natural sentiment, the art and experience of Perugino are not revealed. One sees, on the contrary, the striving of a nascent and undeveloped talent, and is led the more surely to connect it with the name of Sanzio, because of the youth in the faces and forms, their freshness and slightness, the minute conscientiousness of the details, and a richness of transparence in the flat and bright tones that remind one of other and less undoubted creations of the same pencil. There is a pinguidity in the hands of the young soldier which reappears in later examples of Raphael; and the touch which produces a fused impasto of great brilliancy is less Perugino's than that of his disciple. A capital specimen of the same class is a little double panel at Alnwick Castle, in which St. Mary of Egypt and St. Catherine are represented. It was once in S. Fortunato at Perugia, and afterwards in the Camuccini collection at Rome; and though of old never known except as a Perugino, it is now very appropriately called Raphael, because in addition to its Peruginesque air, it embodies (particularly in the St. Catherine) Sanzio's

[1] Orsini, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 64; Constantini, *Guida, u.s.*, p. 306. Vasari also mentions the picture amongst Perugino's works (iii. 580).

[2] Vatican Gallery. There are three vertical splits in the panel, one down the centre, two others severally cutting through the two figures of the foreground. The left foot and right hand of the angel to the right are spoiled and retouched.

beautiful simplicity and sympathetic grandeur, and unites nature and dignity with great delicacy of taste. His early softness and purity, the pleasant lucidity of his colour, are there, together with that inexplicable charm which he never fails to impart.[1]

The time was, however, rapidly approaching when Raphael was to close the period of his apprenticeship and trust to his own strength for subsistence. In Perugino's absence, Leonardo da Vinci had returned to Florence. A new impulse appears to have been felt in the world of art; and the name of Michael Angelo was on every tongue. A man whom Perugino had seen years before studying designs in the Medici garden or in the Brancacci, had come from Rome to receive almost at once orders for two statues of David; one of supernatural size in marble for S. Maria del Fiore; another of bronze for a French prince who had lately led an invading army in Italy. The marble was all but finished, and the same artist had been requested to carve the twelve apostles. The guild of woolstaplers had even built a house for Buonarroti to live in; and few men had been in such honour since the days of Giotto. It was, no doubt, related by persons capable of judging of these matters that Michael Angelo was introducing a new and prodigious power into sculpture, reviving and surpassing the energetic realism of Donatello, and giving a terribly masculine stamp to the art of his country, and Perugino could not resist the temptation of seeing masterpieces for which no praise seemed too great in the eyes of the craftsmen of his time.[2] He might wish, also, to revisit Leonardo, whose activity and genius were still concentrated on the improvement of oil-painting. Perhaps, also, his stay at Perugia had been disturbed by Pinturicchio,who enticed most of his workmen to Siena. Be that as it may, Perugino broke up his establishment at Perugia, braving the importunities of the fathers of S. Agostino, and only completing, in October, 1503, the arms of his old patron, Giuliano della Rovere, now Julius the

[1] CONSTANTINI notices this picture in S. Fortunato at Perugia (*Guida, u.s.*, p. 134). St. Mary of Egypt is posed on the left leg, shows only a profile face, and prays with joined hands. St. Catherine holds the wheel and a book. Both stand in the foreground of landscapes; assigned by many authors, including Passavant, to Raphael.

[2] VASARI speaks positively of this curiosity on the part of Perugino (iii. 585).

Second, on the public palace and five gates of the city.[1] His apprentices and assistants had already dispersed themselves in various directions, Raphael to Siena, the rest to different parts of Umbria.[2]

Perugino had scarce reached Florence and taken a lodging in the Pinti suburb, when a meeting was called (1504) for the purpose of choosing a place for Michael Angelo's David.[3] The statue had been hitherto guarded with the utmost jealousy by Buonarroti; but every one knew that it was of gigantic dimensions. When it was uncovered, warm disputes arose. Giuliano da S. Gallo was for putting it in the Loggia de' Signori, and Leonardo da Vinci agreed with him. Perugino, who was also present, doubtless voted with his friend, but Michael Angelo was of another opinion, and chose the left-hand side of the doorway of the Palazzo Vecchio. This contempt for the views of so many artists was perhaps the cause of a secret resentment. A hostile party was, in fact, brought into existence, and when the giant was at last taken out into the open air, it became the mark for missiles of divers kinds; and the watchmen who guarded it were assaulted in the execution of their duty. Perugino did not openly express any dislike for Michael Angelo's style; but Vasari says he felt how much the fame of Buonarroti eclipsed his own, and vented his spleen on all the Florentines in general. In the shop of Baccio d'Agnolo, most

[1] Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 170. [* Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, p. 371) gives the date of the record of payment for this work as November 23, 1503. Julius II. was not elected Pope until November 1, 1503.]

[*2] Perugino did not stay at Perugia from 1499 to the end of 1503 without interruption. He probably spent the greater part of the years 1499–1501, and of the first half of 1502, in that city; but he is known to have been at Florence on September 1, 1499, presumably finished the Certosa altarpiece there in that year (*cf. postea*), and in all likelihood also spent part of 1500 there. On August 4, 1502, he was at Siena (*cf. antea*, p. 330, n. 3); on September 10 at Perugia (*cf. antea*, p. 329 *sq.*); on September 23 he is stated to be at Siena (*cf. antea*, p. 330, n. 3); by October 24 he had returned to Florence, where his presence is again recorded on January 24, 1503. During the summer he was away, probably at Perugia. By October 24 he was back at Florence, where he appears to have remained for the next few months (the painting of the arms of Pope Julius II.—see the preceding note—was probably carried out by his journeymen). On February 20, 1504, we find him at Perugia (see *postea*, p. 339). *Cf.* Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 190 *sq.*

[3] The meeting took place on January 25, 1504. See the record in Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. 455 *sqq.*

of these were accustomed to assemble. The San Galli, Cronaca, Filippino, Granacci, and sometimes Buonarroti met there,[1] and perhaps in the heat of debate on one of these occasions Michael Angelo declared to Perugino that his art was "absurd and antiquated." This was too much for the equanimity of Vannucci, and he committed the folly, we are told, of suing his younger rival for defamation. From this action, which naturally went against him, he deservedly reaped ridicule,[2] but he was not yet beyond learning a lesson from the sarcasm of enemies; and he resolved to show his antagonists that, although he was not partial to the school in which Michael Angelo shone, he could still emulate the more congenial qualities of Leonardo. We attribute to this time the Madonna and saints of the Certosa at Pavia, now in the National Gallery.[3]

To most Englishmen the Madonna of Pavia is well known. The Virgin, kneeling with upturned head, looks at the Child before her. It seems as if she had just addressed a thanksgiving to heaven and then sent her tender motherly glance downwards to worship the Infant, whose form is supported on a white cushion by an angel. Unusual beauty adorns the babe; excessive tenderness and solicitude are suggested by the attitude and expression of the angel. The composition of the whole group is full of merit, the type of the Virgin's face nearer perfection than any that the master ever realized; and as we admire the easy movement of the frame and the neat arrangement of the hair in its net and veil, we fancy Perugino has idealized his wife, of whom Vasari says, "she was so handsome, he delighted in seeing her well attired, and often dressed her with his own hands."[4] At different times

[1] VASARI, v. 350. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 585.

[3] This altarpiece was executed somewhat earlier. Both Perugino and Filippino Lippi had before October 10, 1496, been commissioned to execute altarpieces for the Certosa. At the above-mentioned date, after the Carthusian friars had urged the two painters to fulfil their engagements, the carpenter Jacopo d'Antonio of Florence, who was entrusted with the preparation of the panels, replied that the painters wanted some money in advance. On May 1, 1499, Lodovico il Moro wrote to his representative in Florence to ask the Signoria to compel the painters to fix a last date for the completion of the pictures, otherwise the earnest money would have to be paid back. See BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 362, 366.

[4] VASARI, iii. 590.

Perugino tried to repeat the subject, but the Madonna of the Pitti, which is one of these repetitions, is not equal to this one.[1]

The archangel, in jewelled helm and burnished steel, with mace and shield, stands at one side of the Madonna, at rest like the Sicinius of the Cambio, or the St. Michael of Vallombrosa, but youthful in features, firm in tread, and noble in aspect. On the other side, the angel leads Tobit—a page in tights, feebly conceived, though rescued partially from fatuity by feeling. All the backgrounds are landscapes.

Perugino's skill in the application of oils reached its highest development in this picture, whilst in respect of conception, sentiment, and design, he never went farther. His excellence is such that some are inclined to doubt its being all his own. A drawing for the angel and Tobit in the Oxford collection is assigned to Raphael;[2] and the principal charm of the work is attributed to Sanzio. But this is mere assumption. The technical handling of all the panels is the same. It is that of a painter of long experience in the use of his materials, familiar with the difficulties and the tricks of his profession; of Perugino, in fact, as contradistinguished from Raphael, whose undeveloped powers are visible in the Sposalizio of 1504 at Milan. Nowhere, indeed, has Perugino more completely combined masterly execution, knowledge of form, and perfection of harmonies, with the subtle quality which consists in giving to a scene the tone best in unison with its motives and idea. Nothing can be more attractive than the golden fusion of his flesh-tints except the soft and dreamy depth of vapour that charges his distances. He improves as far as he can the method, of which the earlier examples are the Madonna and Saints at the Vatican, the Christ at the Mount in the Florentine Academy, and the Virgin of S. Pietro Martire; the system which

[1] Pitti. Gallery. No. 219. Wood. Much damaged by stippling. In the same style, with some slight varieties of position in the subordinate parts, is the Virgin adoring the Child, and attended by the kneeling young Baptist, formerly in the Von Quandt collection at Dresden. This last seems done in Perugino's school, and is assigned to Pinturicchio. [* It was in 1871 in the collection of Baron von Friesen at Dresden. See the German ed. of this work, iv. 235.]

[2] Since the text was written, we have seen the original drawing by Perugino for the angel and Tobit in the British Museum. It is a fine, genuine production, shadowed in bistre, with lights gently touched in white.

may be called peculiar to Central Italy, embodying some of the principles evolved by the Van Eycks and Antonello da Messina, and ripened to the mellowness of the Bellini and Giorgione. Neither Fra Bartolommeo nor Raphael ever produced anything more remarkable as regards colour.[1]

We may affix about the same date to the Holy Family in the Museum at Nancy, where Raphaelesque grace and innocence are united in a composition the rules of which are clearly derived from Leonardo da Vinci. The Virgin kneeling in full view, with her right arm on the shoulder of the boy Baptist who adores, with joined hands, the Saviour on a cushion, forms, with those lovely little beings, a pyramidal group, somewhat marred by the two angels on their knees in prayer at her sides. Her affectionate face and air, and the waving lines of the movement, are all enticing. Leonardo alone could have conceived a choicer elegance, and would have avoided the cramped attitude of the left hand. The Christ is at once reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo and of Raphael. A magnificent landscape with slightly leafed trees vanishes behind the two slender angels; great mastery being shown in the alternation of lighter and darker tints in the hills. A clear touch in the grasses and ground on which the infants repose, recalls Raphael's Florentine period. Powerful tone, detaching the group from the distance, which recedes with fine aereal perspective, completes the effect of a picture in which the influence of Florentine example on Perugino is very apparent. He casts side glances at his contemporaries, and does not reach their great perfection of distribution, but he comes very near it, and emulates in

[1] The only portion of the original altarpiece remaining at Pavia is the Eternal seated, with his feet resting on clouds, and surrounded by cherubim. It is quite as fine as the others. The Annunciation has been lost sight of. The three pieces at the National Gallery, which are numbered collectively (No. 288), are arched at the top, but a section of each arched portion is new, and a piece has been added to the base of the central panel. The three angels above the Virgin were originally painted over the blue sky, and the blue now rises through the superposed half body of colour. On the panel containing the archangel Michael one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit." The whole is, considering all things, in a marvellous state of preservation. The three parts in the National Gallery were bought of the Duke Melzi at Milan. A copy of the central panel of the Madonna of the Certosa is called Perugino in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Trent. It is a copy of the close of the sixteenth century.

other respects with success, Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Raphael.[1]

Little more than a year had elapsed since Perugino's return to Florence when business again called him to Perugia. As he came there in February, 1505,[2] the syndic of the Disciplinati of Città della Pieve inquired for what price he might be willing to paint an Adoration of the Magi. Perugino replied in a very ill-spelt letter that the cost would be 200 florins; but that he would reduce it to half that sum in consideration of the interest he felt for his native place. Upon this ensued a lively exchange of communications. The syndic thought that Pietro's love of country might induce him to grant still lower terms. Pietro held out for his original proposal. On March 1, however, he gave way from 100 to 75 florins.[3] He executed the Adoration of the Magi in the chapel of the Disciplinati on a square of 21 feet with about thirty life-size figures, in an incredibly short space of time; for beneath the feet of the Virgin one still reads the date A.D. MDIIII., and it would thus appear that the fresco was ready before March 25, when

[1] This picture (wood), No. 94, in the Museum of Nancy, is apparently one of those that was taken to France before the wars of the great revolution. It was in Louis XVI.'s time in the collection of M. de Brissac, and had been sequestered when he emigrated (see De Ris, *Les Musées des Provinces*, 8°, Paris, 1859, vol. i., p. 315). It has been much injured and restored. Yet it is not wholly flayed, and parts give a fair idea of what the whole once was. The blue sky is new, the face of the Virgin spotted, and half the head of the angel to the right is new. But one traces the process of the master still. The white gesso may be seen through the colours of the distance. The flesh-tints are high in surface, and the draperies still higher. Beneath the feet of the youthful Baptist are the remnants of the signature: "P. . . . . P. . . . . ."

[2] For "1505," read "1504." The document on which the authors base their statement should not be re-dated 1505, as the Perugians began the year, as we do, on January 1.

[3] Two letters in this matter were discovered in a most curious manner. In 1835 Giuseppe Bolleti of Città della Pieve was busy in removing a terracing of earth that made the walls of the Disciplinati damp, when he stumbled upon a number of paint-pots and a tin tube about 4 inches long, containing the letters in question. These had evidently been buried purposely, and had thus remained intact for more than three centuries (see Mezzanotte, *u.s.*, pp. 114 *sqq.*, and Marchesi, *Il Cambio*, pp. 482, 483). The payments were to be made at the rate of 25 florins a year, but the Disciplinati were very hard put to it at last to clear themselves of debt, and only did so in 1507 by handing over possession of a house. See the record in Orsini dated March 29, 1507, *Vita*, *u.s.*, p. 218.

according to the old calculation the year 1504 expired.[1] Though willing to labour at a cheap rate, he was not the less alive to his own interests, and knowing probably that the public of Città della Pieve was less critical than that of Florence, he trusted much to his pupils. His composition is the formal one which Umbrians obviously preferred—the Virgin and Child with the kneeling king in the centre, St. Joseph and the youngest of the magi erect as sentries at her sides, and to the right and left a massive assemblage; the whole backed by a symmetrical distance in which perspective depth is attained by multiplying little episodes on a middle line. It is a work which makes a fair impression at first sight, but betrays some coarseness on close inspection, well balanced, but carried out with haste, and in so far unsatisfactory.[2]

With equal speed and, no doubt, for as small a price, he adorned the walls of the church of St. Sebastian at Panicale with a Martyrdom of its patron saint. On this occasion he probably confided the greater part of the execution to a companion, whose light yellowish flesh-tints only relieved by a pale shadow, whose minute stippling and tender keys of harmonies seem characteristic of Spagna. The slender saint is on a pedestal in the midst of a rich architectural court all filled with polychrome ornament; and four lean and somewhat affected archers are distributed round him in varied action, the spectators being confined to the number of six in two bodies in half-distance, which time has, however, almost obliterated. In a triangular space above the Martyrdom, the Eternal appears in the usual attitude of benediction, in a circular glory of cherubim between two angels in flight.[3] It is the less

* [1] For the reasons stated *antea* (p. 339, n. 2), there is no need to assume such an extraordinary haste of execution. Perugino most probably painted this fresco in the summer of 1504. By April 24, 1504, he was back at Florence, which he, however, soon left again. By the middle of November he had returned to Florence, and continued to stay there till the beginning of Lent, 1505, when he went to Perugia. By April 24 he was back.

[2] The whole skirting of the fresco, an ornament in monochrome, on yellow ground, has recently been recovered from whitewash. The fresco itself is injured by damp, as, *e.g.*, in the dresses of the first figure on the right foreground, of the Virgin, of the youth with the sword, and the youth with the crown on the left. The man with a crown on the right is stained.

[3] On a lozenge in the pedestal of the martyred saint one reads: "P. . . . . de Castro . . ." and on the friezes of four square pillars the date: "A. D. M. DV." A copy of this fresco will be found amongst the publications of the Arundel Society.

improbable that Perugino should have left Spagna in charge here, because in addition to the evidence afforded by the fresco itself, there is a ruined Assumption on a wall in S. Agostino of Panicale, in which the manner of Perugino's Spanish disciple is very clearly to be traced.[1] He lived at Panicale, it would seem, with pleasure, and transferred to the distance of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian the undulating hills about the Thrasimene lake; but Perugino had also this beautiful neighbourhood in his sketch-books, and introduced one of its landscapes into a panel of this time, long in the gallery of Lord Northwick, and representing the Flagellation with truly Umbrian feeling.[2]

Whilst Perugino left his journeymen to finish the vast frescoes of Città della Pieve and Panicale, he hurried back in person to Florence, and was thus enabled, in June, 1505, to write to the Marchioness of Mantua, Elizabeth Gonzaga, to acknowledge the receipt of 80 ducats for the hasty but masterly distemper-sketch of the combat between Amor and Chastity, which now adorns the Louvre.[3] With the assurance which he derived from his fame,

[1] This fresco is assigned by Orsini (*Vita, u.s.*) to Perugino. The Virgin is in an almond-shaped glory of cherubs; four celestial players at her sides; two high up suspending the crown above her head. Beneath, are the remains of a bishop and another saint. The figures are lean, and in style like those of Todi and Trevi, a mixture of the Umbrian of Pinturicchio and Perugino, and coloured in Spagna's pale yellow tone. The fresco is an independent work, not composed for, but probably by, Spagna in person. It will not last much longer, being already in a great measure obliterated, as are the angel to the left holding the crown, and the foreground. The best preserved bits are the playing angels.

[2] It is true this picture (No. 388), in the Northwick collection, was catalogued under the name of Raphael, but it is by Perugino or some pupil other than Raphael, and done at least in the master's atelier. The figures, three in number, are all nude. The Redeemer is on a low pedestal, a flagellator swinging a cat at each side of him in a palatial court, through the arches of which there is a view of Castiglione del Lago. The figures are slender, but well proportioned. The Christ very fine in pose, bound to the pillar, the two flagellators a little academical and conventional in action, but drawn in the same style and with the same quaint headgear as in the fresco of Panicale. The pillar is new and the breast of the principal personage repainted; as is also the foot of the flagellator to the right; the distance is also retouched (1 foot 10 by 1 foot 6§). [* This picture is now in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond. The editor feels little doubt that—as suggested to him by Count Gnoli—the author of this work is Bacchiacca, who was a pupil of Perugino, and whom both the style of drawing, the colouring, and the type of Christ, recall.]

[3] Louvre catal., No. 1,567.

he ventures to affirm that he has shown sufficient carefulness to satisfy her Highness's desire and his own humour; adding that he has tried distemper because Messer Andrea Mantegna commonly employed that medium; and offering himself for further productions of a similar kind; but he does not attempt to write to a Duchess in the slovenly style which marks his own orthography; and he improves in spelling for the same reason that he disimproves in painting—that is, when he uses an assistant.[1] A fortnight later he met Lorenzo di Credi, and others, at S. Maria del Fiore to decide on the relative merits of two heads in mosaic by the miniaturists Monte and Gherardo, for the adornment of the chapel of St. Zanobius.[2]

Amongst the contemporaries of Perugino, one with whom he had been in friendly relation had lately paid his tribute to nature. In the last years of his life Filippino Lippi had been employed by the brethren of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi on a double altarpiece, the commission for which, originally given to him in 1503[3] he had courteously surrendered to da Vinci. Leonardo, however, had neglected the matter, and during one of his frequent absences, the Servites again called upon Filippino for his services. On his death, in April, 1504,[4] the upper portion of a Descent from the Cross was ready, the lower remaining in embryo. In the summer

[1] The letter may be found in GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 68, or in the *Archivio stor., u.s.*, ii. 324. [* Isabella only succeeded in obtaining this picture after long efforts, which began as early as 1497. It was painted for her studio in the castle in Mantua, and Perugino's whole fee for it was 100 ducats. He did not solve his task to the entire satisfaction of the Marchioness, who on June 30, 1505, in acknowledging receipt of the picture, writes to Perugino: "Egregie amice nr charissme el quadro è stato conducto illeso il quale ne piace per esser ben designato et ben colorito: ma quando fusse stato finito cum magior diligentia havendo a stare appresso quelli del Mantinea, che sono summamente netti seria stato magior honore vostro et piu nostra satisfactione et rincrescene che quello Lorenzo mantovano vi dissuadesse da colorirlo ad olio: pero che noi lo desideravamo sapendo che l'era piu vostra professione et di maggior vaghezza." *Cf.* BRAGHIROLLI, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, ii. *passim*; BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 189 *sqq.*]

[2] The records relative to the competition are in the appendix to the Le Monnier edition of VASARI, *u.s.*, vi. 341, 342. The date of the decision in favour of Monte is June 30, 1505.

[3] See the authoritative statement of this fact in the notes to VASARI'S Life of Bastiano da S. Gallo (vi. 433).

[4] This is the real date of Filippino's death, as is now proved by the register of deaths *ad annum*. See *Tav. alfab., u.s., ad an. et lit.*

of 1505, Perugino was requested to finish the piece, and an Assumption, intended as a double to it.[1] He acquitted himself of the first part of this undertaking with praiseworthy punctuality and personal diligence. His group of the Virgin fainting in the arms of the three Marys may indeed be classed amongst the nobler conceptions of his brush. It reminds one of a similar episode in Masaccio's Crucifixion at S. Clemente of Rome; and was taken and improved by Raphael in the predella of the Madonna of S. Antonio at Perugia,[2] of which the portion to which attention is called is preserved in the collection of Sir William Miles of Leigh Court.[3] The handling is large and animated; and Vannucci successfully harmonizes his own with the performance of Filippino, uniting the grace of the Umbrian with the imposing grandeur of the Florentine, treating his figures with massive colour and breadth of touch.[4] With the Assumption, now in the Cappella de' Rabatta at the Servi, he dealt differently, nor can one imagine that it should have been produced at the same period. For the arrangement he fell back on the model of the Lyons Ascension, repeating the six angels from his old cartoons. Giannicola perhaps did the rest.[5] But Vasari tells us Perugino was justly criticized for this by all the artists of the time, and particularly because he had reproduced so many things from other pictures.[6] It was

*[1] The order for the finishing of the Descent from the Cross was given on August 5, 1505. On September 18 we find Perugino at Perugia, where he, on October 31, constituted one Giovan Bernardino di Francesco his attorney, probably because he was returning to Florence, where his presence is recorded on January 9, 1506, when he received 200 gold florins for the Annunziata altarpiece, which was finished at that time (Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 376 *sq.*).

*[2] Now in the collection of the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

*[3] Now in the National Gallery, No. 2,919.

[4] Vasari says that Andrea del Sarto and Francia Bigio copied the Descent from the Cross (Vasari, v. 8). It is mentioned by Albertini, *Memoriale*, *u.s.*, p. 13; and Richa says it was painted at the expense of Jacopo Federighi, a knight of Malta (viii. 32).

[5] If the hand of Giannicola Manni is traceable anywhere in Perugino's works, it is here. See *antea* as to Perugino's habits of repetition. The drawing is hasty and spiritless, the tones without fusion, and the contrasts of light and shade insufficient.

[6] See *postea*, parts of this altarpiece described at Altenburg, and in private hands at Florence. In addition to the foregoing, note in the Servi of Florence, at one of the altars, a picture by Perugino's assistants representing the Virgin and

vainly that he declared he had only copied anew what had already received public approbation; he did not recover from the blow thus levelled at himself. His school, which in his younger days had been frequented by many pupils, became empty. Bastiano da S. Gallo, who had recently joined him, deserted his atelier for that of Michael Angelo,[1] and others probably followed his example. From this time, Perugino began, no doubt, seriously to think of leaving Florence. His name is on the register of the Perugian guild in 1506,[2] whilst it ceases to be noted on that of the Florentine guild.[3]

He was no sooner at home at Perugia than he began calling in debts due to him for old commissions. From the Disciplinati of Città della Pieve he claimed a final payment of 25 florins, which was liquidated (March 29, 1507) by conveyance of a house.[4] From the authorities of Panicale he required 11 florins, on receipt of which he gave them fourteen little flags with figures painted by himself,[5] to be used at their festival of Corpus Domini. From the guild of the Cambio he asked and obtained 350 ducats for the audience chamber.[6] Having thus settled his affairs, he sat down to new works and endeavoured to forget the slights of the ungrateful Florentines. It was easy enough for him to show that his powers were unimpaired by bestowing his own labour where he usually was prodigal of that of assistants. Under these conditions he delivered to the executors of a carpenter at Perugia the Madonna between SS. Jerome and Francis, now in the Palazzo Penna;[7] and for these obscure patrons he produced a masterpiece

Child enthroned between four saints. The surface is much injured by restoring. The raw tone is darkened by time. The character is gentle. The pediment and lunette are bare. This is, by Richa (*Chiese*, viii. 41), assigned to Perugino.

[1] Vasari, vi. 433.

[2] Mariotti, *Lett. pitt.*, p. 85, and note to p. 121.

[3] Com. in Vasari, iii. 613. [* On January 20, 1506, Perugino is known to have been at Città della Pieve, and on February 14 and March 5 of the same year at Perugia. On June 13 and August 10 he, no doubt at Siena, received payment for the Chigi altarpiece in S. Agostino in that city (*cf. antea*, p. 330, n. 3).]

[4] Orsini gives the document in *Vita*, *u.s.*, p. 218.

[5] Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, pp. 172, 173.

[6] See *antea*, p. 327.

[7] Perugia, Gall. Penna. Wood. This picture is so fine that it has been usually assigned to an earlier time, but we owe to Professor Adamo Rossi of Perugia the discovery of the following facts regarding it in the *Annali Decemvirali* for 1507.

combining fine proportions with natural movement, Umbrian tenderness with facility of brush, and graceful outlines with bright warm colour. Perugino never succeeded better than on this occasion in giving to the Infant Christ the grace which we are accustomed to call Raphaelesque, nor can a more touching group be found than that formed by Him and His mother as he springs into the Virgin's arms and looks round at St. Jerome. A minimum of subordinate aid may be assumed in the frescoes with which Perugino decorated the semidome of the SS. Annunziata or Nunziatella of Foligno. Although he did not alter the form of a composition repeated in more than one of his predellas, the Baptism of Christ here designed, with figures of life-size, is fair, with pleasing heads and slender general proportions.[1] It is probable that one might class many undated pieces on panel and on wall as productions of this and subsequent periods; but it is safer to leave these for the present, in order to trace, with what success one may, the closing years of Vannucci's career.[2]

It is there stated that on June 8, 1507, the executors of Giovanni, a carpenter of Perugia, commissioned of Perugino, then present, a Virgin erect holding the Infant "similar to that of Loreto," with St. Jerome in cardinal's dress, and St. Francis, for the price of 47 flor. This is a description of the Penna altarpiece. The Virgin stands on a pedestal in a landscape, and two angels suspend a crown over her head. The St. Francis is feeble, the angels, though charming in the heads, a little straight and stiff. The figures are life-size, all well preserved. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,075). The contract is printed in Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 378 *sq.*]

[1] This fresco has been shamefully treated. The lunette containing the Eternal giving the blessing and holding the orb, between two angels, has been lined in squares by some copyist. One cartoon is used for both angels, the first being the exact reverse of the second. The same system has been pursued with the two angels in flight above the Saviour. The Christ, St. John, and four angels about them, in the Baptism, have been contoured with charcoal. Time also has had its way with the fresco, abrading the gilding of the dresses, and darkening the blue draperies. Damp has injured the lower part of the picture generally, whereby the Baptist has been injured and the legs of the Saviour spoiled. But the latter figure has, besides, been varnished. The sky is damaged by cracks with white edges. The lunette is separated from the Baptism by a border, on which one reads "Deo et Beato Joanni Battistæ sacrum pietate Joannis Baptiste . . . ." Traces of a date remain, but the numbers are not to be deciphered.

[2] Vasari notes a picture at Montone (iii. 587) which Orsini describes as representing the Virgin and Child between SS. John Baptist and Gregory, John Evangelist and Francis, with a predella of three parts, the Birth of the Virgin, the Marriage, and Assumption. On the step of the throne was the date:

As if to console him for the loss of his prestige at Florence, Julius II. called Perugino to Rome about 1507–8. Bazzi and Peruzzi were in employ at the same time, and whilst the latter adorned the room at the Vatican now called dell' Eliodoro and Bazzi that which bears the name of Camera della Segnatura, Perugino was given the Stanza dell' Incendio del Borgo. There he met his old friends and competitors, Signorelli and Pinturicchio and dined in their company at the house of Bramante. There he introduced Giambattista Caporali, and made the acquaintance of young Sansovino, with whom he lodged in the Palazzo S. Clemente, long known as the residence of Domenico della Rovere.[1] Slowly and with some of the staidness of age, Perugino proceeded till suddenly Raphael was taken to the presence of Julius II.

Vannucci had already yielded at Florence to the rising talents of the sixteenth century. Here again he was supplanted by a

"AD.M.DVII." The picture is gone. The predella came in 1787 into the possession of the Marquis Odoardi of Ascoli (ORSINI, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 208). [* It is now in the Brera (No. 483); *cf. antea*, p. 319, n. 1. The principal picture came into the hands of Odoardi at the same time as the predella.] VASARI also speaks (iii. 587) of a picture at La Fratta, which ORSINI describes (*Vita, u.s.*, p. 208). The subject is the Coronation. The painter, however, is not Perugino, but Pinturicchio (see *postea*).

[1] Many statements in Vasari and other authors prove that Perugino was in Rome in 1507–8; *e.g.*, Temanza, in his Life of Sansovino, says that the latter went to Rome with Giuliano da S. Gallo, in the papacy of Julius II., and lodged in the Palazzo S. Clemente, where Perugino also had a room, being then employed at the Camere. There Sansovino made the acquaintance of Luca Signorelli, Bramantino of Milan, Pinturicchio, Cesare Cesariano, and others (TEMANZA, *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, 4°, without imprint, p. 6). The same facts are repeated by VASARI (vii. 490). In another place VASARI (iv. 361 and v. 385 *sq.*) says Bazzi was taken to Rome when Julius II. was employing Perugino to adorn the Camere; and when Raphael came, Julius dismissed both Bazzi and Perugino. Again, Caporali (G. B. pupil of Perugino, born *circa* 1476, says in a note to the *Vitruvius* which he re printed from that of Cesare Cesariano: "Finalmente Julio, sommo pontefice pe singulare amore quasi contra la voglia di esso Bramante . . . lo fece ricco . . . con questo, insieme con Petro Perugino, Luca di Cortona et . . Pinturicchio r siamo ritrovati in casa sua da esso invitati ad una cena." This passage is at length VERMIGLIOLI'S *Pinturicchio* (*u.s.*, p. 5). Further, VASARI says (iii. 579) that Perugin painted in the Camere the very subjects which we see there now. [* There are r records of Perugino's presence either at Perugia or Florence in 1508, whereas he known to have been at Perugia during the greater part of 1507. We may therefo assume that he went to Rome in 1508, and he probably stayed there during most the following year, from which we only possess one record of him, showing that, January 26, he received a rate of payment by the Municipality of Perugia.]

younger and fresher genius, by Sanzio, his own pupil. It is pitiful to think of the anxieties of the old man when he saw the ground thus cut away from under his feet. We sympathize with his disappointment when Raphael was placed over his head and ordered to renew his decorations; but we admit at the same time that with such a patron as Julius II. the result was inevitable; and with respect to the progress of art, even desirable. Much has been said of Raphael's consideration for Perugino, evinced in the saving of the subjects in the Camera dell' Incendio. It is probable that the young painter was rejoiced to be able to show this mark of friendship; but we must recollect that he did almost as much for Bazzi and Peruzzi. In the meanwhile it must be owned that Perugino's ceiling, which represents the Eternal in different glories in four medallions, is not advantageous to his fame, for the principal parts are somewhat careless, and the circumscribing ornaments in dead colour, interspersed with heads of females or of Roman Emperors in rounds, are heavier and in less refined taste than at the Cambio.[1]

With Signorelli and Pinturicchio, Perugino left Rome on his way homewards. He stopped perhaps at Assisi to decorate the outer face of the Sanctuary of St. Francis in the Chiesa degli Angeli with a Crucifixion, which has almost perished;[2] and then went on to Siena, where he sold a large picture to the family of the Vieri, valued at its completion on September 5, 1510, by

[1] In one round, the Eternal, in a glory of cherubs' heads between two angels kneeling below, left, a female imploring; right, a female with a sword and balance.

In a second round, the Eternal seated amidst angels in benediction.

Third round, the Eternal between two angels; below, on the left, Christ with angels in attendance; on the right, Satan bearded and horned, with a loaf in his hand, as the tempter.

Fourth round, the Eternal; below him, Christ in benediction amongst the kneeling Apostles; the dove below all.

[2] On the side of the Porziuncula facing the choir, a piece of a Crucifixion has been recovered from whitewash (the upper part perished at the demolition of the choirs, says the author of *Glorie della Sacra Porziuncula* or *Compendio Stor. di S. M. degli Angeli*, Perugia, 1858, p. 78). The remains comprise a group of the fainting Virgin composed like that of the Descent added to Filippino's altarpiece at the Servi, with still more movement. The figures have a gentle character. Another fragment in the same place, a Virgin reading, is too injured for an opinion but seems an Umbrian production beneath which one reads: "A. D. 1830 Antonius Castellani restauravit."

Girolamo di Benvenuto, Pacchiarotti, Genga, and Pacchia,[1] and a Crucifixion for Prince Chigi's altar in S. Agostino.[2] From the ruined condition of the latter it is hard to judge of Perugino's ability, but though conventional in arrangement, it is full of feeling in the faces, and peopled with figures of good proportion and shape.[3]

From thence Vasari might lead us to suppose that Perugino returned in 1510 to Florence, where he appraised an Annunciation by Mariotto Albertinelli;[4] and executed, according to Orsini, a Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul for Agostino Spinola of Savona, Bishop of Perugia.[5] It is unfortunately difficult to trace Perugino's doings between 1510 and 1512, in which year he invested his savings in land and houses at Perugia.[6]

During the campaign fought by Gaston de Foix for the possession of the Romagna in 1512, one of Baglioni's captains, a Perugian called Boto da Maraglia,[7] was taken prisoner (February 11) by the French; and on his release, he ordered a votive portrait in remembrance of his troubles, which is still in the church of the Minorites at Bettona. In this hasty distemper on canvas, Boto kneels cap-à-pie, and looks up to a life-sized St. Anthony, holding in one hand the fire, in the other a book. The date of the vow

[1] See the record in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 47. The picture perished in the fire of 1655 at S. Francesco of Siena. See also FINESCHI'S *Guida*, *u.s.*, p. 162.

*[2] This picture was, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 330, n. 3), ordered in 1502, and probably finished in 1506.

[3] Both pieces are mentioned by VASARI (iii. 576). The Christ in the Crucifixion is retouched, and the shadows and outlines have become black and hard, but the proportions are fine and true. Two female saints kneel in prayer at each side of the cross; to the right of the cross, too, the Evangelist erect grieving, the Baptist pointing to the Sufferer, and St. Jerome prostrate looking up, with the stone in his hand. Left, the Virgin erect, grieving, one of the Marys behind her, and a friar on his knees in front. An angel in flight at each hand gathers the blood in a vase. The distance is a rich landscape. The whole piece, restored, threatens to scale away (wood, oil, figures life-size).

[4] VASARI, iv. 224.

[5] RATTI *ap.* ORSINI, in MEZZANOTTE, *Vita di Perugino*, *u.s.*, p. 130.

[6] MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 177. He is recorded to have furnished the design of a ship of silver with ornaments of horses and foliage and nineteen figures (see the record in MARIOTTI, *ib.*, p. 171).

*[7] His name was Bartolommeo Maraglia. The words "Boto de Maraglia" in the dedicatory inscription on the picture (*cf. postea*, p. 349, n. 1) stand for "Voto de Maraglia."

and the name of Perugino are on the lower part of the canvas, which has pretty much the appearance of a Virgin of Mercy between SS. Manno and Jerome, with male and female patrons under her cloak, in the same church.[1] Both pieces are characteristic of the period. They are painted with slight transparent colour. The figures are fairly drawn, in good proportion, and easy motion; but the old carefulness of the master is obviously giving way to a neglectful facility.

We now find Perugino entering anew into negotiations with the friars of S. Agostino of Perugia, for whose convent he had promised ten years before to deliver an altarpiece;[2] but though the vast complex of this work occupied him much till 1514,[3] it was left unfinished for the sake of other commissions at Città della Pieve. A feeble Virgin in glory, adored by SS. Protasius, Peter, Paul, and Gervasius, was then completed for the prior of the church of S. Gervasio in Perugino's native town,[4] together with an enthroned

[1] The inscription on the canvas runs: "Boto de Maraglia de. Peroga. quando fo pregione de Francioso che fo adi XI de febraio MDXII. Petrus pinxit de castro Plebis." The surface is now discoloured and washy, the sky bare to the thread. The lower part of the legs (encased in red hose) of Boto is gone.

In the Virgin of Mercy there is nature and truth in the action of Mary, youthful character in S. Manno. St. Jerome kneels with his arms across. The male patron on the left foreground is aged and dressed in grey, with a cap of the same colour. A female in black kneels behind St. Jerome. Two splits cut, severally, the Virgin and St. Jerome vertically in half. The blue mantle of the former is partly in its old state, but dimmed by time. The red tunic is repainted, the heads of the Virgin and of the two saints are injured. Of two angels in flight above the Virgin, one is partially damaged; and some of the sky is renewed. The base of the panel (oil, 6¼ by 4½ feet) is repainted. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Bettona.]

[2] A note of March 30, 1512, in Perugino's own hand, and marked by his usual ignorance of spelling and grammar, is preserved. It is one of those discovered at Città della Pieve. Its tenor is a request to the prior of S. Agostino to deliver a sack of grain on a receipt from the "garzone" Bartolommeo (see the original facsimile in Mezzanotte, *u.s.*, p. 300.

*[3] The contract between Perugino and the friars of S. Agostino was renewed on June 18, 1512; Perugino promised on this occasion to finish the altarpiece by April, 1513. On November 24, 1512, the wood-carver, Giovan Battista Bastone, agreed to execute the frame of the altarpiece according to Perugino's design. Perugino received a rate of payment (five gold ducats) for the altarpiece on June 18, 1516, and declared on June 7, 1521, that he was willing to have it valued by two experts (Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 211, 381 *sq.*, 384).

[4] Two angels in flight are in prayer at the sides of the glory of cherubs' heads that surround the Virgin. The SS. Protasius and Gervasius carry flags bearing the

St. Anthony the Abbot, between SS. Paul and Macarius, and an Eternal in a lunette, a fresco in S. Antonio, since detached from the wall and now in S. Agostino.[1] The first probably owes its vulgarity, the flatness of its washy tones, and the slightness of its relief to assistants; the last is broadly treated with very slight marks of stippling.

Equal freedom and haste are apparent in the fragments of a Descent from the Cross, dated 1517, in S. Maria de' Servi, of old Compagnia della Stella, at Città della Pieve. A group of the fainting Virgin, supported on the ground by two of the Marys, shows how Perugino clung to an arrangement which he had found successful in the Descent from the Cross, finished after Filippino's death. Nor have years deprived him of feeling.[2]

The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian of 1518, at S. Francesco de' Minori Conventuali of Perugia, may be by Perugino's pupils, and is at all events much damaged.[3]

arms of Città della Pieve. On a wall behind the four saints one reads: "Petrus Cristofori Vanutii de Castro Plebis pinxit. MD.XII.I." Tavola oil, now in Duomo at Città della Pieve, ordered in 1513 by Marchisino Cristophori Manni, prior of S. Gervasio, and others, to be finished within a year, for 120 flor. of eleven bolognini (ORSINI, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 122).

[1] St. Anthony, of colossal size, sits in benediction with a staff in his left hand, an ornament of imitated marble surrounding the principal picture and lunette. The sky is seen at the sides of the saint's throne, and right and left of the Eternal, an almond-shaped glory. The wall of S. Antonio was shaken by the earthquake of 1860, and the fresco was subsequently taken down, transferred to canvas, and placed in S. Agostino. [*This painting has now been removed from S. Agostino.]

[2] The edifice in which the remains of Perugino's frescoes are still partly visible has been much altered by the introduction of floors. The result is that the lower parts of his frescoes (which alone are preserved) can only be seen with lanterns. On one of the walls, as stated in the text, is the Virgin fainting, on the left; then comes the foot of the cross, with two ladders, both held by one person, on which the legs of two men are placed; and to the right, four figures. On the wall at right angles to this are almost obliterated outlines of an Assumption, with the inscription beneath it as follows: ". . . esta hopera fero depengere la compagnia della S . . . . Cossi dicta in li anni dñi MDXVII." Professor Rossi notes, in addition (MARCHESI'S *Cambio*, p. 323), the word "Petr.," but that is now absent. It has been usual to assign these frescoes to the year 1514 (see com. VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, vi. 63).

[3] Wood; now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XIV., No. 2). On the pedestal of the saint are the words: "An. D. 1518." The scene is in a portico through which there is a landscape view. The figures are half the life-size. They are only three in number, including the martyr, and two archers in the act of shooting.

The groups added to Raphael's fresco in S. Severo in 1521 are too badly injured to permit of any comment.[1]

But there are well-preserved frescoes of the latter period in S. Maria Maggiore of Spello, and an Adoration of the Magi in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi, which perfectly illustrate the power that still remained in the great old man at the advanced age of seventy-five. The most authentic of the Spello frescoes is on a pilaster near the high-altar of the collegiate church of S. Maria Maggiore. Perugino's name and the date of 1521 are on two signs hanging from the daïs of a throne. The subject is the Virgin seated, with the corpse of the Redeemer on her lap; the Magdalen and Evangelist mourning at the sides of the foreground. The faces and expression of Mary and of Christ are fair and melancholy; but the small shoulders and ill-foreshortened left arm of the Saviour, and the slovenly character of the drawing in drapery, are an unmistakable symptom of decline, whilst the tenuous yet tremulous outlines tell of physical weakness. But the fluid colour is bold and skilful. The effect is rendered with such ease, indeed, that the surface is but slightly covered, and the pouncing is visible in every part.[2]

The companion fresco on the opposite pilaster near the high-altar simply represents the Virgin and Child between SS. Catherine and Biagio. It illustrates the same phase of Perugino's art, with feeble and defective forms in the Virgin and Child, and contours traced as if by a palsied hand.[3] The colouring is perhaps

[1] SS. Jerome, John Evangelist, Gregory, Boniface, Scolastica and Martha, with the inscription: "Petrus de Castro Plebis. Perusinus tempore domini Silvestri Stephani Volaterrani a dexteris et sinistris Div. Cristophoræ sanctus sanctasque pinxit A. D. MDXXI."

[2] The inscription runs thus:

"PETRUS DE CHASTRO PLEB. PINSIT A.D. MDXXI"

On the base of the Virgin's throne are the names: "Michãl ãgelus Andinez." A low screen behind the throne allows the sky and a hilly landscape to appear. A cherub's head is at each corner of the daïs; a vase on the parti-coloured floor before the Magdalen. The decline of Perugino is noticeable in the eyes, which are drawn angularly to express grief.

[3] The Virgin's head is round, and rests on a very slender neck. The Child looks aged, and the group, generally, is feeble (the blue of the Virgin's mantle is injured). St. Catherine holds the palm and book. The wheel is at her feet.

more hastily laid in than before, as the ground serves for the lights of the flesh-tints. But these are exactly the characteristics of the Adoration of the Magi at Trevi, which is perhaps the most superficial production that ever issued from Perugino's atelier.[1] As he was busy with it, the Vice-legate of Perugia wrote to the Podestà of Trevi (September, 1521), advising him that the prior of S. Agostino had appointed a valuer for the picture lately hung on the high-altar, and asking him to apprise Perugino, who was then living at Trevi, of the fact—a precious letter this, which proves the date of the Adoration of the Magi, and that of the altarpiece of S. Agostino.[2] With some difficulty and not without tedious journeying can this great work be reconstructed in imagination at the present day. It had two faces. On the centre of the first[3] was the Nativity and a Pietà, and at the sides, SS. Sebastian and Irene, SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen, all resting on

She is in graceful action, and has a fine head. On the panelling of the throne one reads:

"EX SPĒIS IOANNE BERNARDELLI
A. D. MDXXI DIE XXV APRILIS."

[1] The Virgin sits in front of a pent-house, two kings kneeling right and left of her, presenting their gifts, one receiving the benediction of the Child, the other the acknowledgment of the Virgin. St. Joseph is a little in rear to the right. To the left in the pent-house, the ox and ass, and in distance, the angel appearing to the shepherds. Right and left, two groups, the whole seen through an archway, in the sides of which stand St. Peter and St. Paul. The left-hand group, including the St. Peter, is much damaged. The Infant Christ is a hunchback, with a protruding belly. The figures are all poor, the Virgin and St. Joseph less so than the rest. The ground acts as light. The shadows are dabbed of a greenish-grey, hatched only here and there with a trembling hand. The extremities are ill drawn, with the nails in false places. The flesh-tints are coarse, and raw from the excessive use of red. On the base of the Virgin's throne: "Petrus de Castro Plebis pinxit." In the spandrils of the arch are the Virgin and Angel Annunciate. A square frame in relief surrounds the fresco.

[2] We are indebted for this record to Professor Adamo Rossi of Perugia. [* The original of this record does not seem to have been preserved. According to the manuscript notes of Padre Giappesi (died 1720), the Vice-legate merely informed Pietro that the convent had elected one expert for the valuation, but no mention is made of the picture as hanging over the high-altar. Nor could it have been, for on September 23, the date for the delivery of the altarpiece was put off till the end of November, and again, on November 30, till Christmas. At Perugino's death (February, 1523) the altarpiece was not yet finished (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 211 *sq.*, and *postea*, p. 357).]

[*3] This was the back of the altarpiece, facing the choir (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 213).

two predella pieces. On the centre of the second was the Baptism of Christ, surmounted by an Eternal in glory; at the sides, SS. Augustine and Philip, SS. James the Less and one in episcopals, and two predella pieces. Eight rounds with the four prophets and the four Evangelists, two others with the angel and Virgin annunciate, completed the whole.[1] Of the first face, the Nativity, SS. Jerome and Magdalen, the predella, are in S. Agostino; the Pietà in S. Pietro of Perugia; the SS. Sebastian and Irene in the Gallery of Grenoble. Of the second face, the Baptism, the Eternal, the predella, are in S. Agostino; the SS. Augustine and Philip in the Gallery of Toulouse; SS. James the Less and his companion in the Museum of Lyons. Two of the four prophets are in the Perugia Gallery. The two others are probably those in the gallery of Nantes.[2] The four Evangelists are in S. Agostino, together with the angel and a copy of the Virgin annunciate by Sanguinetti; the original of the Virgin, erroneously called S. Apollonia, in the gallery of Strasburg. None of the panels exhibit the earlier style of the master. The two principal ones of the Nativity and Baptism are not wanting in grandeur of composition or design, but the flat colour and its feeble rounding recall the Virgin of Mercy of 1512 at Bettona; and they might be assigned to that time, were not uncertainty created by their condition.[3] The remainder, with the exception of the predella and the four Evangelists, are similar to each other; they have all a powerful tone, and are drawn with little of the looseness apparent at Spello or Trevi. They recall

*[1] To these should be added eight half-lengths of saints on the pedestals of the pilasters of the frame (see Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 213, and *postea*, p. 354, n. 4).

*[2] According to Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, pp. 176, 213), the pictures at Nantes formed part of the S. Pietro altarpiece (*cf. antea*, p. 317), while two round pictures of St. Paul and St. Bartholomew, in the Louvre (No. 1,566; *cf. postea*, p. 367), and S. Gervais in Paris, respectively, belonged to the polyptych now under discussion.

[3] The Nativity which, since the text was written, has been removed to the gallery of Perugia (Sala XIV., No. 18), is a little feeble and pallid in tone, the white gesso being seen through the flesh-tints. The Virgin and St. Joseph kneel at each side of the Infant, who lies on the ground. Two angels fly in the upper part of the pent-house. In the distance, the angel appears to the shepherds. The figures are life-size, in oil, on panel. The sky is in part repainted.

The Baptism is of the same character and size as the Nativity, but has slender figures, and is much restored. An angel is at each side of the principal group in a landscape. In the sky is the dove of the Holy Ghost between two seraphs. The blue sky is retouched (Sala XIV., No. 9, in the Perugia Gallery).

the period when Perugino laboured in the Campagnia della Stella at Città della Pieve. The Pietà is remarkable for the bright transparence of its colour, as well as for the mastery with which the outlines are given with the brush at the last. The Saviour sits on the edge of the tomb, his body supported by Joseph of Arimathea, his arms by the kneeling Virgin and Evangelist. The composition reminds one of the fine conceptions of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli. There is an elasticity in the naked frame, a precision in its proportions rare in Perugino.[1] The Eternal in benediction, holding the orb, is noble in features, bold, natural, and dignified in movement, with a good contrast of light and shade, and a powerful warm tinge in the flesh.[2] Similar praise may be awarded to the erect saints in couples.[3] The predella and the Evangelists, possibly completed after Perugino's death, would perhaps deserve attention as productions of Manni or Eusebio di S. Giorgio,[4] were they not seriously injured by the

[1] This panel was given to S. Pietro at the peace of 1815 in lieu of the Ascension (MEZZANOTTE, *u.s.*, p. 144). It is on a wall to the left as you enter the church. The colour, half-body, is so transparent that it shows the underground. In the feet and other parts of the flesh tints the ground is left as high light.

[2] This piece is in the right transept of S. Agostino, and above a door. The panel is composed of five pieces without cloth in the gesso. The Eternal sits on a cloud, in an almond-shaped glory of cherubs' heads, and surrounded by similar heavenly apparitions. [* Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XIV., No. 5.]

[3] SS. Jerome and the Magdalen; wood, oil; now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XV., No. 5); the first erect, with the stone beating his breast, the lion at his feet; the second holding the cup of ointment. The yellow foreground is higher in surface than the remaining parts. The colour, of full body in shadows and drapery, of half-body in lights, with occasional hatching in the flesh-tints. The feet lightly laid in; the detail, (nails) with body. The drawing is a little loosely conventional.

SS. Sebastian and Irene, No. 537, in the gallery of Grenoble, not seen by the authors.

St. Augustine in episcopals with book and crozier, and St. John Evangelist pointing at a passage in a book, both erect, in a landscape (No. 36, Toulouse Museum). The St. Augustine grand in pose. Same character as to handling as in the panel at Perugia (Sala XV., No. 5). Vertical split.

SS. James the Less and Gregory (No. 59, Museum of Lyons). On the banner of S. Gregory, the arms of Perugia, same character as above. Two vertical splits.

The Angel Annunciate (now Sala XIV., No. 23, Perugia Gallery). The Virgin Annunciate, called S. Apollonia, gallery of Strassburg. [* This picture was destroyed in a fire caused by the bombardment of Strassburg in 1870.]

[4] Predella. Adoration of the Magi (Sala XIV., No. 19); the Sermon of John the Baptist (No. 6); the Marriage in Cana (No. 10); the Circumcision (No. 14);

effects of time. The altarpiece of S. Agostino may thus be assigned to an interval stretching from 1512 to 1517. It testifies that to the last Perugino could by personal exertion still yield a work of undoubted merit.

It is to be deplored that records should fail to reveal to us the details of Perugino's life in the final period of his pictorial activity. Were these to be discovered, we might perhaps affix to a picture in the Museum of Marseilles the same date as to the principal portions of that of S. Agostino. This was long an ornament of the monastery of S. Anna at Perugia, and was transferred in the eighteenth century to S. Maria fra Fossi.[1] It represents the Marys of scripture as mothers, Christ and many of the apostles as infants. St. Anna recommends the Virgin, who sits on a wide throne with the Saviour on her knee; St. Simon and St. Thaddeus playing as babes on the step. To the left, St. Mary Cleofas caresses St. James the Less, and St. Joseph protects St. Joseph Justus. To the right, St. Mary Salomé stands with St. John in her arms, the old St. Joachim behind her, and the boy St. James the Elder at her side. All the figures are of the size of life, very fairly arranged, and in good proportion. The drawing is grand; the handling free and bold; and the colour is laid on without much impasto, but with great breadth of touch and at one painting.[2]

in the gallery of Perugia. The first better preserved than the rest; the second much injured; the third and fourth very weak, and much damaged. The four Evangelists (rounds) are now in the choir of S. Agostino, and very feeble. [* Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XVI., Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9.] Two prophets, Daniel and David, are in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XIV., Nos. 17 and 13). Besides these, eight small panels of saints: SS. Nicholas of Tolentino, Lawrence, Augustin, Monica, Lucy, Jerome, Ercolano and Agatha (doubtful whether they belong to the altarpiece), now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XIV., Nos. 20, 7, 8, 21, 16, 15, 11, 12), and are by the same hand as the predella. The altarpiece of S. Agostino is mentioned by Vasari (iii. 583).

[1] Mezzanotte, *u.s.*, p. 150. [* This picture appears to have been executed somewhat earlier than the authors thought. In his will of December 8, 1500, Angelo Conti of Perugia orders his heirs to cause a chapel dedicated to St. Anne to be erected in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Perugia, and to have the altar of this adorned with a picture of the same subject as that now at Marseilles, for which altarpiece Perugino had already prepared a drawing. In addition to ten florins already paid to him, Perugino was to receive from the heirs fifty-five florins (Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 186 *sq.*, 368 *sq.*).]

[2] No. 331, Museum of Marseilles. The names of the saints are written in the nimbuses, the whole scene within an arched space. One sees the drawing beneath

The latest frescoes of Perugino, in the monastery of S. Agnese at Perugia, and in the church of Fontignano (1522), have been sawed from the walls on which they originally stood. The latter, which ought to have been kept in Perugia, is in the Kensington Museum,[1] and may be compared with the Madonna of the National Gallery to illustrate the difference between the art of Vannucci in his prime and on the eve of his decease. The marked inferiority of the Virgin and saints at S. Agnese may be due to Eusebio da S. Giorgio.[2] At Fontignano, we observe, as it were, the flicker of an expiring flame, a heavy Infant Christ, but a fine type of the Madonna; a black wiry outline, broken at intervals and taken up anew with an uncertain hand; a feeble imitation of nature in the extremities, and a painful ease in the mode of dabbing on the local tones; an injured relic this, yet superior to the Adoration of Trevi.[3]

the flesh-tints. The children, generally, are a little broad and heavy, particularly SS. Simon and Thaddeus. On the upper border of the pedestal of the throne one reads: "Petrus de Castro Plebis pinxit"; wood, life-size. Two or three vertical splits. Some heads are spotted, and the landscape behind the throne is in a great measure repainted.

An old copy of the picture is in the Castelbarco Gallery at Milan. An old copy also, on canvas, of SS. Simon and Thaddeus, assigned to Raphael (PASSAVANT, ii. 5), is in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Perugia.

Finally a small old copy of the whole piece, on paper stretched on canvas, is in the Duke of Northumberland's collection at Alnwick.

*[1] Since 1895 on loan to the National Gallery (No. 1,441).

[2] Fresco of the Virgin erect with her arms uplifted. Above her, two angels. Below, SS. Elisabeth of Portugal and Elisabeth of Hungary, and in the niches at the sides, a good figure of St. Anthony the Abbot and St. Anthony of Padua, all but obliterated. The Virgin is ill-outlined and unnatural in action. The figures are drawn with straight lines, and stand unsteadily on the plane of the picture. The drapery is without style. The execution reminds one of that of Eusebio da S. Giorgio, yet MEZZANOTTE (*u.s.*, p. 163) states that the fresco was signed in the fringe of the Virgin's mantle: "Petrus pinsit," and that beneath was the date 1522. The fresco, sawed from the wall, is now in the Cappella della Consolazione, where one sees, in the same style, a Virgin and Evangelist at the sides of a wooden cross, and two angels above (life-size figures), plus a St. Sebastian of less stature, defective in form, though animated in action, a St. Roch, and the Eternal.

[3] The figures in this fresco are above life-size. The whole piece was transferred to canvas, and remained till 1862 for sale in the shop of Signor Angelo Morrettini at Perugia. The Child lies in the centre of the foreground in front of the pent-house between the kneeling Virgin and St. Joseph. The shepherds kneel or stand to the right and left. Two angels, now mere outlines, fly above. The whole piece

As the aged artist laboured at Fontignano, industrious and indefatigable to the close, a plague broke out in the Perugian districts, and ravaged the whole country. A disgraceful panic overspread the land. It was decreed that the ceremonies of religion should be omitted in all cases where death ensued from the contagion.[1] Perugino died and was buried in a field at Fontignano.[2] His sons[3] piously contracted with the monks of S. Agostino (1524) that his body should be taken out of its unconsecrated resting-place to hallowed ground.[4] In return for this service they agreed to pay for the completion of unfinished portions of the altarpiece of their father.[5] If, during the subsequent days of disturbance which history has chronicled, their tender solicitude was deceived, it is not to them that blame can be attached. The mortal shell of their father remained in the grave to which it had been first consigned,[6] and no one knows where lie the bones of Pietro Perugino.[7]

A duty that now claims performance is to notice works of Perugino (or bearing his name in various galleries) which have not been described in the foregoing narrative:

Perugia. S. Maria Nuova, but now in Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 5. Transfiguration, wood, tempera. This is a reduction from the cartoon of the same subject used for the fresco of the Cambio, the

is much injured. A St. Roch and a St. Sebastian, originally at the sides, are said to have been sold to one Conte della Porta.

[1] Mezzanotte, *u.s.*, 184, and Tranquilli in Mariotti, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 189.

[*2] In a record of November 4, 1523, mention is made of Perugino as having been dead for about nine months. Hence we can conclude that he died in February, 1523 (Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 219, 387).

[3] Perugino left three sons—Francesco, Michael Angelo, and Giov. Battista. See the root of the family in Orsini, *u.s.*, p. 237.

[4] It had been Perugino's wish that he might be buried in S. Maria de' Servi at Florence; he had purchased a burial-place there for himself and his descendants in 1515. The record is in Gualandi, *Memorie*, *u.s.*, ser. iv., p. 115.

[5] The record in full is in Mariotti, *Lett.*, notes to p. 182 and following.

[*6] This is not the case; it was exhumed by the members of the Company of the Annunciata, at the expense of which Pietro had been working in the church of Fontignano, and buried near the church (Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 187; see also Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 217 *sq.*).

[7] Vasari says (iii. 590) that Perugino was honourably buried, but there is every reason to doubt this assertion. See the *M emorie* of Giacomo Giappesi, in Mariotti *Lett.*, p. 186.

figures being reversed. Old varnish has given a crystalline reddish appearance to it. Extensive retouching has also taken place. The predella (Sala XVII., No. 6) contains the Nativity between the Annunciation and the Baptism (tempera). The beauty and freshness of its colour tell how fine the Transfiguration may have been. The compositions are the usual ones. The conception of the Annunciation recalls that of the Fano altarpiece; and the Virgin's movement is a Florentine reminiscence. The Baptism is in so far varied that two nudes are added to the right of the principal group. The Transfiguration and its predella must be assigned to Perugino's best time.[1] (VASARI speaks of an Adoration of the Magi in S. Maria Nuova at Perugia by Vannucci [iii. 158]. This Adoration we have noted in the Life of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.)

Perugia. Conventuali, S. Francesco de' Minori, but now in Gallery, Sala XV., No. 3. St. Francis between SS. John the Baptist and Jerome, Sebastian, and Anthony of Padua. Wood, oil, figures life-size. Has lost its lightness and transparence. The Baptist and Jerome being the least damaged, have more of Perugino's character than the rest. The three others are coloured anew, and it is hard to decide whether the author be the master or his assistants.

Perugia. Confraternità di S. Bernardino, but now in Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 9. Canvas, oil, figures life-size. The Virgin sits in glory with the Infant between two angels. Two cherubs are above her head and three others support the cloud on which she reposes. Eight brethren kneel in the middle of a landscape, in the distance of which there is a view of the city of Perugia. The brethren are placed between the kneeling SS. Francis and Bernardino. This piece is greatly injured, yet full of softness and feeling. The types are like those of Perugino in 1495, though the canvas is probably of a later date.[2]

Perugia. S. Francesco al Monte. Fresco, lunette of the Nativity transferred to canvas, repeated from the cartoons of the same subject at the Cambio (life-size figures), half ruined, and abraded in colour throughout.[3] The remains of an Adoration of the Magi, also transferred from the walls to canvas, offers but a few heads to view, the rest being obliterated. Some bits, however, are in possession of Signor Fantacchiotti at Perugia.[4] A third lunette, representing

* 1 It was ordered from him on December 17, 1517, and finished by September 7, 1518 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 208 *sq.*).

* 2 Compare on this picture, *antea*, p. 313, n. 4.

* 3 Now Perugia Gallery, Sala XVIII., No. 33.

* 4 Present whereabouts unknown (*cf.* BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 188 *sq.*).

St. Francis receiving the stigmata, rudely handled, of a red colour and ruined, but certainly not by Perugino, is in the sacristy.[1] A fourth lunette, mentioned by Vasari (iii. 580), illustrating the Martyrdom of the Franciscans before the Sultan, is entirely gone.

Perugia. Galleria Connestabili. In this collection there are fragments of frescoes; a Virgin and Child, almost of life-size, between two angels, in a landscape ; a S. Ercolano and a shield of arms supported by two children. They are all much damaged, but they bear a Peruginesque stamp. [It may appear that these fragments are parts of a series of frescoes executed by Perugino's pupil Berto di Giovanni (see Ruhland's *Catalogue of the Connestabili Collection*, 8°, Florence, 1871.)][2]

Perugia. Gallery, Sala XIV., No. 1. A figure of S. Giacomo della Marca by Perugino, distemper on canvas, of 1512 (*circa*).

Same Gallery, Sala XV., No. 1 (but previously in S. Martino). A St. Jerome (canvas) of the same character as the foregoing.

Same Gallery, Sala XIV., No. 4. Originally in the kitchen of the Palazzo Pubblico. Three half-lengths of the Virgin and Child, between St. Joseph and another saint, a little under life-size, of a light red colour, with spare shadow, one of the late and feeble productions of the master.

Perugia. S. Agostino, above the sacristy door. A panel of the Virgin between SS. Bernardino and Tommaso da Villanuova, assigned by Vasari to Perugino (iii. 583 *sq.*), but perhaps by Manni (see Manni, *postea*).[3]

Corciano (*near Perugia*). *Parish church, choir.* Wood, life-size figures, oil. Assumption. The Virgin, of square form and short stature, with angels, in attitudes slightly differing from those of the Caraffa altarpiece at Naples. Flat rosy-flesh colour, absence of chiaroscuro. Some gaudiness would prove that the pupils of Perugino had the chief part in the work. St. Thomas kneels below, between the apostles, most of whom are repeated from those of the Ascension of Lyons. In the sacristy of the church a part of the predella with

*1 Now Perugia Gallery (Sala XVIII., No. 31).

*2 Present whereabouts unknown.

*3 Now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XVII., No. 7). Below are seen the kneeling SS. Jerome and Sebastian. As shown by Dr. Bombe (*u.s.*, p. 198), the predella of this picture, representing the Last Supper, and inscribed "Hoc opus fecit fieri Ser Bernardinus S. Angeli anno Salutis MD," is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 146A). The composition of this predella resembles that of the fresco in S. Onofrio at Florence (see *postea*, p. 361 *sqq.*).

the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Annunciation exists. In the first the St. Joseph is new.[1]

Borgo S. Sepolcro. Duomo. Ascension, wood, oil, in the left transept. This is a fair replica of that of Lyons, much restored, and red in consequence. (Done at Florence, says VASARI, iii. 578.)

Naples. Duomo. Assumption, painted for Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, and sent to Naples from Florence (VASARI, iii. 578). Wood, oil, arched above. The Virgin, in graceful movement, in an almond-shaped glory, between four players, two angels suspending the crown above her head, four beneath her feet with instruments. Below, St. Thomas looking from among the apostles, with whom (right) St. Paul holding the sword. To the left, Cardinal Caraffa kneeling, is recommended by St. Januarius. The lower part of the foreground figures is entirely renewed, together with the landscape and sky. Perugino freely employed his aids on this large piece.

Naples. Museum, Sala VI., No. 32. Virgin seated on a grass mound, in a landscape, in which the Magi and their suite form groups. Wood, oil. The Virgin is a little broad of shoulder for the smallness of her head, and affected in bend and expression; but the brown tone is admirably fused, and the small figures of the distance are like many afterwards produced by Raphael and Spagna.

Montefalco. S. Francesco. Fresco of the Nativity, with the Eternal in a lunette. The first has been mentioned as a repetition of the subject at the Cambio. The Eternal is from the same cartoon as that in the Nunziatella at Foligno. Much drapery and other parts in the fresco have been repainted—*e.g.*, in the left-hand angel, at the side of the Eternal, the Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph. The foreground also is new. Above the lunette, by the same hand, the figures of the Virgin and angel annunciate are parted by a monster. The handling of this fresco is not by Vannucci, the colour and drawing being hard and dry (see Melanzio, *postea*).

Cantiano (*near Gubbio and Cagli*). A Holy Family at this place (not seen) has recently been sold.[2]

Castiglione del Lago. S. Agostino. Fresco, sawn away and transferred. Subject, the Virgin and Child on clouds, and two angels with the crown. Damaged fragment, ascribed to Perugino, and stamped with the character of his school. It is said that frescoes and a Crucifix by Perugino exist in the Isola Maggiore, at the Osservanti, and in the church of S. Angelo nel Campo.

*[1] This altarpiece was ordered from Perugino on December 18, 1512 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 204 *sq.*).

*[2] *I.e.*, shortly before 1866.

THE LAST SUPPER
BY PIETRO PERUGINO
From a fresco in the Ex-Convent of S. Onofrio, Florence

Photo, Alinari

V.- *To face page* 360

Florence. Pitti Gallery, No. 42. Bust of Mary Magdalen resting one hand on the other, of powerful tone, with bright brown shadows; fine (1496–1500), wood, oil.

Florence. Pitti, No. 219. Wood, oil. Nativity on the model of that of the National Gallery, red and hard from restoring.

Florence. Pitti, No. 340. Wood, oil. Virgin and Child, with two female saints in rear; copy (old) of Perugino's authentic panel at Vienna (Imperial Gallery, No. 32).

Florence. Church of La Calza.[1] The Crucified Saviour with the Magdalen at the foot of the tree, between SS. Jerome, Francis, Giovanni Colombini, and John the Baptist (wood, oil), assigned by VASARI (iii. 573 *sq.*) to Perugino. There is something Peruginesque in the Baptist, who points at the cross, in the S. Gio. Colombini and St. Francis; more of Signorelli in the St. Jerome and in the Magdalen (the latter is the best figure here). The picture is of good impasto, with occasional hatching in the shadows. The colour is chill and raw, and unlike that of Perugino. The vulgar Christ is reminiscent of Filippino and Raffaellino del Garbo. It is difficult to ascribe this piece either to Perugino or to Signorelli.[1]

Florence. S. Onofrio. The Last Supper. Fresco. Annexed is a reproduction of it in its present condition. The apostles sit at the Saviour's sides in the following order (moving from left to right): SS. James the Less, Philip, James the Elder, Andrew, Peter, the Saviour, John Evangelist, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, Simon and Thaddeus. In front, Iscariot. The figures are life-size. The composition is Florentine, modelled on that of Domenico Ghirlandaio at S. Marco of Florence; but the execution is Peruginesque. The distance, with the incident of Christ on the Mount, especially so. It is apparent that the fresco has been worked over. (It was for years so dim as to be almost invisible.) The colour of the table partly abraded, and partly renewed. Outlines of furniture on the cloth have been left. The green embroidery on the screen is new and out of harmony, the engraved outlines having become black. The flesh-tints are laid in with much impasto of a ruddy tinge, free and from a full brush. The drawing is poor, the lower limbs feebly rendered, the fingers of hands and feet incorrect. A great inequality is obvious in the types, some being finer than the rest, St. Thomas even Raphaelesque. An inscription on the hem of his dress might with some difficulty be forced into the following order: "Ra. . . Ur. . . anno MDV.", but there is a

[1] Now in the Uffizi (No. 1,547).

cross mark between the D and the V. The V itself has a stroke on the right limb, and the letters have been overrun. The heads of St. Thaddeus, St. James, and St. John are Peruginesque with Raphaelesque traits, those of St. Andrew and St. Philip not without beauty. The Saviour, like the rest, has a double balled forehead, prominent cheeks, and a parted chin in puffy contours exaggerated in St. Peter. The straight-lined draperies have much of the Florentine, but they want style. The colour is that of a practised and coarse hand, which is neither Raphael's nor Perugino's. Amongst the names which suggest themselves, three may be selected. They are those of pupils of Vannucci, Giannicola Manni, Eusebio, and Gerino da Pistoia. The high forehead, the parted eyes, and puffy drawing of the head of Christ, are like Manni's, *e.g.*, in the Perugia Gallery and in the chapel of the Cambio. Eusebio is an imitator of Raphael with some of Manni's peculiarities, a marrowy touch and sharp flesh tone. Gerino da Pistoia is, however, more likely to have been employed at S. Onofrio than either. Although Vasari calls him a pupil of Pinturicchio, his panels at Pistoia are those of a disciple of Vannucci. In his picture of 1509 at S. Pietro of Pistoia, many figures recall Raphael's first manner, and remind one of the fresco of S. Onofrio. His colour is also of the ruddy kind noticed in the latter. But, further, the studies for four figures in the Last Supper have been preserved (they are on coloured paper, touched in white, exhibited in the room), and testify in favour of Gerino as against Raphael. A painted frame surrounds the Last Supper. Within it are five busts of friars, of which the three highest are Florentine and earlier in date than the two others or than the Supper. This circumstance would confirm the belief that Gerino, if he be the person here engaged, repeated anew a composition which existed before on the same wall; and this presumption is strengthened again by the existence of an engraving in the library of Gotha, which has been, by Passavant, given to Perugino (he assumed it to be taken from the fresco of S. Onofrio as it now stands), but which is a Florentine work of the close of the fifteenth century. The engraving reproduces the attitudes, action, and extremities of the fresco in its present condition, but in a Florentine, not an Umbrian style. The architecture is not a colonnade and screen, but a closed room with windows. On the end of the seats are: a rider followed by a page, and the Capture on the Mount, and these are replaced in the fresco by an arabesque ornament. The question arises, Where was the fresco of which the Gotha engraving was a copy? Was it the original at S. Onofrio,

which some Peruginesques repainted at a later period under orders from Perugino to whom the commission had been entrusted ?[1] (Vasari mentions the existence of a Dead Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist, in S. Piero Maggiore (iii. 576 *sq.*). Borghini states in his *Riposo* (ii., note to p. 151) that it had come in his time into the Cappella Medici. The annotators (Vasari, iii. 577) tell us that it is now in the Palazzo Albizzi in Borgo degli Albizzi at Florence).

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra, Room IV., No. 26.[2] Wood, oil, life-size. St. Sebastian at the pillar in front of an arcade, through which a landscape is seen. On the basement one reads: "Sagittē tuē infixe sunt michi." A genuine Perugino.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. Wood, oil. St. Jerome penitent, in a landscape; much injured; attributed by Vermiglioli (*Vita di Pinturicchio*, p. 113) to Pinturicchio, is painted in Perugino's manner, but may be due to Spagna.

Rome. Galleria Doria, No. 124. St. Sebastian at the pillar (half life-size), named Perugino, is a fine panel by Marco Basaiti.[3]

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 401. Virgin with the Child erect on her knee; wood, oil; named Perugino. The hard execution and glassy colour might prove it to be by Gio. Battista Bertucci of Faenza.

Rome. Gallery of Pictures at the Capitol, No. 13. Wood, oil. Virgin and Child in a niche, between SS. John Baptist, Paul, and Peter and Andrew, John Evangelist, and Francis (under life-size). This is not by Perugino, but reminds one of the painters of Bologna and the Marches, being a mixture of Cotignola and Francia. The three saints, the Baptist, Paul, and Peter, are by a different hand from the rest. A long inscription closes with the date of 1513.[4]

Rome. Gallery of Pictures at the Capitol, No. 70. Called Perugino. Round of the Virgin and Child, feeble and red in tone, by a follower of Lorenzo di Credi.

Bologna. Gallery, No. 197. Originally in the Cappella Vizzani at S. Giovanni in Monte (Vasari, iii. 578; Orsini, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 197). The Virgin in glory; wood, oil. The Virgin in a tender attitude holds

*[1] Since the above was written, the fresco has been cleaned and restored; and arguing from its present condition, it seems unquestionable that it is the work of Perugino himself, assisted, no doubt, by pupils. *Cf.* Schmarsow, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, v. 207 *sqq.*; Ferri, in *Miscellanea d' arte*, p. 121 *sqq.*

*[2] Now in the Louvre (No. 1,566A).

*[3] Now catalogued as a work by him. Compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. Borenius, i. 270.

*[4] Now officially ascribed to Francesco Zaganelli.

the naked Infant with a graceful action. Her glory of cherubs' heads is supported on clouds. She is attended by two angels in flight. SS. Michael, Catherine of Alexandria, Apollonia and John Evangelist stand in devotion below. The St. Michael is a little slender and stiff, but has a good face. The movement of St. Catherine's head is finely foreshortened, the Evangelist grandiose in movement, as in the fresco of the Cambio. The flesh tones are powerful and well fused, and of a lower substance than the draperies. The picture belongs to Perugino's fine time, being brighter in colour than the altarpiece of the Vatican (1496), browner than the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire (1498). The arrangement of the group of the Virgin and Child is very charming and original, condition excellent, signed: "Petrus Peruginus pinxit." The figures are life-size.

Bologna. S. Martino Maggiore. Assumption, by Perugino, according to MEZZANOTTE (pp. 37, 38) and ORSINI (p. 199), is by Lorenzo Costa.

Venice. Academy, No. 599. Previously in the Manfrini collection. Christ washing the feet of the apostles. This piece is certainly not by Perugino, but by a Lombard, and has something of Boccaccino.[1]

Venice. Ex-Collection of the Duchess of Berri. Round, Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist; feeble, and not by Perugino.

Venice. Manfrini Collection,[2] *No.* 322. Round, wood, oil. Virgin with the Child, reading from a book held by an angel, with a second angel in rear, of small merit, by a feeble Peruginesque following the school of Manni and Eusebio.

London. National Gallery, No. 181. Wood, tempera. The Virgin, Child, and St. John. Landscape distance; bought by Mr. Beckford at Perugia. This panel, of pale bright tone, is very carefully executed and signed on the border of the Virgin's dress: "Petrus Peruginus." If it be admitted that Spagna was Perugino's pupil and the companion of Raphael, one might suppose that he had a share in this work, which shows more conscientiousness than freedom of hand. Still, it has much of the spirit of the master.

London. Lord Taunton. Formerly at Stoke Park.[3] Wood, oil. Christ supported on the tomb, reminiscent of that of S. Agostino, inscribed: "Sepulcrum Christi. Petrus Perusinus pinxit." Originally

*1 It is by the artist known as the Pseudo-Boccaccino (see CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, iii. 340 *sq.*).

*2 The Manfrini collection is now dispersed.

*3 Possibly now in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley, of Quantock Lodge, Bridgewater.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Pietro Perugino

From a picture in the Bologna Gallery

V.—*To face page* 364

in Venice and, before it was retouched throughout, undoubtedly one of Perugino's fair creations.

London. Collection of the late Alexander Barker, Esq.[1] Predella; tempera on canvas, in five parts, numbered at Manchester Nos. 70–4. Noli me tangere, conceived without the religious poetry of the earlier time. Christ stops in his walk, leans his left hand on a stick, and listens to the Magdalen, who kneels in prayer. In the distance between the two, the supulchre guarded by angels, right and left a couple in converse. The warm tone of the tempera is like that of the predella of the Transfiguration (in Perugia Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 6) or that of the Louvre distemper of 1505. The Resurrection. Christ rises with the banner out of the sepulchre, as in the Rouen predella. In the distance to the left the guard runs as in the Vatican Resurrection and Munich predella (in the latter the position in the picture is reversed). In the distance to the right, another guard seated, sleeps with his hands on his shield. In the foreground, right, a fine youth asleep leaning on his target, counterpart of that in the Resurrection at the Vatican called the portrait of Raphael, and with a slight variation like the same figure, bearing the name of Raphael on the target, in the Munich predella. In the foreground to the left, a young soldier in helmet and breastplate as in the Vatican Resurrection and Munich predella, but with a shield behind his left arm (at the Vatican there is no shield; at Munich the shield is on the right arm). The Samaritan woman at the well. The Saviour conventional and ill-conceived. The Samaritan woman graceful in movement. The Baptism of Christ. The usual arrangement, but in that respect as well as for proportions more particularly akin to the fresco of the Nunziatella at Foligno. The distance a fine landscape. Nativity, the familiar composition of that subject, with a neat type of the Virgin, warmly coloured and firmly handled.

London. Late Northwick Collection, No. 257. No. 75 at Manchester, and originally at Lucca; wood-tempera, life-size. The Virgin and Child, under a daïs festooned with corals and flowers, between SS. Jerome and Peter, hasty, brownish red in flesh tone, and somewhat dimmed by age. The type of the Virgin is poor (mantle much restored).[2]

London. Dudley House.[3] Two rounds of the Virgin and Evangelist in one frame, with a modern inscription: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit." Unimportant, and of the school.

* 1 Now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

* 2 This picture is now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

* 3 Present whereabouts unknown.

London. Collection of the late H. A. J. Munro, Esq. (Mrs. Butler Johnstone). Wood, oil. Crucifixion, the Virgin and St. John, and SS. Jerome and Francis kneeling at the sides. This picture is assigned to Perugino, but has the character of Tiberio d'Assisi (small).[1]

Same Collection. (Small panel.) St. Francis receiving the stigmata; is in the style of Timoteo Viti.[2]

Hampton Court, No. 355. Portrait of a lady, bust; wood, oil. School of Francia and Lorenzo Costa; recalls Boateri, though beneath him in execution (see a Holy Family by this rare Bolognese at the Pitti).[3]

Hampton Court, No. 233. A female saint bearing a cross. Wood, oil; the flesh tint abraded. This piece is also Bolognese, and brings to mind the manner of Chiodarolo, another follower of Francia and Costa.

Hampton Court, No. 582. Portrait of a gentleman, small panel, representing a man in full front dressed in black, with a bridle bit in his hand. It is not by Perugino, nor by any Italian.

Dulwich. Gallery, Nos. 243, 241. St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis. These two predella saints are part of Raphael's altarpiece for S. Antonio of Perugia, and have been properly catalogued under his name after having been long under that of Perugino.

Bowood. Seat of Lord Lansdowne. Virgin and Child; wood, oil, half-length; much injured by restoring. A feeble production of Perugino's followers.

Panshanger. Seat of Earl Cowper.[4] Wood, oil, half-length, life-size portrait of a man, aged about fifty, of melancholy face, but regular and somewhat long form. He stands leaning both hands on a book on a parapet. Behind him a landscape. This portrait, at first sight suggesting the name of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, is hard in drawing, without brightness or transparence, and of a low livid tone. The shadows are dark and tending to purple, with a sudden transition from them to the lights. These would be characteristic features of Innocenzo da Imola.

Gosford House. Seat of Earl Wemyss (Scotland). Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist in a landscape, much injured (wood, oil, half the size of life). This seems to be by an imitator of Perugino.

*[1] Bought at the sale of Mr. Munro's pictures (*alias* the Novar Collection), June 1, 1878 (No. 72), by Messrs. Colnaghi.

*[2] Bought at the sale of the Novar Collection (No. 73), by Mr. Cassels.

*[3] There can be little doubt that it is by Lorenzo Costa himself (*cf.* Mary Logan, *The Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court*, London, 1894. p. 40)

*[4] Now in the possession of Lady Desborough.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,565. Half-length Virgin and Child between SS. Joseph and Catherine (replica, with the exception of the St. Joseph, of that at Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 32); injured in the lower parts, but broad and warm.[1]

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,566. Round, of St. Paul, hasty and feeble, light, and of the master's late period.[2]

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,539. Nativity; wood. The composition may have its origin in the sketchbooks of Perugino. It is the same as that of the Vatican Nativity known as "Presepio della Spineta," attributed to Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael jointly, but clearly by Spagna. At the Louvre the cartoon is reversed and the angels kneel. The character is that of the Adoration given to Raphael in the Museum of Berlin. The same remarks apply to the numbers at the Louvre registered in the "school" of Perugino—Nos. 1,568, 1,569, and 1,570.

Paris. Louvre. Musée Napoléon III., Ex-Campana Collection, No. 196.[3] Now classed in the Umbrian school at Rome, called Perugino. Eleven apostles in a boat. There is something Venetian here, as the catalogue justly states.

Caen. Museum, No. 35. Wood, oil. St. Jerome penitent, in a landscape, less than half the size of life. At the foot of the cross before which the saint kneels one reads with difficulty: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit." Completely flayed.

Nantes. Museum. Two panels (rounds) representing the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah. (Not seen, but no doubt part of the altarpiece of S. Agostino. See *antea*.)

Bordeaux. Museum, No. 124. Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Augustine (not seen by the authors), probably the same described by Constantini (*Guida*, p. 138), as in S. Agostino of Perugia, and said by him to be by a pupil of Perugino.

St. Petersburg. Collection of Count Sergei Stroganoff. Half-length, Virgin with the Infant standing on her knee, in a landscape (wood, transferred to canvas); pretty and graceful; taken from a design by Perugino, but in the mixed mode derived from him and from Raphael by a later scholar, such as Eusebio da S. Giorgio or Gerino da Pistoia

*[1] As pointed out by Dr. Knapp (*Perugino*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1907, p. 46 *sqq.*), there is a strong Venetian influence in this work. The composition, the colouring, the dark background, and the forms, all recall Giovanni Bellini; the Virgin's right hand looks, in fact, as if taken straight out of a picture by him.

*[2] *Cf. antea*, p. 353, n. 2.

*[3] Now on loan to the Gallery at Lyons (No. 23).

in his youth; indeed, not unlike the latter's manner in an altarpiece of 1509, at Pistoia (see *postea*, Gerino).

St. Petersburg. Collection of H.I.H. the Grand-Duchess Marie, widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg. A Virgin and Child, composed like the foregoing (wood, figures one-third life-size), and evidently of Perugino's school, is to be found here (injured).[1]

Same collection. Christ in the tomb supported by two female saints, and St. John Evangelist (wood, small). The composition is Perugino's, the execution by a journeyman.[2]

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 32. Wood, oil. Virgin, Child, and two female saints; replica, with the exception of the female saint to the left of the Madonna, of No. 1,565 at the Louvre. The colour is bright and powerful. Signed: " Petrus Perusinus pinxit." A replica, again, is No. 340 at the Pitti of Florence (an old copy).

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 24. Baptism of Christ (small), a copy of no great age (wood).

Vienna. Liechtenstein Gallery. The Nativity (round, wood, oil). The Virgin kneels in prayer before the Infant, supported on a sack by an angel on his knees. To the right the shepherd's dance. The same idea as to composition as at the Pitti (No. 219), and as in the Pavia piece in the National Gallery. The landscape is more like Raphael's than Vannucci's. The forms are clean, the faces fairly expressive, and the handling is careful, though below that of Perugino, and nearer to that of Eusebio or Domenico Alfani. On the ground to the right one reads in gold the inscription: " Petrus Perrusinus (sic) P."

Vienna. Harrach Gallery, No. 350. Wood, round. The Virgin and Child, St. Mary Magdalen and another saint; adaptation as to arrangement of the subject in the Louvre panel (No. 1,565); repainted, but an imitation of Perugino with the modern signature of " Petrus Peruginus fec. MDVIII."

Dresden. Museum, No. 38. Head of a young St. Crispinus; rude work in the style of Melanzio.

Dresden. Museum, No. 40. St. Roch, a pretty little thing, but not by Perugino.

Berlin. Museum, No. 146.[3] Wood, oil. The Virgin enthroned

* 1 Present whereabouts unknown.

* 2 This appears to be identical with a picture now in the collection of the Princes L. and E. Kotchoubey of St. Petersburg (reproduced in *Staruie ghodui*, St. Petersburg, January, 1912, plate facing p. 3). Christ is, however, supported by Joseph, and on each side of him is the Virgin and St. John.

* 3 Now on loan to the Provinzialmuseum at Hanover.

with the Child in benediction, between SS. James the Less and Anthony the Hermit, Francis and Bruno. Perugino's design and type by some one in the shop, perhaps by Tiberio d' Assisi. The colour is dull and hard.

Berlin. Museum, No. 140.[1] Round of the Virgin and Child, between two angels, by an imitator of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

Berlin. Museum, No. 138.[2] Round. Nativity, better than No. 140, but raw and poor; of Perugino's school.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,037. Tempera, wood, called Raphael. Baptism of Christ, usual arrangement, much injured and repainted. Amongst the drawings in the Staedel collection at Frankfort there is one of the Baptism of Christ, with an angel at each side. This drawing is assigned to Pietro Perugino. It differs somewhat from the picture at Munich. On the back of this drawing is a St. Martin dividing his cloak and giving it to the beggar (the latter wears the horns of Satan). These figures are drawn like those of Raphael in his youth, to whom Passavant would give them. There is no ground in this for attributing to Raphael the Munich Baptism, which is clearly by Perugino. Purchased from the Inghirami heirs at Volterra, and transferred, in 1818, to Ludwig I., of Bavaria.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,038. So-called Raphael. The Resurrection. The Saviour rises from the tomb (Vatican and Mr. Barker's predella). To the right the soldier runs away. In the foreground, right, the sleeping guard; on the border of his shield, twice repeated: "Rafae Santius." This inscription is of doubtful originality, the piece being much injured and restored. The sleeping soldier to the left is the same as in the Barker predella. The signature of Raphael, even though considered genuine by PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, vol. i., p. 64), cannot be sustained, the panel being obviously Perugino's.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,035. Wood, oil. The Virgin, life-size, stands between SS. John Evangelist and Nicholas, in rear of the Infant, who lies on the middle of the foreground; fine, very devotional, and of bright transparent flesh tone. The Child very plump. Purchased in Paris in 1815.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,036. The Virgin and Child (wood, oil), much damaged by cleaning. Disagreeable mask of the Virgin, not a good production of the master. Bought at Florence in 1831 for King Ludwig I.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,034. Vision of St. Bernard. There is a

[1] Not now shown. [2] Now on loan to the Provinzialmuseum at Bonn.

copy of this Vision in S. Spirito at Florence, the original being given by VASARI to Raffaellino del Garbo (iv. 237). But the picture here is a genuine Perugino, much altered by cleaning, youthful and fresh in the forms, and powerful in tone. Bought of the Capponi family at Florence in 1829–30 for King Ludwig I.[1]

Altenburg. Lindenau Collection, Nos. 115, 114. St. Helen. Wood, oil, in a niche. St. Anthony of Padua, wood, tempera, in a niche. Both life-size, once part of the sides of the altarpiece at the SS. Annunziata de' Servi in Florence. These are pleasing and of Perugino's later time; hasty and slight in execution (the tops of the niches have been cut down).

Florence. Metzger Collection. St. Lucy with the fire and St. John the Baptist. Whole lengths, and companion figures to those at Altenburg, which were sold to Herr von Lindenau by the father of the present Signor Metzger.[2]

Frankfort. Staedel Gallery, No. 16. Wood, oil. The Virgin holds the Infant on her knee. He turns towards the young St. John, in prayer to the Virgin's left. The figures are finely proportioned and grandly designed. The tenderness and feeling in the Infant and Baptist rival those imparted by Raphael to the Terranuova Madonna at Berlin. The sky is slightly injured.

Brussels. Museum, No. 477 (cat. of 1889). Wood, oval; m. 0·69 h. by 0·60. From the collection of the Prince de Conti at Florence. Virgin and Child and young Baptist; not in Perugino's manner.[3]

Brussels. Museum (*not catalogued*). Virgin, Child, and St. John,

* 1 The history of this picture has been traced by Dr. GRONAU (in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, iv. 46 *sqq.*) as follows: It was ordered from Perugino for the chapel of the Nasi family in the Chiesa del Costello at Florence, and is mentioned as being there by VASARI (iii. 584). Between 1627 and 1637 it was removed to the palace of one Francesco Nasi, who intended to place it in another of his family's chapels in S. Spirito, which at that time was adorned by a St. Bernard by Raffaellino del Garbo (not a Pietà, as Dr. Gronau states, Vasari being positive on this point). After Nasi's death (1639), his sister and heiress, Ortensia Capponi, had the picture by Raffaellino removed, but replaced it not by Perugino's St. Bernard, but by a copy of the latter picture, executed by Felice Ficherelli, and still at S. Spirito. The Nasi chapel in the Chiesa del Costello was founded on March 6, 1489; according to a seventeenth-century chronicler, Perugino's picture was finished the following year. For reasons of style, it seems, however, more likely that it was painted some years later.

* 2 Now in the Grand Ducal collection at Meiningen.

* 3 Not now shown.

almost life-size, very poor, and with difficulty to be ascribed to a follower of Giannicola Manni.[1-2]

*[1] We add the following list of extant pictures by Perugino which have not yet been mentioned:

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,120. Portrait of a lady. *No.* 1,217. Supposed Portrait of Alessandro Braccesi (see MORELLI, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 127 *sq.*).

London. Mr. Henry Yates Thompson. The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (miniature in the Albani Missal). *Mr. F. Anthony White.* Four nude men.

New York. Late Mr. J. P. Morgan. The Virgin and Child with two saints (from the collection of Sir George Sitwell; see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, x. 18, with reproduction).

St. Petersburg. Hermitage, No. 7. Portrait of a man. Bust of St. Sebastian, signed "Petrus Perusinus pinxit."

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 25. St. Jerome.

Wantage. Lockinge House, Lady Wantage. SS. Jerome and Sebastian.

[2] The following works of Perugino are lost or unaccounted for: Florence, S. Martino delle Monache, frescoes (VASARI, iii. 568 *sq.*). Santa Croce: altar of the Serristori; panel representing the Pietà, with ornaments on a frame by Andrea di Cosimo (VASARI, iii. 577 and vi. 206; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, p. 15). Camaldoli: fresco of St. Jerome before a crucifix (VASARI iii. 569); copy of the same on panel for Bartolommeo Gondi (VASARI, iii. 569), but see Caen in text. Casa Filippo Salviati: round of the Virgin and Child, partly by Perugino, partly by Rocco Zoppo (VASARI, iii. 591). S. Jacopo fra Fossi: Penitent St. Jerome (BORGHINI, *Riposo*, ii. 150). S. Marco, cappella de' Martini, pictures (RICHA, *Chiese*, vii. 120), Gualfonda citadel, Pietà and other figures (RICHA, *Chiese*, iv. 15). In possession of G. B. Deti, a large marriage of St. Catherine (*Riposo*, ii. 151).

Perugia, Duomo: frescoes in cappella de' Oradini, destroyed in 1795 (ORSINI *Vita, u.s.*, p. 185).

CHAPTER XI

BERNARDINO PINTURICCHIO

PINTURICCHIO, the partner of Pietro Perugino, has been described by Vasari, with unusual bitterness, as more favoured by fortune than gifted by nature or education.[1] Rumohr mitigates the severity of this judgment, at the expense of Pinturicchio's character, and says we must discriminate between the fresh creations of his early time and the empty dexterity of a later period in which everything is sacrificed to the lucre of gain.[2] Yet his youthful productions are missing, and there are no clear traces of works undertaken on his sole account previous to the completion of the Sixtine Chapel.[3] No certainty is attainable regarding his birth, unless we accept Vasari's statement that he was fifty-nine years of age when he died.[4] Assuming this, he was born in 1454, and his independent career began at thirty. He was christened Bernardino, to which were added Betti (Benedicti) Biagi; but his acquaintance often called him Sordicchio, because of a deafness and the paltriness of his appearance.[5] He was best known, however, as Pinturicchio; and he probably commended the use of this alias, in order that he might be distinguished from a Perugian contemporary, also called Bernardino, whose mediocre pictures are often confounded with his.

Pinturicchio is the genuine representative of Perugian art as it was felt and carried on in the ateliers of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. He never mastered the difficulties of oil medium,

[1] VASARI, iii. 493. [2] RUMOHR (*Forschungen, u.s.*, ii. 331).

[3] ROSINI (*Storia della pittura, u.s.*, iii. 182) assigns to Pinturicchio's early time a figure of S. Ansano in S. Antonio e Jacopo (S. Caterina) at Assisi. This figure and two others, near a fresco representing an incident from the life of St. James, are, however, by a painter who lived after Pinturicchio (see *antea*, p. 230, in Pietro Antonio). [4] VASARI, iii. 503.

[5] FRANCESCO MATURANZIO, *Chron.*, in VERMIGLIOLI, *Vita, u.s.*, p. 29.

but remained almost invariably true to the system of tempera and to the customs of the old Umbrians. His Virgin and Child in the collection of the late Sir Anthony Stirling in London[1] is one of the first links that connect his manner with that of his predecessors. It is the earliest of his works with which we are acquainted, a panel in which forms and types, style of drawing and handling, only differ so far from Fiorenzo's that they receive an additional polish, and combine more grace with greater accuracy of execution, better design with more pleasing colour.[2]

When Pinturicchio went to Rome, he did so as Perugino's partner. Vasari says that they laboured in company at the Sixtine,[3] and the probability of this statement has already been discussed.[4] As the chapel approached completion, perhaps before it was finished, Pinturicchio had gained access to Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, whose most pressing care after his elevation to the purple (1479)[5] had been to erect a palace in Borgo Vecchio, on the front of which his arms were painted by Pinturicchio.[6] His next object was the adornment of a chapel dedicated

*1 *Cf. antea*, p. 274 *sq.*

*2 Among the earliest extant works by Pinturicchio we may count the little panel representing the Crucified Christ between SS. Jerome and Christopher, in the Galleria Borghese at Rome (No. 377), a picture in which the influence of Fiorenzo is very strongly marked (*cf.* MORELLI, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 143). Close to it we may place a Pietà in the collection of Sir George Holford, in London (see FRY, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xvi. 268).

3 VASARI, iii. 497.

*4 Perugino's activity in the Sixtine Chapel may be placed, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 288, n. 1), between 1480 and 1482. Pinturicchio did not, however, lose touch with his home during this period; he was matriculated in the Painters' Guild at Perugia in 1481, and bought a house there on November 28 of that year. The price of it was eleven florins, of which the last five were paid by him on June 4, 1482 (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 221, 388).

5 February 3, 1478 (o. s.).

6 VASARI, iii. 497. The palace was contiguous to that which Bramante afterwards built for Raphael on the Piazza Rusticucci. See Leo X.'s brief, ratifying the sale of Raphael's house in 1520, a record in which the exact position of Domenico's palace is described (*Giornale degli archiv. tosc.*, *u.s.*, vol. iv., 248–53). [* In the interior of this palace—now known as the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri—there are still a number of (sadly injured) decorative frescoes by Pinturicchio. A beam in one of the rooms bears the date 1490, which possibly denotes the period when the building was finished (see RICCI, *Pinturicchio*, Perugia, 1912, p. 55 *sq.*). On October 21, 1484, Pinturicchio bought a second house at Perugia for thirty florins,

to St. Jerome, the first of its kind in S. Maria del Popolo, which Sixtus IV. had begun rebuilding[1] on the plans of Baccio Pontelli.[2] On the altar-face, Pinturicchio placed the Adoration of the Shepherds. In five lunettes he represented scenes from the Life of St. Jerome, introducing a number of slender personages into them with such skill as one might expect from a man who had witnessed the progress of Perugino. He gave a graceful movement and a fair shape to the Infant Saviour in the mode afterwards repeated at Spello and elsewhere. His landscapes are a medley of rocks of fretful curves tunnelled into holes and clothed with spare verdure, a permanent feature in him, and essentially characteristic of the Umbrian.[3]

About the time when these frescoes were completed, Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora and Sinigaglia, died (1485). He had also built an oratory in S. Maria del Popolo, with the intention of being buried there. His monument, as well as the rest of the sacred space, was decorated by Pinturicchio, probably at the request of Domenico, or of Cardinal Giuliano, the deceased's

of which he paid the last instalment on July 8, 1485. In 1485 he received payment from the Convent of Monteluce at Perugia for having painted the baldacchino above the shrine of the Sacrament. On April 18, 1486, yet another payment was made to him by this convent "per la depentura dove sta el corpo de Christo." In July and August of the same year various payments were made to him for a Madonna above the door of the bedroom of the Priori in the Communal Palace at Perugia (BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 221 *sq.*, 388 *sq.*).]

[1] Ecclesia S. M. de populo a Syxto IIII fuit ab ipsis fundamentis cum claustro instaurata. . . ." (ALBERTINI, *Opusc.*, *u.s.*, p. 50).

* [2] Baccio Pontelli had probably nothing to do with the rebuilding of S. Maria del Popolo (see GIORDANI, in *L'Arte*, xi. 103 *sq.*).

[3] In the distance of the Nativity the procession of the Magi is given. To the right the hut, with the ox and the ass. The blue mantle of the Virgin is repainted. The blue dress of one shepherd, the yellow one of another, the heads of all, are in ruin. The blue starred ceiling with its new colour increases the bad effect created by the damaged condition of the fresco. The incidents from the life of St. Jerome are much damaged. [* VASARI states (iii. 498) that Pinturicchio painted a portrait of Domenico della Rovere in this chapel. It was, perhaps, as suggested by Professor SCHMARSOW (*Pinturicchio in Rom*, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 71), on the wall to the right, which is now occupied by a monument. The date of these frescoes is not ascertained. Professor SCHMARSOW (*u.s.*, p. 70 *sqq.*) assigns them to the years 1497-8, in view of the character of the ornaments on the ceiling, and the resemblance of the type of the Virgin to that occurring in the altarpiece for S. Maria de' Fossi at Perugia.]

brother.[1] At the altar the Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. Francis, Augustine, and two other friars, the third person of the Trinity above in a lunette half-length, giving the blessing, the whole in a rich white marble tabernacle, bearing the della Rovere arms. To the left, the Virgin is taken to heaven by angels, whilst the apostles stand about the tomb. In the rounded alcove of Giovanni's monument Christ is supported in the sepulchre by two angels, and in the remaining lunettes five scenes from the life of the Virgin are depicted. These pieces are in a framework of fictive architecture—columns supporting a real cornice and resting on imitated plinths that start from a skirting filled with chiaroscuros. Between the plinths a feigned panelling incloses simulated bas-reliefs in monochrome, of St. Peter before the Emperor at Rome and his crucifixion, St. Augustine surrounded by various personages, the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, the accusation and decapitation of St. Paul. In the midst of once rich ornaments of foliage and children in the vaulted ceiling are the remnants of four busts of prophets and an angel playing, in rounds, almost obliterated by damp.

Whilst the failings handed down by Fiorenzo are illustrated in the feeble aspect and drooping shoulders of the Virgin at the altar, the lower attainments of a pupil are apparent in the small heads, in the thin forms and broken draperies of the angels of the Assumption. The Nativity is a composition often repeated later by Pinturicchio's disciples at Siena. The scenes from the lives of the saints, in monochrome, are the best in the chapel as regards arrangement, action, and proportion of figures. They reveal Pinturicchio's contact with Signorelli, and the temporary transmission of some of his energetic feeling into the weaker frame of his Perugian contemporary.[2]

*[1] The monument in question is not that of Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora and Sinigaglia (who died, besides, in 1501), but of Giovanni Basso della Rovere, who died in 1483. It was erected by his sons, Girolamo, Francesco, and Bartolommeo (see Schmarsow, *u.s.*, p. 22 *sq.*).

[2] The St. Augustine and his companion friar on the right are darkened and spotted by restorers. The Virgin of the Assumption is in an almond-shaped glory of cherubs' heads, raised from below by two angels, attended by four others playing instruments. Behind the tomb, about which the apostles stand, is a landscape. The feeble execution of the angels might point to the name of Pinturicchio's

Cardinal Costa was another dignitary, who had founded a chapel in S. Maria del Popolo after he received the hat, in 1479.[1] For him Pinturicchio furnished half-lengths of the doctors of the church in four lunettes, and a scutcheon supported by two children in a fifth—all much abraded by the effects of time.

The most important and successful of Pinturicchio's commissions in this church was, however, the laying out of the choir ceiling, at the request of Giuliano della Rovere,[2] which he did with masterly distribution and pleasant colouring. The Coronation of the Virgin in a large central medallion; the four doctors of the church standing in niches in the angles, with a recumbent sybil in a shovel-frame above them, and an evangelist in a round between each sybil, are a telling proof that Pinturicchio possessed the Umbrian taste for decoration, in the absence of higher qualities essential to the production of great masterpieces. His labours in S. Maria del Popolo were closed in the chapel of Lorenzo Cibo, founded in 1486, but afterwards renewed by a second cardinal of the same name.[3]

disciple, Matteo Balducci. The distance (landscape) of the Pietà in the monument of Giovanni della Rovere is much damaged and repainted. The scenes from the life of the Virgin are, besides the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Marriage, the Visitation (injured by damp), and the Virgin seated amongst angels.

[1] The chapel was founded by him in 1479 (see PLATNER and BUNSEN, &c., *Beschreibung Roms*, 8°, Stuttgart, 1842, vol. iii., 3. Abth., p. 217. [* The date of the foundation of the chapel is 1489.]

[2] "S. Maria de Populo. Sunt multæ capellæ variis picturis et marmoribus exornatæ, majorem vero capellam tua beatitudo (Julius II) fundavit, ac variis picturis exornavit manu Bernardini Perusini. in q . . . . ." (ALBERTINI, *Opusc., u.s.*, p. 50). It is not in our power to discover on what grounds URLICHS (*Zeitschs. für bildende Kunst*, v. p. 50) assumes that this choir was painted in 1509 (see also VÖGELIN'S *Madonna von Loreto*, p. 8). [* ALBERTINI'S *Opusculum* is dated at the end June 3, 1509 (though it was published in 1510, and apparently was already being compiled in 1506). Before making the statement quoted by the authors, he writes: "Ecclesia. s. Mariæ de populo a Syxto IIII. fuit ab ipsis fundamentis cum claustro instaurata: quam *hoc anno* tua sanctitas (Julius II) non degenerans a patruo Syxto ampliavit pulcherrimisque picturis & sepulchris cum novis capellis & cœmiterio Julio exornavit ut dicam inferius de capellis." That the date 1509 has been assigned to this fresco is therefore quite justifiable; and we know, moreover, from an autograph letter of Pinturicchio's (published by Dr. BRIGANTI in *Augusta Perusia*, i. 17) that the scaffolding in the choir of S. Maria del Popolo (or the "chapel of Cardinal Ascanio," as he calls it, from the monument of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza) had not yet been taken down by May 13, 1510.]

[3] It seems likely that the chapel of Lorenzo Cibo was not erected before 1489, in which year he became Cardinal, and since the arms of Innocentius VIII. are

The family of which Lorenzo was a member was one of the most potent in these years at Rome, because its head occupied the chair of S. Peter under the name of Innocent VIII. Scarcely less enterprising as a builder than his predecessor, Sixtus IV., this Pontiff raised the Palace of Belvedere from its foundations; and in the rooms subsequently transformed by Pius VII. into the gallery of statues called Museo Pio Clementino, Pinturicchio covered the walls with frescoes, amongst which Vasari noticed a panorama of the principal cities of Italy, and a Madonna on the entrance-door.[1] The changes introduced since then have left but few vestiges of the original decoration behind, but what remains is still clearly assignable to Pinturicchio. In that part of the palace which serves as a place of exhibition for antique sculpture several lunettes are cleverly filled with pictorial adornments; in some a peacock between two angels, in others Innocent's scutcheon, with two boys as supporters at the sides; others, again, certain half-lengths of prophets in couples, and one larger than the rest is conspicuous by a filling of eight boys singing from books. There are sections of lunettes, too, at the corners of a ceiling in which angels alternate with allegorical figures of women bearing cornucopia. On one of the ceilings we read the name of Innocent, and the date of 1487.[2] The views of cities and the Madonna above the entrance are no longer to be seen.

A more complete destruction awaited the frescoes executed for Sciarra Colonna in the Palazzo di S. Apostolo, and an altarpiece of the Madonna ordered by Innocent VIII. for a chapel in S. Pietro.[3]

painted in the vaulting of the aisle before the chapel, we may conclude that the frescoes in the chapel were finished before 1492, in which year Innocentius died (see STEINMANN, *Pinturicchio*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1898, p. 106). A fragment of these frescoes, representing the Virgin and Child, is now in the cathedral of Massa (see RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 123 *sqq*).

[1] VASARI, iii. 498. [2] INNOCEN. CIBO GENVEN. P.P. VIII. FUNDAVIT. 1487.

[3] VASARI, iii. 498. [* The palace in which Pinturicchio painted was that of the Colonna family, not that of Sciarra Colonna, and was at that time also partly occupied by Giuliano della Rovere, who, according to Albertini, caused it to be restored and decorated with paintings and statues (see SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 22). There are still, in the private rooms of the Palazzo Colonna, a number of decorative frescoes by Pinturicchio (*cf.* SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 26 *sq.*; A. VENTURI, *Tesori d' arte inediti di Roma* [Rome, 1896], Plates XV. XXVI.) On September 16

In the midst of these occupations Pinturicchio was perhaps surprised, in the spring of 1491, by the reappearance of Perugino in Rome, in the employ of Giuliano della Rovere. The protracted and fruitless negotiations between Vannucci and the Orvietans, which now took place, ended, as we have seen, by the call of Pinturicchio to Orvieto, where[1] he agreed to paint two Evangelists and two Doctors of the Church, near the choir of the cathedral. Having finished these, as, in the absence of the figures themselves, we infer from the record of a payment of 50 ducats,[2] he was put to further works in one of the tribunes, which, it would seem, consumed a great quantity of blue and gold.[3] The superintendents discovered, indeed, to their dismay that they had exhausted the means of purchasing more. In the absence of these indispensable materials, Pinturicchio protested that he could not go on any longer,[4] and in a legally drawn up paper (November 17, 1492) declared himself free from any responsibility that might attach to him in consequence of his not fulfilling the contract within the specified time. One of those growling spirits, which are so frequently to be found in councils like that of Orvieto, was for turning Pinturicchio out at once, as a squanderer of the church moneys and an incapable artist. But more generous views prevailed, and Pinturicchio remained. Three weeks, however, expired before an order was placed on the minutes (December 14, 1492) "for raising funds to buy blue and gold for the ceilings"; and it is probable that, rather than be idle any longer, Pinturicchio took horse and returned to his old residence at Rome.[5]

1489, Pinturicchio at Perugia received an order from the Company of S. Giuseppe for a picture of the Sposalizio. Ten days later he empowered the painter Bartolommeo Caporali to watch his rights as against the Company. This no doubt means that he was leaving for Rome. He never painted the Sposalizio, which was eventually, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 329 *sqq.*), ordered from Perugino. On April 29, 1491, the Canon Girolamo di Simone of Perugia constituted Pinturicchio his attorney (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 222, 389 *sq.*).]

* [1] In June, 1492. [2] VASARI, com., iii. 500.

* [3] Pinturicchio never painted anywhere else in the Orvieto Cathedral but in the choir, and his work there was not finished until November, 1496 (*cf. postea*, p. 388, and FUMI, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, pp. 400 *sq.*, 404 *sq.*).

* [4] The two Evangelists were apparently finished by this time.

[5] See the proof for the whole of these facts in DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, in VASARI'S annot., iii. 500, and VERMIGLIOLI, *u.s.*, app., p. xl and following.

During his absence Alexander VI. had been elected to succeed Innocent VIII., and had ordered a suite of rooms in the Vatican to be built for his special use. Pinturicchio was instantly engaged to decorate the first that was ready, and not only finished it, but five others at intervals within two years. This suite, known as the Appartamento Borgia, has undergone very little alteration since that time. The first room, or Sala, exactly beneath the present hall of Constantine, was denuded of Pinturicchio's frescoes by order of Leo X., and redecorated by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga.[1] Five others, occupied at present as a library,[2] are still in their original condition. Of these, three communicating with each other through the Sala are lighted severally by one window opening on the Cortile di Belvedere, and are longitudinally divided by an arch resting on pilasters; the fourth has also a window facing the Cortile, but no division; the fifth faces the Cortile at a less obtuse angle than the rest.

First Room, next to the Sala of Giov. da Udine and Perino.[3]—On the wall facing the window, and divided into two lunettes, the Annunciation and the Nativity, with the Papal arms between them, in a rosette supported by three angels. In the two lunettes to the right, the Adoration of the Magi and the Resurrection, with a fine kneeling portrait of Alexander VI. in the latter. In one lunette, to the left, the Assumption and a Cardinal kneeling by the tomb, about which the apostles stand. In one lunette, above the window, the Ascension, and in the two ceilings a tasteful ornament of animals and devices on a blue ground, and eight half-lengths in rounds. None of the compositions are remarkable. Some, as the Nativity and Ascension, are ill arranged. A certain breadth in the draperies of the annunciate angel reveals Pinturicchio's partial familiarity with the Florentine examples of Domenico Ghirlandaio or Lippi. Coarseness characterizes many forms in the Nativity. A certain rudeness is apparent in the execution, and the dull grey colour is but slightly relieved by light and shadow. Coldness and lifelessness are combined in the colour and figures of the Adoration. Want of style and minuteness of detail are to be noted in the draperies of the Resurrection, and

[1] Vasari, v. 595.

*[2] This is no longer the case. The Appartamento Borgia was restored in 1891–97.

*[3] Now known as the Sala dei Misteri.

the Redeemer is altogether poor. The Ascension, being in the dark, is doubtless by assistants. The best preserved subject is the Adoration, the worst the Resurrection.

Second Room.[1]—This room is better done than the previous one, not only with respect to composition, but as regards the successful design and the correct handling of the several parts. The ceilings are filled with mythological incidents in triangular spaces formed by diagonals, with the Papal arms at the central intersection. In the vaulting of the arch which divides the room episodes are neatly placed in gilt stucco ornaments. Opposite the window the whole field is occupied by St. Catherine arguing before Maximian, the latter well proportioned, the former delicate and dignified, the action in both not too highly strained. Amongst the listeners in turbans and quaint costumes, one presents his back to the spectator and points to a passage in a book held up by a kneeling page. Most of the heads seem portraits. The draperies are ill cast and bundled into superfluous straight folds. The buildings in the background are gilt stucco, and an arch in the distance stands out in relief. Two lunettes of the wall to the right of the foregoing are filled with St. Anthony sharing bread with St. Paul the Hermit, and the Visitation. The first is well put together and powerfully coloured, and the movements of the saints breaking the bread are natural and lively. In the second there is more beauty in single groups of females spinning and sewing than unity in the distribution. An aged woman seated, and a girl twirling a reel as she walks, are particularly deserving of attention. The wall to the left contains the Martyrdom of SS. Barbara and Giuliana, and St. Barbara flying from her father. A fountain in the former is raised and gilt. The St. Barbara in the latter is graceful, slender, and rather affected. Above the door on the same side is a half-length of the Virgin surrounded by cherubs' heads on gold ground. She is teaching the Infant to read in an open book. The head is said to be the portrait of Giulia Farnese, but VASARI'S description (iii. 499) includes a portrait of Alexander VI. in adoration, which is not to be found here. Above the window there is a plain and well intended composition of St. Sebastian, not without breadth, in the nude, but much restored—more so, indeed, than any part of these paintings, which have all undergone more or less retouching.[2]

* [1] Now known as the Sala dei Santi.

* [2] The figure of a seated captain in the right-hand corner of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian corresponds to a drawing of a janissary, by Gentile Bellini, in the British Museum. Two figures of Orientals in the Disputation of St. Catherine

Third Room.[1]—The lunettes of this room are entirely occupied by allegorical impersonations of Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric,[2] Geometry, Arithmetic, Music and Astrology, which are dealt with in a higher style of art than before, with a touch here and there of Peruginesque character. The heads are frequently successful in selection of type, the draperies often of satisfactory flow; yet one still traces in most parts the pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. A figure which most recalls Perugino is one holding a sword in its right hand, and a golden ball in its left, with a head reminiscent of those in the Hague Madonna at the Louvre. In front are children and adults; amongst the latter one bearded and draped in the flowing folds of a mantle after the fashion of Vannucci. Music is of a refined form, enthroned and playing the violin, whilst two angels in rear supporting a tapestry, two boys playing on the steps, and others around similarly occupied, are handsome Peruginesque conceptions. This fresco alone might prove that Pinturicchio was the assistant of Perugino in the Moses and Zipporah at the Sixtine Chapel. The sacred and profane subjects in the vaulting of the arch, the parting of Jacob and Laban, Lot's departure from Sodom, an allegory of Justice, Trajan and the widow, and another episode, are not in Pinturicchio's manner, and if originally by him, have been altered by a painter of the close of the sixteenth century.[3]

Fourth Room.[4] The frescoes here have hitherto been omitted, with apparently just cause, from the catalogue of Pinturicchio's works in the Appartamento Borgia. They consist of twenty-four half-lengths of sybils and prophets,[5] two of which have been sawn from the wall and reset in the ante-chamber near the entrance to the library. They

correspond to drawings copied from originals by Gentile, and now in the Staedel Museum and the Louvre respectively. In some way or other, Pinturicchio must have had access to the drawings by Gentile. *Cf.* A. Venturi, in *L'Arte*, i. 32 *sqq.* (ascribing all these drawings to Pinturicchio); Frizzoni, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxi. 284 *sq.*).

*[1] Now known as the Sala delle Arti Liberali.

*[2] This figure is signed "Pentorichio." See Ehrle and Stevenson, *Gli affreschi del Pintoricchio nell' Appartamento Borgia* (Rome, 1897), p. 71.

[3] Between the lunettes, two to each wall, are the Papal arms in the spandrils. The figure of Geometry is the best preserved fresco of this series, that of Astrology is the most injured, the head and hands being covered by restoring. All the figures, however, have suffered from repainting, and are on blue grounds painted with gold.

*[4] Now known as the Sala del Credo.

*[5] Not sybils and prophets, but prophets and apostles. The authors have confused the subjects of this room with those of the next, as, again, when they speak of the "signs of the Zodiac and allegories."

are very like work that Peruzzi or his pupils might have done, and are neatly combined with signs of the zodiac and allegories. In the centre of the ceiling are the words: "Alexander Borgia p. p. VI. fundavit," and on a "cartello" in the ornament are the ciphers: "MCCCCLXXXXIIII."

Fifth Room.[1]—The walls are divided into three lunettes, each containing a male and female couple in converse, seen to the knees. Most of these are repainted. In the spandrils of the springing curve of the ceiling are the planets, with small allusive incidents beneath them; as people fishing below the Luna, persons reading and talking under the Mercury, and (severally, accompanying the Venus, Apollo, Mars Jove, and Saturn) a wedding, a pope and a king seated, a fight for the possession of a female, a hunt with falcons, and a massacre. As compositions these subjects, where uninjured by restoring, rival the beauty of those in the Cambio of Perugia, and are adorned with equal taste. In small rounds are the Papal arms and other pictorial illustrations. The spirit of these pieces differs but immaterially from that of the rest of the series. The name of the Borgia, "A. P. M. VI.," on a "cartello" in one of the curves shows that they date from the same period; and they may be assigned to Pinturicchio.

Vast as these decorations are, they were completed between the close of 1492 and the middle of 1494, an interval which might at first sight appear too short for one person, were he to spend every day without rest; yet Pinturicchio did not devote the whole of his time to it. He was subjected by the Orvietans to a pressure like that previously exerted on Perugino; and though a brief from Alexander, dated March 29, 1493, required them to wait till "his palace" was done,[2] they succeeded in bringing him back for a while, so that the Pope was obliged, in March, 1494, to send for him again.[3] During that year and 1495 the rooms of the Vatican received their last adornments, and a large series, of which not a wreck remains, was painted in the Castle of S. Angelo.[4]

* [1] Now known as the Sala delle Sibille.

[2] DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, *u.s.*, and VERMIGLIOLI, app., p. xl.

[3] Annot. VASARI, iii. 500. [* The statement of the annotators of Vasari that Pinturicchio was back at Orvieto in March, 1494, is incorrect, and due to a misinterpretation of the record of March 29, 1493.]

[4] VASARI, iii. 499 *sq.* [* The frescoes in the Appartamento Borgia were probably finished by January 16, 1495, when a meal was served to Charles VIII. of France in the new rooms, which were greatly admired by him (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 227).

On the frescoes in the Castle S. Angelo, see SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 63 *sqq.*]

The secret of Pinturicchio's fecundity lay, as Vasari truly says, in the great practice which he had gained, and in the employment of numerous assistants;[1] and this very facility in carrying out great commissions at a quick pace, for patrons desirous of obtaining and enjoying whatever they undertook without delay may be the true cause why he was so much in request. His performances at Rome were those of a man without genius, living at a period when great precepts were generally known and used. They were good as representing the skilled labour of art, without great claims to admiration as embodying exceptional talents. As a composer, he had no fertility of original thought. He was biassed by different influences at various times on that account; but these did not enable him to conceal his deficiencies, although he frequently succeeded in single episodes. He had, in the main, the faults and the qualities of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, corrected later by the companionship of Perugino. A more pleasing system of landscape-painting and more meditative types were, no doubt, derived from the latter, yet Pinturicchio never seriously rivalled Vannucci. His very best landscapes are overcharged with details, and full of minute touches; and his contemporaries, who were certainly not partial to the works of the Netherlands, taunted him with being a Fleming in habits.[2] His models of Virgins are, like Fiorenzo's, slender, yet not free from heaviness, modest and timid, yet not completely refined; those of children and angels are in the same character, combining sentiment with coarseness, the heads covered by more than luxuriant crops of frizzly hair. Pinturicchio adopts the Umbrian moulds from custom, and sometimes gives them a pleasing tenderness, but the heart is not engaged in the work as it is in Raphael's. As a portrait-painter he excels, and he gives with fidelity the features and expression of his sitter. His draperies are very full, but seldom perfectly cast; and it often happens that the folds are both numerous and out of place. His drawing is broken, asserting its form less by curves than by frequent junctions of lines at angles of varying obtuseness. In perspective he naturally acquired what Perugino knew, and he followed the progress of his age as an architectural

[1] *Ib.*, *ib.*, ii. 493 *sq.*

[2] Vasari, iii. 498.

draughtsman. Ornament is applied with skill, but the combination of gilt stucco with fictitious relief is open to serious criticism. With less excuse than Crivelli, Pinturicchio continued an old and time-honoured custom of the Umbrians, at a period when it contrasted too strongly with the general spirit of the age to be permissible any longer. His dresses are, on the same principle, overladen with rich borders. He was far too busy during his lifetime to give much thought to oil medium, and as he had not the constancy to perfectly acquire, he seldom attempted, its use; he therefore tinted walls, as he did panels, on the system of Fiorenzo and Bonfigli, and without any of Perugino's feeling for colour. Gaudy liveliness or sombreness are the two extremes most commonly met with in his pictures. The vehicle is copious and the brush full, so as to produce layers of thick substance and rough surface. The flesh is stippled over verde, and enlivened even at the outlines with red according to the oldest methods of tempera.

Pinturicchio deserves, and is likely to hold, no higher place in history than Spagna. Both were of the same capacity. But Spagna, being younger, was enabled to master the changes in the *technica* which Pinturicchio neglected, and was not precluded by habit from imitating Raphael.

In 1495 Bernardino was repaid for the industry and skill exhibited at the Vatican and in the Castel S. Angelo by a lease of lands at Chiugi, near Perugia, subject to an annual payment of thirty "*corbe*" of grain, which was commuted at a subsequent period.[2] During this or a later stay he covered a chapel at

[1] Vasari is hard on him also for this (iii. 499).

[2] The deed of gift is in Vermiglioli's appendix (p. viii). It is dated in 1495 without particulars of day or month. [* The date is December 1 (Bombe, *u.s.* p. 391).] The deed of commutation in the same author (p. x). Pinturicchio's complaint that the yearly payment of thirty "corbe" is too heavy is recited, and admitted as well founded on the part of a "faithful and devoted servant of Alexander and the Church, to whom a recompense is due for his art in painting and adorning our apostolic palace and our residence in arc. castri Angeli." The commutation is to a yearly payment for three years of two pounds of wax. It is dated July 28, 1497. A further brief of October 24, 1497, is issued to enforce the commutation, ignored by the Papal authorities on the spot. A third brief of May 16, 1498, confirms possession of the land and tenements near Perugia (Chiugi) even in the event of non-payment (Vermiglioli, app., xiv and xxv). A fourth brief of February 5, 1499, extends the commutation of July, 1497, for a further term of years (*ib.*, *ib.*, xvii).

Araceli with frescoes in a purer and better style than any other that he had brought to completion in Rome. The date of these is not ascertained, but the chapel is said to have been founded to solemnize the fortunate extinction of a feud between two families.[1] It is called Cappella Bufalini to this day, and may have been adorned at the request of some one of that house holding an office in Rome, as the Bufalini did who signs his name to the decree of 1495, granting lands to Pinturicchio near Perugia.[2] The theme illustrated by these frescoes is the Life of S. Bernardino.

To the right as one enters, the saint kneels in prayer with a cloth about his hips, surrounded by his friends preparatory to taking the vows as a Franciscan monk. On the spandril of an arch in the convent where the scene is laid, an angel bears a buffalo's head, the cognizance of the Bufalini. In a round above the arches is the Virgin and Child, and at an opening resembling a window above her the Eternal amidst angels giving a blessing. In the space next to the vows (beneath the chapel window) the saint discourses and points towards heaven, in the presence of four brethren and friends, all apparently portraits. Near that, again, he is accompanied by a friar, and sees in ecstasy a vision of the crucified Saviour. In an opening above, a peacock stands on the sill. On the wall to the left, in the lunette, the saint, in the hairy dress of a penitent, is in the wilderness reading a book, and observed by a group of people on the foreground. Below, his body is exposed on a bier, with women on the left, and men on the right, amongst the latter two traditionally known as portraits of Bufalini and his son (?). On the altar face, the Saviour in glory attended by two seraphs shows the stigmata, whilst four winged players stand on clouds under him. Two angels, beneath these, suspend a crown above the head of S. Bernardino, erect, in the act of preaching, between SS. Anthony of Padua and Louis. The scene is laid in the country about Siena, a view of the city filling a part of the distance. Four Evangelists are in the

[1] Platner and Bunsen, *Beschreibung Roms, u.s.*, iii. 1. *Abth.*, p. 355. None of Pinturicchio's frescoes are more free from embossed ornament than those of the Cappella Bufalini. [* Professor Schmarsow (*u.s.*, p. 15 *sqq.*) thinks, as it seems with reason, that these frescoes were executed soon after Pinturicchio ceased to paint in the Sixtine Chapel.]

[2] He signs: "Bufalinus, apostolicæ cameræ clericus" (Vermiglioli, app., p. x). Vermiglioli says it is probable that the Bufalini who ordered the frescoes was Lodovico of Città di Castello, who was "avvocato concistoriale" at Rome, and who died there in 1506 (*Vita, u.s.*, p. 68).

triangles of the ceiling; and on a border in monochrome beneath th whole series are imitations of bas-reliefs, representing a triumph figures of men on horseback, nude females held by guards, naked captives in bonds, and an emperor on a triumphal chariot. Amongs the accompanying ornaments, heads of emperors are interspersed and two angels hold the ribbands of a panel on which the name o Jesus is written.

None of Pinturicchio's frescoes illustrate more completely thar these his tendency to receive impressions from the works of hi contemporaries. The Evangelists, assigned without valid reason to Francesco di Città di Castello,[1] fully represent Pinturicchio' original style. They are not free from faults in type and drapery but the partial coarseness of the first, and formlessness of th second, do not conceal the painter's individuality, or his deriva tion from Fiorenzo. In the Apotheosis of S. Bernardino we ar often reminded of Alunno, whilst in other places we think o Perugino or of Signorelli. The spirit of the latter is indeed sin gularly marked in the monochromes of the borders. Sometime the draperies are broadly cast, or float with natural curves in breeze; sometimes they are paltry. A pleasing face gives charn to one angel, coarse features detract from the beauty of another In action and attitude a figure like that of St. Anthony of Padu is striking for its propriety and truth. The movement of another such as the S. Bernardino kneeling in a hip-cloth, is equall remarkable for rigid awkwardness and bony dryness. In general at Araceli, the compositions are better conceived than usual but the *dramatis personæ*, though marshalled with more art tha before, are too often stiff, straight, and lean. The dim grey c flesh-shadows, and thick body of colour are more like Alunno tha Fiorenzo.[2]

[1] Lanzi, *u.s.*, i. 349.

[2] In the ceiling the lower part of St. John Evangelist is obliterated. The tw angels at the sides of the Saviour in glory are much injured. Of the four low ones, the first on the left has no head. The faces are reminiscent of those Fiorenzo and Perugino. But the movement of one on the extreme right, tunir his viol, is like one by Signorelli. The angel to the left, holding the crown ov S. Bernardino, is handsome; the angel to the right less so. The draperies of th St. Anthony of Padua are well cast. The broadest style of handling to be foun in the series is in the lunette, where the saint sits in the wilderness, dressed in

Other frescoes of uncertain date at Rome might be added to the list of those completed there by Pinturicchio, the most interesting being the Eternal and Evangelists in the ceiling of a chapel, now the sacristy, at S. Cecilia in Trastevere,[1] and a Virgin and Child between SS. Stephen and Lawrence, inside the choir of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.[2] At S. Croce in Gerusalemme, a semi-dome decorated with scenes from the life of St. Helen and the Eternal in benediction; and at S. Onofrio, a tribune containing a Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the legend of the cross have been classed, without proof, in the same catalogue; but the latter is very properly noted by Vasari amongst the works of Peruzzi,[3] and the former reminds us too surely of Fiorenzo and his school to be by Pinturicchio.[4]

On leaving Rome, about the beginning of 1496,[5] Pinturicchio returned to Perugia, where he entered into a contract on February 14 with the brethren of S. Maria de' Fossi, now S. Anna, for an altarpiece, to be delivered within two years.[6] On the following March 15[7] he proceeded to Orvieto, under an agreement to paint

skin. The condition of the whole chapel is remarkable, although some parts have suffered from time and restoring. The resemblance of some figures to those of Perugino in the Moses and Zipporah at the Sixtine have perhaps caused the wall-paintings of the cappella Bufalini to be assigned to Signorelli, because, it may be recollected, the Moses and Zipporah has also been attributed to him.

[1] The division of this ceiling is the same as that of the Cambio. In the central lozenge sits the (repainted) Eternal in a glory of cherubs. Six triangular spaces formed by producing the sides of the central lozenge contain the four Evangelists, and the arms of a patron in an ornament of arabesques and figures. These arms are said to be those of the Ponziani, but Lorenzo Cibo, when cardinal, had the church restored, and the damaged ceiling exhibits the same style of art as the Borgia chambers (see PLATNER and BUNSEN, *u.s.*, iii. 3, pp. 639, 644).

[2] Here also the style is that of the appartamento Borgia. The painted architectural ornament, with busts of saints in rounds and scutcheons, is ruined by repainting. The St. Stephen is injured from the same cause. [* This fresco was destroyed during a restoration carried out in S. Lorenzo under the reign of Pius IX. (SCHMARSOW, *u.s.*, p. 20).]

[3] VASARI, iv. 591.

[4] See *antea*, in Fiorenzo.

* [5] For "1496" read "1495." The document of February 14, 1495, on which the authors base their statement, should not be redated 1496, since the Perugians did not count the beginning of the year "ab incarnatione" (March 25) (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 228).

[6] In full in VERMIGLIOLI, *u.s.*, app., p. iv.

* [7] Should be March 15, 1496.

two Doctors of the Church in the choir of the Duomo; and he remained there till November 5, when he received his last payment and dismissal.[1] Unlike Perugino, who corresponded with the Orvietans and never did anything for them, Pinturicchio left numerous specimens of his art in various parts of the building, but it is surprising how few of them have survived.[2] We look round the choir, and amongst the scenes from the life of the Virgin by Ugolino d'Ilario, a St. Gregory and some prophets and angels bear the impress of his manner, yet they are so rudely handled and so dull in tone, in consequence of original neglect or of subsequent injury, that were there no records one might believe Pinturicchio never visited Orvieto at all.[3] The effects of time have been equally disastrous to the frescoes which he undertook in a chapel of the cathedral at Spoleto, where a small tribune contains the Eternal on clouds amongst angels, a Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Stephen, and an Ecce Homo, all more or less verging on total obliteration.[4]

About the beginning of March, 1498,[5] if Pinturicchio punctually performed his obligations to the Brotherhood and chapter of S. Maria de' Fossi, the altarpiece of the Virgin, Child, and Baptist, with its side panels, pinnacles, and predella, were delivered, and it is but fair to say that no one was now more solicitous to furnish careful and thoroughly finished work. If we consider the time in which this masterpiece[6] was produced, and think of the numerous graceful variations on the same theme, composed by Perugino and Raphael, with the suggestive help of Leonardo, we are struck by the old-fashioned Umbrian air of Pinturicchio's conception.

[1] VASARI com., iii. 500, 529.

[*2] *Cf. antea*, p. 378, n. 3.

[3] On the same wall, the Annunciation and the Visitation seem by a painter following Pinturicchio's manner at the close of the sixteenth century. Two angels on the bottom wall of the right nave in the Duomo support the arms of the "Opera"; they have also some character reminiscent of Pinturicchio.

[4] These frescoes are in the first chapel to the right of the entrance. The Eternal, seated on a cloud, gives the blessing in an almond-shaped glory of cherubs' heads, a figure in Pinturicchio's manner and softly coloured. Of the two angels at the sides, one is almost gone. The Ecce Homo is scarcely visible; the Child and saints in a similar condition. The frescoes of the Baptistery at Spoleto are by another hand (see *postea*, Spagna and Jacopo Siculo).

[*5] Should be 1497 (see *antea*, p. 387, n. 5).

[6] Now in the gallery of Perugia, Sala XVII., No. 1.

The Virgin sits in a wide and highly ornamented niche, bordered with "grotesques," as they were called at this time, a head of Medusa in the key of the arch, a griffin and a satyr on the arms of the chair, candelabra with pendant corals on the capitals of the pilasters. With a sentimental bend of her small veiled head, she keeps watch over the Child, resting on a cushion on her knee. He holds a pomegranate in his left hand, and grasps with the right a slender cross, presented by the youthful Baptist. An awkward affectation marks the action, gait, and costume of the latter, who stiffly comes forward in a yellow tunic, leggings, and buskins. A book lies on the ground, together with a brace of apples and nuts. The Virgin's face is youthful, her hair falling in abundant tresses on a drooping shoulder, her arms disproportionately short, the drapery festooned with the branching loops of fold. The Child is puny, heavy of head, copiously furnished with hair, sharing these peculiarities with the Baptist near him. At this advanced period of Pinturicchio's career, he produces a picture every part of which recalls the style of Fiorenzo, in character, type, and drawing. It is warm in tone, successfully fused in the flesh-tints, delicately finished, and happily harmonized in strongly contrasted hues of drapery, but without unity in composition. The landscape is touched up in the distant trees with gold, and done with a minuteness worthy of Memling. The handling is tempera of abundant impasto, stippled up in the verde, with yellow hatchings in light, and red in the half shades. A similar delicacy of finish and copiousness of detail are in the St. Augustine and the St. Jerome of the side panels. A half-length of the Saviour, well proportioned, but lean, is supported in the tomb by two angels in languishing attitudes of sorrow. Youthfulness, freshness, and even elegance, are marked in the half-lengths of the Virgin and Angel Annunciate; and severe gravity, sometimes heaviness, in the six Evangelists and saints of the predella.[1] Gay, gaudy hues are everywhere predominant. The

[1] The St. Augustine, fully robed, holds the crozier and heart. The apostles on his stole are imitated embroidery of the most minute detail. St. Jerome with the lion at his feet, book in hand. In the Pietà the angel to the left supports with both hands the arm of the dead Christ. The angel to the left does the same. Abundant locks cover their heads, which are like those of Fiorenzo. They wear

altarpiece is, in a word, the most careful that Pinturicchio ever finished, and at the same time that in which he displays the greatest feeling.

It is equalled in this respect by the Virgin and Child in the Duomo of Sanseverino, which falls short of its companion only in the roughness of its distemper handling. A reproduction, annexed to these pages, renders description unnecessary, but it will be seen that the masks are full and fleshy, and gravely sedate, without being ideally select; that the portrait is correctly taken from nature, and that the landscape is minute to a surprising extent. It is a picture which illustrates of itself the derivation of Pinturicchio's style from that of Fiorenzo, and the improvement produced by the lapse of years, and by familiarity with Perugino.[1] Its date may be approximately that of the Holy Family at S. Maria de' Fossi. Both were probably produced at Perugia.

Pinturicchio, having received a grant of land at Chiugi in payment for his labours at Rome, had settled in his native town, as the best place for the pursuit of his art, and the most convenient for administering his property. He was fortunate enough in finding patrons, but he soon discovered that he had made a bad bargain with the Borgias, because his rent swallowed up the greater part of his revenue. Having complained of this to the Apostolic Chamber, he was lucky enough to find immediate response; and the Cardinal of S. Giorgio replied (July 28, 1497) to his address in the name of Alexander VI., commuting the dues in kind to an offering of two pounds of wax, but limiting the commutation to a term of three years.[2] He had, no doubt, had occasion during a long stay at Rome, and from a constant connection with churchmen, to convince himself that their money-

collars of pearls. The blood flows from the lance wound. The colour is rich and juicy. The angel annunciate is young, and one of the best by Pinturicchio, reminiscent of one by Alunno at La Bastia. There is much gentleness and grace in the Virgin. The St. Mark of the predella is full of character. The St. John Evangelist is coarse and heavy. All the predella figures are half-lengths.

[1] In a lunette the Eternal (knee-piece) in benediction in an almond-shaped glory, with four cherubs' heads. Other pictures at S. Severino are by Bernardino of Perugia, the contemporary of Pinturicchio.

[2] The commutation in full in VERMIGLIOLI, app., pp. x and following.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS AND A DONOR

By Pinturicchio

From a picture in the Duomo, San Severino

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dealings were often attended with delay and misunderstandings; he now experienced the inconvenience of transacting business with the Papal agents at Chiugi, who distrained on his property in defiance of Papal briefs. He was too confident, however, of his interest to submit to this injustice, but complained again, and had the satisfaction of discovering that a reprimand had been addressed to the overseers at Chiugi, and of obtaining restitution of the produce which had been unjustly taken from him (October 24, 1497).[1] In the following year (May and October, 1498) he had the additional pleasure of obtaining the extension of the first commutation for the whole time of his lease, and a brief of Alexander VI. confirming possession of the lands at Chiugi to him and his descendants even though he should omit the yearly presentation of two pounds of wax.[2]

His prospects being thus improved, Pinturicchio determined to build himself a house, and thus proclaimed his intention of living out the rest of his days in Perugia.

Nor was the help of the Borgias withheld from him even on this occasion. As Cesare, Duke of Valentino, overran the Romagna in 1500, and was visited by the artist in his camp at Diruta, he issued an order from thence, dated October 14, 1500, requesting the vice-treasurer Alfani to get permission for Pinturicchio to sink a cistern in his house at Perugia.[3] But this is not so interesting as the Duke's statement, "that he has again taken to his service Bernardino Pinturicchio of Perosa, whom he always loved because of his talent and gifts; and he desires that in all things he should be considered as 'one of ours.'"[4] It is clear from this that Pinturicchio had been employed at Rome by the son of Alexander VI. Whether he reaped any further advantage from the connection is hard to say, though it seems likely that the Duke of

[1] *Ib.*, *ib.*, pp. xiv and following. [2] *Ib.*, *ib.*, pp. xvii and following.

[3] Or, rather, to obtain for Pinturicchio a subsidy for having sunk a cistern.

[4] This order is in the Connestabile-Alfani Archive at Perugia, and was communicated by Conte Gian Carlo Connestabile della Staffa to Mr. Alfred Reumont, who published it in No. 47 of the *Kunstblatt* (Stuttgart and Tübingen) for 1850. [* Cesare's request was not acceded to, whereupon he, on October 20, wrote a second letter, expressing his displeasure, and the hope that the subsidy would be granted next year. But only on January 3, 1512, we find that Pinturicchio received a premium from the municipality "pro alia mediatate unius cisterne" (Bombe, *u.s.*, p. 392 *sq.*)]

Valentino was too much absorbed from that time forward in his purpose of carving a principality out of Tuscany to think much of painting.

We are too little acquainted with the relations between Pinturicchio and Perugino at this period to describe their relative position at Perugia. But it is obvious that Vannucci held a higher rank than his friend, having been called from Florence to the Audience of the Cambio, when Pinturicchio might have been engaged on the spot, but there is no suggestion in books or in tradition of the existence of any jealousy or rivalry between them. Both had their patrons; both had frequently more orders to execute than they could well attend to.[1]

Whilst Vannucci was finishing the Cambio, Pinturicchio was beginning a series for Trojolo Baglioni, protonotary and prior of the collegiate church of Spello.[2]

In this remote locality, visited twenty years later by Perugino, the wall-paintings of Pinturicchio are slowly mouldering away from the effects of damp. The Annunciation, the Nativity, and Christ disputing with the Doctors, are the subject of the walls; four sybils are depicted in the ceiling; they are highly characteristic of the master.

The composition of the Annunciation, essentially Umbrian in its conception, and rich in the luxuriant architectural adornment peculiar to the Perugian school, is brightly coloured and carefully executed. The palace in which the Virgin is surprised by the angel as she reads at a high desk is vast. Its fenced garden is bounded by an arch and colonnade, through which one sees a distant view of the hills about Spello. The attitude of the Virgin is chaste and calm, her features pleasing, with a regular forehead, a slightly hooked nose, and prim mouth; her form a little dry and lean, but fairly, if not perfectly, proportioned. Gabriel's is a handsome apparition reminiscent of the angels in the altarpiece of 1496; a noble improvement on the types of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo, gaudily

* [1] In April, 1500, Pinturicchio received payment from the Confraternità of S. Agostino at Perugia for a processional banner. This is now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XVII., No. 3), and represents St. Augustine adored by three members of the Confraternità (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 230, 392).

[2] Archiv. of S. Maria Maggiore di Spello, in VERMIGLIOLI. *u.s.*, pp. 88, 242.

dressed, however, and gorgeously attired. A gentle expression in the soft features of the Eternal appearing in the vaulting, in a glory resting on a cloud, gives him a somewhat feminine appearance, and the long thin face, inclosed in lank falling hair, is like a creation by Alunno. The dresses, the ornaments, and the architecture, are all in true harmonies.

The Nativity is a much less successful effort, and creates the impression as if Pinturicchio felt himself incompetent to fill the space effectively. He overloads the ground in front of the penthouse; yet each figure is without connection with its neighbour. St. Joseph erect, the Virgin, two angels, and three shepherds, kneeling, are in a semicircle of which the centre is occupied by the Child, of graceful form, stretching its tiny arms to its mother. To correct the stillness of this group, a youth is introduced to the left in violent action, dragging up a goat as a companion-offering to the basket of eggs held by his brother shepherd. The procession of the magi advances from afar, and other incidents fill the landscape, whilst on the clouds ten gentle angels stand and sing a chorus. Except in these, and the Virgin and Child, feeble coarseness of shape, stiff and awkward action are frequent, and the draperies are too obviously arranged to be natural. The ornament and gilding obtrude more than usual under such circumstances, and the sacrifice of mass to details in the hills and edifices becomes too apparent.

The Christ among the Doctors before the temple is a novel interpretation of a scriptural incident, and gives Pinturicchio occasion to remember Perugino's fresco at the Sixtine in arranging a court with a floor of parti-coloured marbles and a temple. In the centre and somewhat in rear of the rest of the company, the youthful Saviour disputes with the audience at his sides, whose books strew the ground. One on the left is seen from behind addressing Christ. Near him Trojolo Baglioni with a follower, holding a purse, stands listening. To the right is another group, in front of which St. Joseph points out the Saviour to the Virgin. A reminiscence of Signorelli may be traced in the comparative grandeur of her forms, whilst her mien is modestly composed. St. Joseph has a double-balled nose and wizened aspect.

Pinturicchio appears to have considered himself at Spello as

the direct competitor of Perugino, whom he imitates in his distance and accessories. A life-size portrait of himself hangs on a wall in the Annunciation beneath a shelf on which volumes are lying. The panelling under it is inscribed with the words: "Bernardinus pictoricius Perusinus—"; and between the strings of beads that fall from the frame, a palet and brush, his cognizance, are added. It would not be easy to find a more perfect contrast than that afforded by the two self-drawn likenesses of the partners in art at the Cambio and at Spello. Vannucci is florid and fleshy; Pinturicchio sallow and lean. Pietro is jocund and healthy; his friend looks sour and sickly. The pinched features of Bernardino are indeed those of an habitual sufferer. His eye is small and sunken; his nose broadly barrelled, but parted at the end by the splitting of the cartilage; the cheeks deeply furrowed and gathered into a few marked wrinkles. The upper lip is short, the chin long and dirty from lack of shaving, but a melancholy air in the face may be due in part to the abrasion of colour, and the scaling of the surface. Pinturicchio also indicates the time in which he finished his work by the date "M.CCCCCI." on a pilaster of the Annunciation;[1] but the chapel of the Sacrament is not the only

[1] A ditch has been sunk outside the wall of the chapel to draw off the damp, but with very slight result. The Annunciation is the least damaged of the series. Each subject arched at the top, in an architectural border and pilaster richly covered with grotesques.

In the Nativity, the landscape and foreground are worked with almost Flemish minuteness. There are grasses and weeds in the foreground, a bottle, and pack-saddle. A peacock is on the top of a ruin, the ox and the ass at the base and in front of the pent-house. The draperies are all touched up with gold. The hatching in the shadows of yellows and blues has been blackened by damp. The base and left side of the fresco are most damaged, and some pieces in the distance and elsewhere are scaled. In the dispute, two statues are placed in the porticoes at the side of the temple. The second figure to the right of the Saviour, in a grey dress, holds a scroll, on which the word "Pintorichio" may be read. The face is not that of the painter. Baglioni is a man of fifty, attempting to smile, in a purplish dress and cap. Four little figures are in the opening of the temple. The perspective here, as in the other frescoes, is good. The figures on the left side are dimmed by damp. But in addition to the natural causes of damage, others are superadded. The whole chapel has been restored. The diagonals of the ceiling are covered with arabesques on gold ground. The sybils sit reading on thrones behind which the sky is seen. On an antique altar near the Erythrean the lines of an inscription are illegible. The Erythrean sits reading, the European with her hands joined in prayer, the Samian looking up. The Tiburtine prophesies

one he decorated. He painted a half-length of Christ in benediction on the front of the pulpit, a figure in which we discern more feeling than in most works of Pinturicchio, a half-length of the Virgin and Child above the altar of the sacristy, and the same subject on an altar in the church, both a little less than life-size, and in the same style as the large series[1]—leaving to his assistants other and less important commissions in different parts of Spello.[2] He had been elected in Perugia a decemvir in succession to Vannucci, and took office on April 1, 1501;[3] so that either he finished the frescoes before that date, or after his retirement from office, on June 1.

Shortly after their completion, Pinturicchio was invited to Siena by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini to prepare for the decoration of the library in the Duomo.

Ever since the elevation of Æneas Sylvius to the Papal chair under the name of Pius II. the Sienese had treated the family of Piccolomini with exceptional liberality. The interdiction which

in a dancing attitude. The frescoes of Spello have been published by the Arundel Society.

*[1] A fresco of an angel in the old sacristy is also by Pinturicchio.

[2] Opposite the ex-convent of the Franciscans of Spello, the front of a house (No. 30) is adorned with a fresco. The subject, a Virgin and Child, much abraded, but recalling the style of Pinturicchio, and at all events of the Perugian school.

On the hills outside Spello lies the ex-convent of S. Girolamo. In the choir of the church is a fresco of the Marriage of the Virgin, the usual Perugian composition, with a temple in the distance, inscribed: "Cappela Sci Josepi." The figures are feeble, round-headed, with small circular eyes, all tinged with a pale colour without relief. Draperies and hair are done in Pinturicchio's manner; and what little shadow there is yields a reddish hue. It is a second-rate fresco, such as Matteo Balducci might have painted, with some character akin to that of Gerino da Pistoia.

In the cloister chapel, a Nativity by a follower of Pinturicchio's school—and, ruder than the foregoing, a Virgin, saints, St. Sebastian, and other figures—a half ruined fresco in a ground-floor chapel.

Near S. Girolamo, a room, of old sacristy to the church of S. Andrea, but now a shop for the sale of wood belonging to the ex-convent, contains a Virgin adoring the Infant on her knee, between SS. Jerome and Sebastian—a common fresco of the Perugian school in the mixed style of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

In the cloister, further, a St. Sebastian, of which the head alone remains; also a Virgin, Child, and St. Roch, coarse and reminiscent of Tiberio d'Assisi.

[3] Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 218.

excluded all nobles from the magistracy had been raised in their favour. Their wealth was great, their influence paramount; and a clever propensity on their part to rise in the highest preferments of the church expanded that influence alike over Rome and Siena. Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Æneas Sylvius, had lived for a long time at Rome, where his palace, near that of the Orsini, was celebrated for containing the antique group of the Three Graces.[1] As early as 1485 he erected a chapel in the Duomo of Siena, and lined it with Ligurian marbles, quarried and carved expressly for him by the Milanese Andrea Fusina.[2] Michael Angelo received a commission, in 1501, for fifteen statues, of Christ, the apostles, and two angels, for its internal ornament.[3] By its side he began, in 1495, the erection of a library in which he proposed to place all the books bequeathed to the family by Pius II.,[4] the marbles of the entrance and outer face being intrusted to the Sienese sculptor Lorenzo di Mariano,[5] the bronze doors (1497) to Antonio Ormanni,[6] the wood-carving of the inside (1496) to Antonio Barili.[7] Pinturicchio was to paint the walls and ceiling, and signed a contract to that effect on June 29, 1502.

It is difficult to suppress a genuine surprise at this last determination, nor is it easy to determine by what canons of taste Cardinal Piccolomini was governed when he patronized at one and the same time two men who may be said to have stood at opposite poles in art. A prelate who was fond of classic sculpture and could appreciate the value of the antique, who was about to transfer the Three Graces from his palace at Rome to this very

[1] ALBERTINI (*Opusc., u.s.*) says: "Dom. rev. Francisci Piccolominei Card. Sen. non longe est a prædicta (palace of the Orsini) in qua erant statuæ gratiarum positæ."

[2] See a letter from Platina to Lorenzo de' Medici recommending Andrea and alluding to this work, and note to the same in *Doc. sen.*, ii. 376, and see the will of Francesco Piccolomini in PUNGILEONI's *Raphael*, from which it appears the chapel was allotted to Andrea for 2,000 florins of gold (p. 59).

[3] The allotment is published in full in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 19 and following.

[4] The beginning of the library in 1495 is proved by a record in the Sienese archive, granting freedom from entrance dues for the materials used in the building (see VERMIGLIOLI annot. p. 250, and VASARI com., iii. 515). [* The building of the library is known to have been begun by 1492 (see RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 241).]

[5] *Doc. sen.*, iii. 77.

[6] *Ib., ib.*, ii. 458.

[7] VASARI com., iv. 415.

library, would naturally admire the creations of Buonarroti; but that he should immediately afterwards pen an agreement, showing that he was partial to the peculiar Umbrian style of Pinturicchio, is a contradiction that still requires explanation.

One of the first conditions to which Bernardino bound himself was that so soon as he should have settled to painting in the library he would undertake nothing else, either at Siena or elsewhere. The ceiling was to be as brilliant and gay as possible, designed with fanciful spacings, colours, and subjects, in the style "at this day called grotesque," the shield and arms of the Piccolomini being in the centre. On the walls were to be ten stories illustrative of the memory of Pius II., the "figures to be laid in with fresco, and retouched 'à secco,'" "the cartoons and their transfer to be done by himself, and all the heads finished with his own hand." In consideration of this, the Cardinal consented to pay 200 ducats at Venice for the purchase of gold and colours, and 100 ducats at Perugia for the transport of baggage and hire of assistants, 50 ducats for the completion of each compartment, and the rest at the close. Besides, Pinturicchio was to have a house gratis to live in near the Duomo, wood for scaffoldings, lime, and sand; and corn, wine, and oil, according to his wants, from the overseers of the Cardinal. All that he was called upon to do in addition was to give security for the advance of 300 ducats,[1] upon which he immediately returned to Perugia, taking with him the descriptions furnished by Cardinal Piccolomini.[2]

Pinturicchio had necessarily nothing more pressing to do there than to despatch his family and tools to Siena, where he had a prospect of residing some time. But he had also to look out for aids at Perugia, and we have no doubt that he is correctly described by Vasari as having engaged many of the apprentices and workmen in the school of Perugino.[3] We shall find that amongst these young Raphael was probably included. Time elapsed, however, before all matters in connection with this change were regulated, and it was spring of 1503 before the labours at

[1] Already, on June 6, 1502, Alfano di Diamante degli Alfani, the Papal Vice-Treasurer at Perugia (*cf. antea*, p. 391), had agreed to become Pinturicchio's surety (Bombe, *u.s.*, pp. 231, 393 *sq.*).

[2] This most important and interesting contract is in *Doc. sen.*, *u.s.*, iii. 9-13.

[3] Vasari, iii. 494.

Siena commenced.[1] The ceiling was the first part of the library that was taken in hand, and some months went by before its elegantly relieved frames were coloured and interspersed with pictures and monochromes representing mythological incidents. In compliance with the contract, the arms of Piccolomini were emblazoned in shields on the ceiling, and the introduction of the cardinal's hat into them determines their date.

Cardinal Piccolomini was elected on September 21, 1503, at the conclave which met after the death of Alexander VI., and took the name of Pius III. Had his arms been placed in the ceiling after that time, they would have been decorated with the tiara, and not with the cardinal's hat.[2] Anticipating the approach of death as early as April 30, 1503, the Cardinal made a will in which he expressed a desire "that the works allotted to Pinturicchio should be carried on by his heirs, if they were not perfected in his lifetime."[3] We may therefore conclude that the ceiling of the Piccolomini library was begun and finished between May and September, 1503. The death of Pius, on October 18, interrupted the further progress of the undertaking, and forced Pinturicchio to seek other patrons. He was fortunate enough to find one in Alberto Aringhieri, a knight of St. John of Rhodes, who then filled the office of rector in the cathedral of Siena; for whom, by the middle of 1504, he had carried out a series of frescoes in the circular chapel (Baptistery) of S. Giovanni in the Duomo.[4] It

* [1] Pinturicchio was seized by illness at Perugia, and made his will on September 6, 1502. He was still in that city on February 9, 1503 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 232 *sq.*).

[2] This remark has very justly been made by PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, *u.s.*, i. 72, 73), but before him by PUNGILEONI (*Raphael*, *u.s.*, note to p. 60).

[3] See the extract from his will in PASSAVANT (*u.s.*, note to p. 73), and in annot. VASARI (iii. 522); also a longer and fuller in PUNGILEONI, *Raphael*, note to p. 59.

[4] August 14, 1504. Archiv. Duomo of Siena, annot. VASARI, iii. 523, price 700 lire. The name of the patron is given in LANDUCCI; codex MS. in Siena library C., II. 30, p. 82, but besides read the following on the floor of the chapel:

"D. O.M.
Quidam D. Albertus d. Francisci aringherii
Eques Rhodi nitidæ de templi hujus decorationi
Instaurationique solerti cura ac industria.
Operarii officio functus IIII et XX annis.
Insudans, sacellumque hoc divo Bapt. Joanni
Extruens. Hoc sibi ut ergastulum vivens liber
Tradatur, sponte curavit
A. D. MDIIII."

pleased Alberto to be represented young as he took the habit of a knight of St. John, to the left of the entrance, and to the right as an old and bearded man in civic dress. Both figures kneel; between them are two compartments with the Nativity and the Decapitation of St. John [? by Andrea Vanni]; in an upper course, the Baptist in the desert, the Sermon of John flanking the Baptism of Christ, and the Visitation, by another hand. It is said that the Decapitation, the Baptism, and the Visitation were in such poor condition at the close of the sixteenth century that they were renewed by Francesco Rustici in 1608.[1] The rest are damaged from various causes.

But whilst Pinturicchio was busy on these frescoes, and waiting for the settlement of the Piccolomini succession, he was also painting for Andrea, the brother of Pius III., a Nativity in the family chapel at S. Francesco. It was ready in September, and exposed to public view in November (8), 1504, a great scandal being caused by the celebration of a mass at the altar, to which the canons were forced by Pandolfo Petrucci, in spite of the interdict flung over the city by Julius II.[2]

In the meantime, Andrea and Giacomo Piccolomini had probably administered to the will of their brother Francesco. In September (1504) they renewed the contract with Michael Angelo for the statues of the chapel in the cathedral of Siena;[3] and they probably went through the same formalities with Pinturicchio.[4] Yet the frescoes of the library, if resumed at all in

[1] LANDI MS., *u.s.* The repainted frescoes are in a worse condition than those of Pinturicchio which remain. They are the Baptist, the Visitation, and the Decapitation.

[2] TIZIO in DELLA VALLE, *Lettere sanesi*, *u.s.*, iii. 9. The picture perished in the fire of 1655. The predella was by Raphael (see PUNGILEONI'S *Raphael*, note to p. 56). [*Pinturicchio painted two altarpieces for the church of S. Francesco of Siena, which the authors are confusing. The subject of that in the Piccolomini chapel (exposed as Tizio states, on November 8, 1504) is not known. The other was a Nativity, painted for Filippo Sergardi; it is mentioned by VASARI (iii. 504). It was this picture which had the predella said to be by Raphael (RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 248 *sqq.*).]

[3] The contract is of September 15, 1504, and recites the original of 1502.

[4] That Pinturicchio entered into a new contract with Andrea Piccolomini is proved by a record of January 18, 1509, in which he is stated to have received final payment for the frescoes of the library: "Cum hoc sit quod Bernardinus &c. . . . . fecerit multa opera et picturas olim magnifico domino Andree olim dom. nannis de Piccolominibus, et ejus heredibus videlicet Librariam in ecclesia catedrali Senensi . . . . &c." (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 14).

the spring of 1505, did not exclusively occupy him; and in March (13) he furnished the cartoon of "Fortune" for the floor of the Duomo.[1] Nor did chance seem as yet to favour the energetic prosecution of a great pictorial enterprise on the part of the Piccolomini, as in June the death of Andrea entailed fresh delays and difficulties.

There is no certainty whether Pinturicchio remained in Siena during the summer, autumn, and winter of 1505.[2] A lease of land at Chiugi, made to him in July, 1505, by order of Julius II., would rather suggest the likelihood of a journey to Rome or Perugia;[3] and a wish to reside in the latter city is apparent from the registry at that very time, of Bernardino in its guild of painters.[4] In summer or autumn, however, he returned to Siena, where his wife bore him a son in November, who was christened Julius Cæsar, after a Perugian lawyer of that name, to whom the property at Chiugi was afterwards sold; and he took the most active steps to render his stay a permanent one.[5]

It was the opinion of Pinturicchio's contemporaries at Siena that he excelled Perugino in the art of painting, though he was far from possessing the good sense and prudence of Vannucci, and he was noted for the emptiness of his talk.[6] It is worth while, indeed, to note the amusing pomp and bombast of a petition for immunities, addressed to the Balía of Siena, in which this feature in Pinturicchio's character is illustrated:

"Bernardino Pintoricchia, who now addresses the most respected officials [of the Balía], is the servant of your Lordships, and not the least [known] amongst renowned painters; for whom, as Cicero has

[1] *Doc. sen.*, iii. 13, and com. VASARI, iii. 523. [* The date of this record, according to the new style, is 1506.]

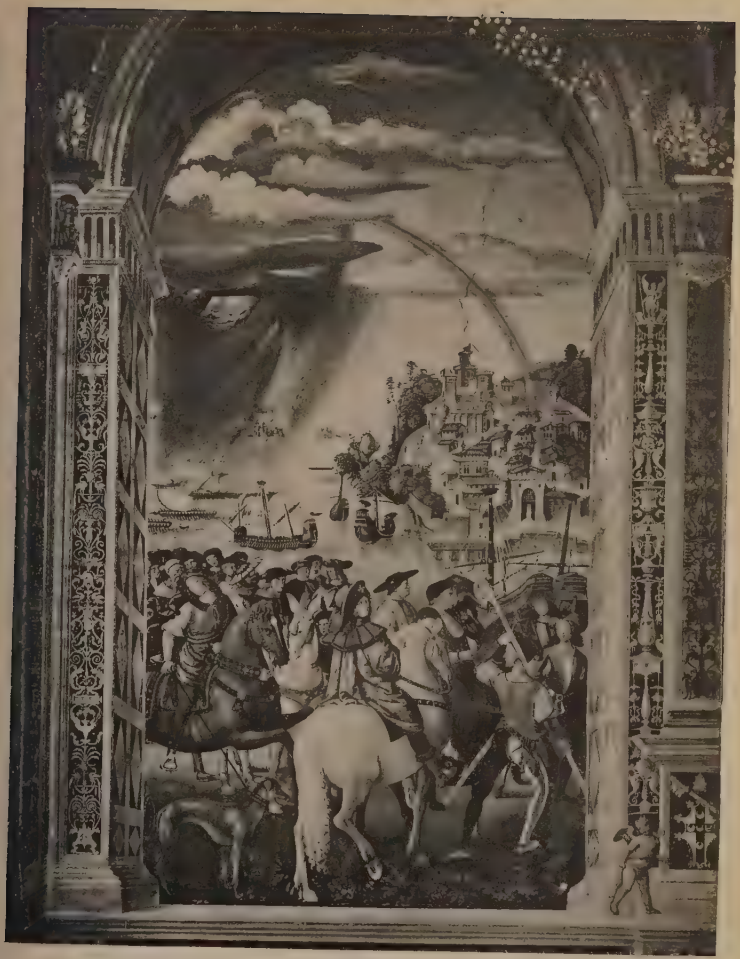
[2] He purchased property from the heirs of Neroccio in 1504 (VERMIGLIOLI, p. 134). [* There is every reason to think Pinturicchio stayed at Siena for the whole of 1505 (*cf.* BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 235). The records which the authors quote as pointing to his absence date from 1506.]

[3] The grant is addressed to Pinturicchio from Perugia under date August 18, 1506, with an inclosure from Rome dated July 19 (app. in VERMIGLIOLI, *u.s.*, p. xxxii).

[4] MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 218; VERMIGLIOLI, pp. 135, 200.

[5] Com. VASARI, iii. 530.

[6] "Petrum enim Bernardinus ipse superasse in pictura fertur; minoris tamen sensus atque prudentiæ, quam Petrus visus est, atque insipidi sermonis" (TIZIO MS., *ap.* PUNGILEONI, *Raphael*, note to p. 63).



Photo, Alinari

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS GOING TO THE COUNCIL OF BASLE

By Pinturicchio

From a fresco in the Libreria, Siena

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written, the Romans in early times held but little. Yet after the increase of the empire in consequence of the Eastern victories, and the conquest of the Greek cities, they called the best from all parts of the world, not hesitating to seize all the finest pictures and sculptures that they could discover. They admitted painting to be supreme, similar to the liberal arts, and a rival of poesy. And artists being usually esteemed by those who govern republics, the said Bernardino has elected Siena to be his home, hoping to live and reside there; [therefore] confiding in the clemency of your Lordships and considering the adverse nature of the times, the smallness and diminution of profits and the weight of his family; having heard also that craftsmen taking up their abode here receive grants of immunities, he prays exemption for thirty years from all taxes whatever, whether present or to come. . . ."

This petition was favourably heard by the Balía on March 26, 1507,[1] perhaps through the influence of the Piccolomini, perhaps also through that of Pandolfo Petrucci. It was but one of a series of distinctions extended to him at Siena, having been preceded by a grant of lands at Montemassi in 1506.[2]

During that year and 1507 he had the good fortune to complete the Piccolomini library.

The first of ten compartments into which it is divided represents the departure of Æneas Sylvius for the council of Basle in the suite of Cardinal Capranica, and is reproduced in these pages. The next are:

Æneas received by James I. of Scotland as envoy from the Council of Basle. He is crowned a poet-laureate by Frederic III. He appears as Ambassador of the Emperor before the throne of the Pontiff Eugenius IV. He escorts and presents to the Emperor his bride, the Infanta of Portugal, at the gates of Siena. He receives the cardinal's hat from Calixtus III. in the Vatican. He is carried in processional pomp after his elevation to the Pontifical chair under the title of Pius II. He presides at Mantua the assembly in which a crusade was proclaimed. He canonizes St. Catherine of Siena. He gives the signal for the departure of the crusaders from Ancona.

In pictorial decorations of great compass some parts are necessarily better than others, whether it be that the draughtsman

[1] The petition and deliberation are in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 33-34.

[2] Vermiglioli, *u.s.*, p. 135.

labours at one time with peculiar elasticity and vigour, at another with a certain languor; or the transposition of the drawing to the wall is alternately confided to a more or less gifted disciple. The master himself seldom keeps the same level in composition. The ten frescoes of the Piccolomini library vary for this reason in perfection of distribution and in vigour of handling. Still, as examples of Umbrian industry they are the most successful creations of Perugian art. They have the local stamp of that school, and show us Pinturicchio following the path opened by Bonfigli and Fiorenzo. During the career of the first, it seemed likely that some of the broader features of Florentine composition would be transplanted into Umbria; but the sequel proved that the soil was not entirely favourable; and Fiorenzo, by degrees reverted to the gentler, more meditative manner of his country men. Pinturicchio, who followed, and who had occasion to admire the frescoes of the Ghirlandai, Botticelli, and Lippi, felt their power in a slight measure so long as he remained in Rome, but showed no further signs of their action when he retired from thence. He is more completely Umbrian at Siena, which is close to Florence than he was in the Eternal city. Whilst creative genius is but slightly traceable in him, he is evidently disposed to assimilate all the pleasing qualities peculiar to the latitude in which he works. Without losing his own originality, he does not remain uninfluenced by the later productions adorning Perugia at the opening of the sixteenth century. It is surprising how much freshness and softness he maintains, and how much he reminds us of the earliest examples of Raphael's skill. Vasari was obviously struck with this impression when he visited the Piccolomini library; and he was induced by its vividness to assign "the designs and cartoons" wholly to Sanzio.[1] He had seen specimens of both, which he thought were by Raphael, and this confirmed him in this idea; but he had not compared them with the frescoes or he would have seen that these are conceived, and in every case technically, in the system of Pinturicchio."[2] The character o

[1] In the Life of Pinturicchio he says *all* the sketches and cartoons were by Raphael. In that of Raphael he says *some* of the sketches and cartoons were by Raphael (VASARI, iii. 494, and iv. 319).

[2] His description of them shows a carelessness not pardonable even when one considers that he disliked the works of Pinturicchio. He speaks of the birth o

Bernardino allows us to think that he would be willing to take advantage of the precocious talents of such a youth as Raphael, if only in giving him rough sketches from which to make more finished drawings; and the resemblance of style between those of young Sanzio now at Venice and others which repeat scenes depicted in the Piccolomini library strengthens the belief that he did so. Of the latter, one reproducing the departure of Æneas Sylvius with Cardinal Capranica is in the collection of the Uffizi, pencilled on whitish-grey paper, and outlined with pen, shadowed with touches of bister, and lighted up with white. The squares by which the transfer of the composition to cartoon was made still chequer the surface. There is little or no difference between this magnificent piece and the fresco, except perhaps in the landscape. Another, of similar execution, in four parts pasted together and somewhat rubbed, belongs to Signor Baldeschi at Perugia, and differs from the wall-painting in more than one particular. The attitude of Æneas between the Emperor and Infanta is changed in the latter and the figures of the middle distance on a background of hills is replaced by a view of the Camollia Gate at Siena. In the sky to the left are the words " questa è la quinta " . . . to which earlier writers add . . " No. V. . . afae ";[1] but it is supposed that the lines are more modern than the drawing.[2] A third, at Chatsworth, represents Æneas before Eugenius IV.[3] Were Raphael's name to be withdrawn from these sheets, it would be necessary to reconstruct a catalogue of his designs. At Venice there are figures which seem counterparts of those we have described, especially as regards feeling. The same hand traced them all. One point alone remains obscure. If anyone should inquire what has become of Pinturicchio's drawings, the answer would be very unsatisfactory. He must have made many, yet all those attributed to him are unworthy of his skill.

Coincidences of an equally remarkable nature are apparent in other, and those among the best, frescoes of the Piccolomini

Æneas Piccolomini as one of the subjects on the library walls, which is quite imaginary (VASARI, iii. 494).

[1] Com., VASARI, iii. 526 *sq.*

[2] The inscription is " Questa è la quinta (st)oria de papa (Pio)."

[3] A curious mischance prevented the authors from seeing this drawing at Chatsworth, but it is described by Geheimerrath Dr. WAAGEN in *Treasures*, iii. 454.

library. The Coronation of Æneas is a beautifully arranged subject. The Emperor is enthroned to the left in a fine court in front of a triumphal arch. He places the crown on the head of the poet-laureate in the presence of the nobles of his court, the knights of his suite and their pages. The gentleness and affected grace which characterize Raphael's sketchbook at Venice and his pictures in the period of 1501–4 are noticeable in many parts of the fresco. The predella of the Vatican, which formed part of Raphael's Coronation of the Virgin, offers the most curious analogies with it. Not only is the group behind the young king in the Adoration of the Magi belonging to that predella in the same spirit as that on the right in the Coronation of Æneas at Siena, but a youth in a light dress, turning his back to the spectator and looking round, as he leans his hand on a stick, is the same in both pictures. Single figures in each are conceived in Raphael's manner, such as the kneeling king in the predella, a type in Fiorenzo's mould reminiscent of Perugino and Pinturicchio, draped with their peculiar cast of fold.

The inferences from all this are clear. Raphael is necessarily connected with the production of these frescoes. Sanzio must have been in contact with Pinturicchio. It is only a question of when and where. Without taking Raphael from the school of Perugino to place him in that of Pinturicchio, we suppose that circumstances occurred which made it possible for the younger to join the elder artist at Siena. It is even likely that they may have been together before; that when Pinturicchio worked the ceiling of the library he gave his rough sketches in part to his assistant to make up into drawings after the fashion so graphically described by Vasari in his introduction, and with the help of studies for single personages and drapery. Raphael was capable of performing a duty of this kind, and Pinturicchio would not be disinclined to employ a youth who might have learned much from the example of Perugino after the successful termination of the Cambio Hall. Raphael, in the outset of his career being more remarkable for genuine feeling than for perfect art, snatched, one should think, at an opportunity to increase his knowledge by visiting the atelier of more than one master. There are pictures at Perugia, such as the Virgin, Child, and saints from S. Girolamo,

now in the gallery,[1] betraying a contact not only of Pinturicchio with Raphael, but of both with Spagna. It has been assigned to all three separately, and there is reason for each theory. The Virgin has all the freshness of Sanzio, the angel to the left points to Perugino, that to the right and a St. Francis to Spagna; the rest, including the landscape, to Pinturicchio. But the technical handling is not the old one of tempera to which Pinturicchio was faithful during his lifetime. The colour is moistened with oil, and used according to the system of Raphael at the period just preceding his adoption of the Florentine manner, the time when Sanzio and Pinturicchio might exchange ideas; and the former take from the latter the dry, lean, and somewhat bony forms which are to be found in the Milan Sposalizio.

The most telling proof, however, of the companionship between the two artists is this. When Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini found that his library had been completed (independently, at least, of the paintings on the walls), he caused the Three Graces to be brought to Siena.[2] They remained for a considerable time the ornament of the library, and are now in the Academy of Arts.[3] They are all mutilated, the central one having lost its head and the left leg below the calf; those to the right and left being deprived of an arm each. Raphael sketched two of them, treating the form with a certain freedom, but copying the movement exactly in the sketchbook now at Venice.[4] At a later period he produced the Three Graces, now at Dudley House[5] on the antique model. It is thus probable that Raphael and Pinturicchio were at Siena together in 1503, and that they had parted before the frescoes of the walls were undertaken.[6] That these

*1 Sala XVII., No. 19 (*cf. postea*, p. 425 *sq.*).

2 Vasari, iii. 496. Albertini, writing in his *Opusculum* (Guide of Rome), in 1508 [* *cf. antea*, p. 376, n. 2], says the group *had been* in the Piccolomini palace at Rome.

*3 They have now again been brought to the library.

4 *I.e.*, now in the collection of drawings at the Venice Academy.

*5 Since acquired by the Duc d'Aumale, and now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

*6 We have already stated (*antea*, p. 44, n. 1) that modern critics are practically unanimous in denying Raphael's authorship of nearly all the Venice sketches. As for the drawings at Florence and Perugia, mentioned above, there can be little doubt that they are what even the authors hinted—works by Pinturicchio. The Chatsworth drawing is surely a copy after a design for the fresco, being too mechanical and lifeless. Two figures sketched on a sheet in the

were only finished later is shown by the frequent reproduction of the Piccolomini arms, either with the tiara, or with the cognizance of Castile and Arragon, granted by the two Kings, Ferdinand and Henry, to Giacomo and Andrea, the brothers of Pius III.

The Piccolomini library is fairly preserved, though slightly retouched in some places and discoloured in others. It is one of the few halls in Italy that has retained its original character. Each fresco is enclosed in an arch, the vaulting of which is seen in perspective, supported on fictive clustered pillars, with capitals of gilt stucco, resting on plinths. The pictures are gracefully united by angels supporting scutcheons on the plinths; and in spite of their coarseness in consequence of the execution being left to assistants, they add much to the unity and harmony of the whole series. The best composed fresco of the ten is that of Æneas and Cardinal Capranica proceeding to the council of Basle, in which Piccolomini on horseback in front is conspicuous. Great care is lavished on its foreground of herbs and flowers.[1] The embassy before James I. is richly put together, and more than usually characteristic of Pinturicchio in the minute detail of the landscape behind the throne and screen. Some of the faces and even the whole figures are reminiscent of Perugino's at the Cambio.[2]

late Heseltine collection (*Original Drawings . . . forming Part of the Collection of J. P. H.*, privately printed, London, 1913, No. 34) may be studies for the youth carrying a candle in the Canonization of St. Catherine (*cf.* RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 264, n. 1); but the drawing of a man with Oriental headgear in the same collection (*Original Drawings*, No. 3) does not correspond to any figure in the Libreria frescoes, but to one to the left in the Baptism of Christ, in the Sixtine Chapel. The former drawing has been ascribed to Raphael, and so has a sheet with studies for some figures in the background of the Coronation of Æneas as Poet Laureate (in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); but although both drawings undoubtedly are very close to Raphael, neither attribution is quite beyond dispute (*cf.* FISCHEL, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, Abt. I. Berlin, 1913, p. 74 *sqq.*). From such drawings as are preserved it is thus hard to get any definite confirmation of Vasari's story; but it is of course possible that Raphael gave Pinturicchio some little assistance by designing one group or the other in the Libreria frescoes, and that local patriotism subsequently exaggerated his share in the work. The picture of the Three Graces at Chantilly offers, no doubt, some evidence in favour of a visit of Raphael to Siena.

[1] This fresco is fairly preserved. Parts of the sea and distance are retouched, as well as the green sleeve of the man holding the lance. The execution is, according to contract, fresco retouched when dry.

[2] The blue dress of the foreground figure on the left is scaled.

An elegant carriage and Raphaelesque freshness may be noticed in most of the personages in the Coronation; though here and there want of firmness in pose and tread are striking. But this failing is partly concealed by the prettiness of the groups. Piccolomini before Eugenius is also fine; whilst in the meeting of the Emperor and his bride, the distribution is artful, and the liveliness in the arrangement of the middle ground is praiseworthy, the only drawback being the profuse application of gilt-work. The investiture of the hat is like Benozzo Gozzoli's "Augustine in his chair at Rome," a wall-painting at S. Agostino of S. Gimignano. The subsequent pieces are less masterly. The general tone is bright, but without massiveness or power, and therefore less attractive than Perugino would have made it. The keys of harmony are gaudy and the surface rough, and much of the ornament is, as usual, raised.[1] On a pilaster to the left of the first subject, and in two scrolls on the ceiling above the seventh and eighth, the initials B. R. have been interpreted as those of Bernardino and Raphael, but they are probably intended to perpetuate the memory of Romano Bembo, one of Pinturicchio's helps.[2]

Outside the chapel, and to the left of the high portal in the Duomo, Pius III. receives the Papal crown inside a lodge filled with people in front of which two vast groups of spectators are parted by a halberdier. They are kept in order by horsemen, whilst trumpeters proclaim the decision of the conclave. With the exception of the Pius, which is a statue, the rest is a fairly preserved fresco, disharmonized by the bleaching of the foreground. At the hours when light is thrown over the wall, one sees that Pinturicchio devoted more of his own personal labour than was his usual wont.[3]

The departure of Pinturicchio from Siena at the close of 1507, or beginning of 1508, is indicated by the facsimile of a letter introduced into the Virgin with the Child and saints, in the ex-church of the Minorites of Spello. The letter, written by Gentile

[1] In general the blues and greens of draperies have all been more or less injured by retouching, and a slight discoloration may be noticed in the chequered pavements. All the white draperies are slightly raw from abrasion.

[2] See com. VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 181.

[3] Amongst the spectators, one is accompanied by a dog, which Tizio describes as the favourite of Pandolfo Petrucci (TIZIO MS., in VERMIGLIOLI, app., p. lxiii).

Baglioni from his castle, the Rocca di Zocco, is dated April 8, 1508, and urges Bernardino to return to Siena, where his presence is desired by Pandolfo Petrucci. It might prove that the Spello altarpiece was finished in the summer of that year.[1] As a work of art it adds little to Pinturicchio's fame, being carried out with great attention to detail, but without aerial perspective or vigour of relief. Nor is it easy to understand how the infant Baptist on the steps of the Virgin's throne should be assigned to Raphael.[2] Pinturicchio had done better things at an earlier period, such as the Holy Family ordered by the nuns of the convent of Campansi,[3] the Virgin in glory between two saints in Monte Oliveto near S. Gimignano, the Coronation of the Virgin at the Vatican, originally in the church of La Fratta, near Perugia, and the Assumption in the Naples Museum, commissioned for the neighbouring convent of Monte Oliveto.[4]

The probability of Pinturicchio's visit to Rome in 1508 has already been spoken of in the Lives of Signorelli and Perugino. On his return to Siena in 1509, in company with the former, who stood as godfather to his son[5] he received from the heirs of the Piccolomini the small sum of fourteen ducats and a half, remaining due for the pictorial labours undertaken for that family.[6] He

*1 On March 24, 1507, Pinturicchio at Siena entrusted the main execution of this altarpiece to Eusebio da San Giorgio. Eusebio was to follow the design prepared by Pinturicchio and deposited with one Tommaso Corbo of Spello; the outlines of the composition had already been drawn on the panel. Pinturicchio was subsequently going to finish the heads of the principal figures, as he had bound himself to. Of his whole fee, 160 ducats, 100 were to go to Eusebio (see BORGHESI and BANCHI, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, p. 390 *sq.*). Pinturicchio, who in the summer of 1507 visited Perugia (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 396), probably did some work on the altarpiece in the spring of 1508, as a quaint record of which he perhaps copied the letter of Baglioni. On September 3, 1510, the painter Giovanni Ciambella, of Perugia, undertook the gilding of the frame (*ibid.*, p. 398).

2 ORSINI and VERMIGLIOLI, p. 178.

3 No. 495. Stanza dei quadri di diverse Scuole, Acad. of Siena.

4 For all these pieces, see *postea*, catalogue of Pinturicchio's works.

5 Born January 7, 1509 (VASARI com., iii. 530).

6 The receipt is in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 13–14. Vermiglioli also cites a record of this year, in which Pinturicchio is described as inhabiting the contrada S. Vincenzo at Siena (VERMIGLIOLI, p. 182). In October (8) of the same year he sells property t Pandolfo Petrucci (com. VASARI, iii. 530). In 1511 he sells his Chiugi property (VERMIGLIOLI, app., p. xliv), and buys another at Siena (MARIOTTI, p. 219, and VERMIGLIOLI, p. 182). [* Some time in 1509, Pinturicchio may have been in

then probably entered the service of Pandolfo Petrucci, in whose palace he left a series of subjects in fresco. We have seen how these decorations, which were but the continuation of similar ones by Signorelli and Genga, were allowed to fall into neglect, and how the only remnant of them is the Ulysses and Penelope, or Lucretia and Collatinus, in possession of the late Mr. Barker in London.[1] The last authentic picture of Pinturicchio is a beautiful cabinet-miniature of Christ carrying his cross, now in the Palazzo Borromeo at Milan, finished in 1513. In that very year he died, it is said of hunger, at Siena, on December 11, and was buried in SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio, now Oratorio della Contrada dell'Istrice.[2]

The following catalogue completes the classification of Pinturicchio's works.

Spello. Ex-church of the Minorites. The Virgin and saints of 1508 has been alluded to in the foregoing Life. The Virgin supports the naked Child on her knee. He clutches his mothers' dress at the bosom, and casts his right arm round her neck. Two cherubs' heads and two flying angels in prayer are at her sides. The Virgin's face is small for her frame. The Infant Saviour is long and lean, and strained in attitude. A pleasing mask is that of the angel in flight to the left.

Rome (*cf. antea*, p. 376, n. 2). On September 3 and November 4, 1510, and on February 11 and March 5 and 6, 1511, his presence at Perugia is recorded. He had left Perugia by March 30 next. The house at Siena was bought by him on November 21 of that year. On March 19, 1512, he was again at Perugia—apparently his last visit to his native city (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 238–40, 398 *sq.*).]

* [1] Now in the National Gallery (No. 903). Various other frescoes by Pinturicchio remained until lately in this place (see RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 307 *sqq.*), but have now been transferred to canvas and sold.

[2] The only authority for believing that Pinturicchio met with an unnatural death is the diary of his contemporary, Tizio of Siena, who says: "Rumoribus ferebatur, Paffum quemdam peditem in foro Senensi cum uxore Bernardini commisceri, nec ab illis ad Bernardinum ægrotantem admissum quendam præter mulierculas quasdam ex vicinis nostris, quæ mihi postmodum retulerunt Bernardinum audivisse querentem se fame deperire" (see the extract in DELLA VALLE, *Lett. san.*, iii. 246; and VERMIGLIOLI, app., p. lxiii). Yet his wife Grania was not brought to trial for any offence, and she quietly inherited two-thirds of his property, as may be seen from Pinturicchio's will, dated in 1513, and in which he says he is "sanus mente," but "corpore languens." That he had a quarrel with his wife after making his will seems to result from a codicil of September 13, 1513, in which he reduces her shar but he revoked the codicil by another of October 14 [*Doc. sen.*, iii. 62, 64).

The Baptist, holding a reed cross, sits writing on the step of the throne, in a forced position. In front of him is a desk with a pair of nippers and other instruments, and the letter of Baglioni. To the right stand St. Francis, a good type, and St. Lawrence with the gridiron, reading. In the border of his dress a rich embroidery represents the Crucifixion. To the left, St. Andrew, and St. Louis in prayer. The throne and its steps are minutely ornamented. The method of drawing recalls that of Perugino. The colour is slightly abraded in some places, and with this exception the altarpiece is fairly preserved. The distance is a landscape (wood).[1]

Spello. Ex-church of the Minorites. On the front of the pulpit in this church is a half-length of the Redeemer in a round (oil), much darkened by time and restoring. A flaw cutting the elbow and pit of the stomach has been filled up and coloured. The panel is also vertically split in half. The hips of the Redeemer, who holds a banner, are in a red cloth. The type is good, recalling those of Fiorenzo and Benozzo, lean, too, and probably executed by Pinturicchio about 1500.

Siena. Academy. Stanza de' quadri di Scuole diverse, No. 495 (originally in the convent of Campansi). Round, wood, tempera. In its old gilt and ornamented frame. Holy Family. The Virgin sits to the left in a graceful attitude on a mound, with a book in her left hand. Her face is perhaps one of the most pleasing that Pinturicchio ever created. Neatly trimmed hair is tied in a veil, the whole quite Raphaelesque. She points with her right to the Baptist, who walks away from her arm-in-arm with the youthful Christ; the former wearing a hair dress, the latter a white flowered tunic. The ground is overgrown with herbs and flowers; a fountain is in the middle ground. In the distance to the right is St. Jerome in prayer, and to the left a friar; St. Joseph behind the Virgin holding a barrel and bread. The head of the latter is well modelled, but somewhat pinched in features, his forms precisely defined. The action of the Baptist is a little affected, the youthful Christ heavy in frame and limb. The colour is rich, the touch clear and firm, the ornament minute and profuse; and the panel is one of the exquisite ones of Pinturicchio, dating about the time when the first Piccolomini frescoes were completed.

Siena. Academy, No. 407. Wood. Nativity. The Child, in a pretty movement, lies in the foreground, pinguid in form; near him

[1] Noted in annot., VASARI. iii. 501 *sq*, and in VERMIGLIOLI, app., pp. xliii and 178.

(left) the Virgin, pretty and plump, like one of Spagna's Peruginesque Madonnas. St. Joseph, on the right, of paltry aspect, sits behind the Infant, and, raising its veil, causes it to awake and look around at the Virgin. In rear are two shepherds in prayer; in the sky three injured angels. In the distance the angel announces to the pastors. To the left, an edifice. The panel, in its old gilt frame, is broken and angular in drawing, the colour washy and of slight relief. It seems to be of Pinturicchio's later time, carried out in part in his atelier by Matteo Balducci or some other.

Monte Oliveto (*near S. Gimignano*). Virgin enthroned between two saints (life-size, wood, distemper), ascribed by RUMOHR to Pacchiarotti (*Forsch.*, iii. 45), but more properly by GAYE (*Carteg.*, ii. 434, to Pinturicchio. It is to be borne in mind that this master had many journeymen at Siena (Matteo Balducci amongst others), and that his style was not without influence on Pacchiarotti. We do not trace the hand of any pupil in particular at the Piccolomini library, nor can we do so in the panel at Monte Oliveto. Like the foregoing, it still hangs in its old frame. The Virgin sits on the clouds and prays. Rays issue from her almond-shaped glory, in which there are eleven cherubs' heads. The distance is one of Pinturicchio's usual ones. To the left in front kneels a Pope of slender frame, with the twelve apostles in the embroidery of his stole. To the right, a kneeling bishop. The touch is very careful in every part, the colour rosy and light and fairly relieved by light and shade; the draperies straight. The landscape has the green freshness of spring. The general aspect is that of a bright but opaque miniature.[1]

Siena. S. Maria degli Angeli, better known as Il Santuccio. A Nativity called Pinturicchio (TAIA, *Guida, u.s.*, p. 104; FALUSCHI, *Guida, u.s.;* and VERMIGLIOLI, p. 184), of a low tone and flat, and more like a work by Pacchia than any other Sienese.

Rome. Vatican Museum. Originally at La Fratta, near Perugia (wood), a Coronation of the Virgin with the twelve apostles below in two groups (life-size), and five friars, including St. Francis, praying on their knees in front. This picture has been catalogued by ORSINI and MEZZANOTTE (*Vita di Perugino*, pp. 127, 128) as by Vannucci. It has become untransparent and heavy from successive varnishes, but

* [1] This picture—now in the Communal Gallery at S. Gimignano—was ordered from Pinturicchio on October 23, 1509 or 1510; he received the last rate of payment for it on November 9, 1511 (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 239). The saints are Gregory and Bernard.

was originally a fine Pinturicchio of about the year 1500. The figures are pleasant and of a youthful mould.[1]

Rome. Galleria Borghese, Nos. 49, 51. Scenes from the life of Joseph, part of a "cassone," hastily handled in the manner of Pinturicchio.[2]

Rome. Palazzo Spada. Round of the Virgin and Child, in a landscape; the Child in a red tunic, holding a fruit. This tempera (on wood) is classed as of the Bolognese school, but is a school piece executed in Pinturicchio's shop.

Rome. Museo Cristiano, Press XIII.[3] Marriage of St. Catherine. Small tempera panel, quite like a Pinturicchio.

Same Gallery, Press XIV.[4] The Assumption of the Virgin between St. Gregory at the Mass and St. Jerome; an Umbrian panel of a reddish tone, reminiscent of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

Florence. Pitti Gallery, No. 341. Adoration of the Magi (wood). On the base of this small picture are the arms of the Vitelli of Città di Castello. The distance is very rich in episodes. A dull tone, unsatisfactory drawing, and rude touch, create doubts as to the authorship of Pinturicchio. It may be by one of his pupils.

Florence. Galleria Lombardi. Wood. Virgin and Child with a pretty and careful landscape distance, a small and fair creation of the master.

Florence. Collection of the Duca Strozzi. Christ on the Mount with the three apostles asleep in the foreground. This is a small panel in Pinturicchio's style.

Florence. Torrigiani Gallery, Nos. 11, 13, 23.[5] Wood. Incidents of a marriage, small and not without merit, in the master's manner, but handled without his usual power, and perhaps executed by a pupil or imitator such as Tiberio d'Assisi.

Naples. Museum, Sala VI., No. 34. Originally in the Cappella Paolo Tolosa at Monte Oliveto, near Naples (VASARI, iii. 500). Assump-

*[1] This picture was finished by June 27, 1503. As two payments were later (October 8 and 30, 1505) made for it to Pinturicchio and Giambattista Caporali jointly, it may be concluded that Caporali had a share in the work (BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 235, 394 *sq.*). Two small half-length portraits of a man and a woman in the possession of the Maravelli family of Perugia are said to have formed part of the predella of this altarpiece (see RICCI, *u.s.*, p. 239, n. 3).

*[2] These were sold at the Borghese Sale in Paris, July 2–3, 1891. One reappeared at the Dollfus Sale (Paris, April 1–2, 1912, No. 52), and was subsequently to be seen in M. Kleinberger's Galleries in New York. Compare on these pictures, MORELLI, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 142.

*[3] Now in the Vatican Gallery.

*[4] Now Vatican Gallery.

*[5] Now sold.

tion (wood, tempera). Three angels at each side of the Virgin, St. Thomas in the middle of the foreground, with the apostles about him. The figures are a little under life-size. The tempera is injured and hard from repeated varnishing. Some heads are still fine, and the piece was originally a good one.

Città di Castello. Duomo, sacristy. Wood, tempera, figures half life-size. Genuine half-length of the Virgin holding the Infant erect in the act of benediction, with the youthful Baptist at one side. Landscape distance, much injured by the scaling of the flesh.

Città di Castello. S. Giovanni Decollato. In this church is a banner with a figure of St. John. It has been given by VERMIGLIOLI to Pinturicchio (p. 79), but is a low-class production, already noted elsewhere (see School of Signorelli, *antea*).

Perugia. Gallery, Sala X., No. 9. Lunette, transferred to canvas, first in the convent of S. Anna, represents the Virgin and Child, but has been injured.

Same Gallery, formerly No. 235. A St. Dominic; is of Pinturicchio's school.[1]

Perugia. S. Pietro. Annunciation, in a chapel to the left as one enters, assigned to Pinturicchio, but see *postea* in Spagna.

Milan. Palazzo Borromeo. Wood. Christ on the way to Golgotha. He carries His cross, assisted in front by a man drawing it forward with a cord. An executioner pushes Him from behind. As He walks, the Saviour turns round to the Virgin on the left, who follows the procession, attended by the Marys. In the distance Golgotha appears. The officers of the execution raise the crosses. A castle crowns a hill, and flights of birds are in the heavens. On the border one reads: "Questa opera e di mano Del Pintoricchio Da Perugia MCCCCCXIII." This miniature panel, which seems to have been in Pinturicchio's atelier at his death, is equal in freshness, carefulness, power and richness of colour to the works of his best time. The females move with a grace akin to that of Perugino. The Christ is noble in action whilst the naked man pushes him, but other figures are strained and somewhat angular in drawing. There is great richness in the ornaments and landscape.

Gubbio. Duomo.[2] Nativity in an arched rectangle supported on pillars, in the ornament of which one reads: "Leone X sedente." VERMIGLIOLI assigns this (p. 112) to Pinturicchio, though it is clearly

*[1] Apparently not to be identified with any picture at present on view in the Perugia Gallery.

*[2] Tenth altar to the left.

of a later time by some itinerant limner in possession of a tracing belonging to the master. The picture is in oil, sharply outlined, incorrectly drawn, and dusky in the shadows. The painter seems the same who worked imitating Spagna at Viterbo.

Viterbo. Chiesa degli Osservanti. Here is also a Nativity. The style is that of Spagna's pupils, such as Jacopo da Norcia, or the Perugian Orlandi, who was assistant to Sinibaldo Ibi.

Assisi (near). Torre d' Andrea. Church of S. Bernardo, two miles from S. Maria degli Angeli. On the high-altar is a distemper on panel, representing the presentation of Christ in the temple (eleven figures), with S. Bernardino kneeling in the middle of the foreground. This is a mediocre production by a pupil.

Bettona (near). Ex-church of S. Simone. The walls of this abandoned church are filled with paintings in the mixed manner of Pinturicchio and Spagna (see the latter, *postea*).

Amelia (near Spoleto). Church of ex-convent of the Minori Reformati. Wood. Altarpiece. Virgin and Child between St. John Baptist and St. Francis, in the mixed character of Pinturicchio and Spagna, and possibly by Tiberio d' Assisi. In a lunette is the Eternal between two angels (gold ground, in part repainted).

Dresden. Museum, No. 41. Catalogued as unknown, but in the Umbrian school.[1] Wood, tempera. This is a portrait of a youth with long hanging hair, in a red cap and dress, by Pinturicchio. The distance a landscape.

Berlin. Museum, No. 143. The Virgin and Child (wood, tempera), the most favourable specimen of Pinturicchio in this gallery.[2]

Same Gallery, No. 134.[3] Annunciation (wood). Umbrian in character, but of small importance and damaged in the flesh-tints.

Same Gallery, No. 136.[4] Bust portrait of a youth in a black cap, with fair hair, rough in surface and too feeble for Pinturicchio.

Same Gallery, Nos. 142, 149. Episodes from the life of Tobias. These are good and interesting, but they exhibit marks of Tuscan, mingled with the Umbrian, education.[5]

* [1] Now officially ascribed to Pinturicchio.

* [2] It now contains two pictures by Pinturicchio not known to the authors (see *postea*, p. 416, n. 4).

* [3] Not now shown.

* [4] Now on loan to the University Gallery at Göttingen.

* [5] Now officially ascribed to the Umbro-Florentine school of the end of the fifteenth century. A companion piece is in the palace of the Emperor William I. at Berlin. Mr. BERENSON (*Florentine Painters*, p. 124) ascribes these pictures to Bugiardini.

Same Gallery, No. 132. Adoration of the Magi. Originally in S. Caterina of Faenza, and painted for the Manzolini family of that place. We shall give reasons for assigning this picture to Giovanni Battista (Bertucci) of Faenza.[1]

Pesth. Esterhazy Gallery, No. 49. Tiberius Gracchus, given to Pinturicchio, but probably by some follower of Signorelli (see *antea*, School of Signorelli).

Altenburg. Lindenau Gallery, Nos. 116–123. Wood, oil. Panels representing busts in rounds and figures of virtues in variously shaped panels, originally part of a ceiling, said to be by Pinturicchio, and certainly like a production of one his scholars, such as Balducci.

Schleissheim. Gallery, No. 569. Virgin and Child, between SS. Jerome and John. A poor imitation of Pinturicchio and much repainted.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,540. Virgin and Child, no doubt by Spagna (see *postea*).

Paris. Louvre, Musée Napoleon III., Nos. 172, 173.[2] The Judgments of Solomon and of Daniel, catalogued as of the school of Perugino (wood). These are fairly composed and carefully executed in Pinturicchio's manner, and if not by him, might be by Tiberio d'Assisi.

Same Gallery, No. 174.[3] Virgin and Child in the same class as the foregoing, perhaps a little better.

Same Gallery, No. 175.[4] Virgin and Child, half-length, in a glory of cherubs. A poor work, somewhat like a production of Mainardi's school.

Same Gallery, No. 181.[5] Wood, arched. Nativity assigned to Pinturicchio, but by one of his disciples; coarse and much repainted.

Same Gallery, No. 182.[6] Virgin, Child, and donor (wood), much retouched, but in the manner of the foregoing.

Same Gallery, No. 195.[7] Virgin and Child between St. Gregory and another saint, more in Pinturicchio's style than the above.

London. National Gallery, No. 693. St. Catherine and a kneeling monk, with a landscape background. This is a fair example, but the figures are a little feeble.

Same Gallery, No. 703. From the Wallerstein collection. The

* 1 Now catalogued as a work by him.
* 2 Nos. 1,571 and 1,572 in the current catalogue of the Louvre Gallery.
* 3 Now Louvre, No. 1,573. * 4 Now on loan to the Museum at Rodez.
* 5 Now on loan to the museum at Nantes (No. 26).
* 6 Now on loan to the museum at Rouen.
* 7 Now Louvre, No. 1,417.

Virgin behind a parapet, on which the Infant stands. A minute but somewhat cold and restored specimen of Pinturicchio's skill.

London. Late Mr. Barker's Collection. Ulysses and Penelope (? Collatinus and Lucretia), geniune fresco from the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci at Siena. On the right a female at her loom, a girl near her winding from a skein with which a cat plays. On the left seven youths have entered at a door. A seaport with ships is seen through a window.[1]

Other pieces in this collection of Umbrian character are of less importance than the above.

London. Dudley House.[2] A Baptism between SS. Augustine and Ambrose. A friar preaching. These small fragments of a predella are either by Pinturicchio or one of the assistants in his school.

Ireland. Brinsley Marlay, Esq.[3] The Death of Hector and the Taking of Troy, assigned to Pinturicchio in the Dublin International Exhibition. These two little panels are not purely Umbrian in character, the technical execution being reminiscent of the Florentine school, as represented by the art of Sebastian Mainardi.[4]

* [1] Now in the National Gallery (No. 903). The subject is Penelope surprised by the suitors as she is undoing the shroud she was weaving for Laertes. Through the window are seen, on the headland to the left, Ulysses and Circe, and on the sea the ship of Ulysses, surrounded by sirens.

* [2] Now in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, of London.

* [3] Now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

* [4] We add the following list of pictures by Pinturicchio that have not yet been mentioned.

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 132A. SS. Augustine, Benedict, and Bernard (front of reliquary). *No.* 1,481. The Virgin and Child.

Boston. Mrs. J. L. Gardner. The Virgin and Child.

Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 119. The Virgin and Child.

Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Museum. The Virgin and Child (from the collection of Signor Ulrich Jaeger, Genoa; see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 109, with reproduction).

Lyons. Late M. Edouard Aynard. St. Bartholomew. (Sold at the Aynard Sale, December 1, 1913, No. 63. From the Borghese collection.)

Mombello (Como). Prince Pio di Savoia. The Virgin and Child.

Munich. Baron Tucher. The Virgin and Child (see WICKHOFF, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1908, I. Halbband, p. 23 *sq.* with reproduction).

Oxford. Ashmolean Museum. The Virgin and Child.

Paris. Baron Schickler. The Virgin and Child.

Rome. Vatican Library. The Crucifixion (miniature from Missal). *Contessa Rasponi Spaletti.* The Virgin and Child. *Late Stroganoff Collection.* The Virgin and Child. *Marchese Visconti Venosta.* The Virgin and Child with the boy St. John the Baptist. Painted crucifix.

St. Petersburg. M. Michel Botkine. The Virgin and Child.

A few words on Bernardino of Perugia.

The Marchese Ricci published a valuable work in 1834, entitled *Memoirs of the Painters of the March of Ancona*. In the course of his search for documents and proofs in support of his narrative, he discovered that Bernardino of Perugia, or Pinturicchio (as he supposed) had begun to reside at San Severino in 1509, and that he had done, in 1514, an altarpiece, now in S. Domenico of S. Severino, representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Severino, Domenico, Rosa, and Venanzio.[1] At a later period, Signor Giuseppe Ranaldi, to whom Marchese Ricci had been indebted for the discovery of records justifying the foregoing statements, furnished Vermiglioli with a fuller notice of them, from which it appears that Bernardino of Perugia made scutcheons for the magistrates of S. Severino in 1502–03, and completed other labours in the following order: 1509: A Standard for the Duomo of S. Severino (existing in Vermiglioli's time, and signed: "Bernardino Perusino pinxit. Hoc opus fieri fecit Pierantonius de Gentilibus Acciacchaferri pro sua devotione, 1509.").[2] 1513: Pennons. 1514: A panel ordered in 1512 for the church of S. Maria di Mercato, and an altarpiece for the chapel of the Public Palace.[3] 1519: He is taxed with other citizens.[4] Colucci (*Antichità Picene ap.* Vermiglioli, p. 74, notices an altarpiece at La Bastìa, near Fabriano, which he describes as signed: "Bernardini de Perus. pinxit."[5]

We have not seen any of the pieces noticed by Ricci and Vermiglioli, nor have we visited La Bastía, near Fabriano, which is a different place from La Bastía, near Perugia, but we have seen other pieces of interest in this inquiry. Premising that Bernardinus of Perugia, who was still living in 1519, cannot be Pinturicchio, who died at Siena in 1513, we note first a Marriage of St. Catherine, assigned by Vermiglioli[6] to Pinturicchio, in—

Valencia. Academy of Arts. The Virgin and Child with Francesco Borgia.
Wigan. Earl of Crawford. The Virgin and Child.

[1] Ricci, *u.s.*, ii. 85.

* [2] This standard, representing the Virgin protecting a mother and her child from Satan, is still in the Duomo of S. Severino.

* [3] The altarpiece ordered for S. Maria di Mercato is identical with that now in S. Domenico, and mentioned *antea*. The picture painted for the chapel of the Public Palace is now in the Communal Gallery at S. Severino; it represents the Annunciation (reproduced in Gnoli, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 143).

[4] Vermiglioli, *u.s.*, p. 74 and following.

* [5] According to Dr. Bombe, the signature of this picture, which is still at La Bastia, and represents the Virgin and Child, is "Belardinus de Perusia pinsit 1498."

[6] Vermiglioli, *u.s.*, pp. 39, 228.

Perugia. Church of the Convent of St. Catherine. Second altar to the right (wood, tempera, almost life-size).[1] The Virgin enthroned with the Child, who takes the ring from St. Catherine. St. Peter stands to the left; St. Mary Magdalen and St. Benedict to the right. In front, the young Baptist holds the reed cross. Four angels fly above the throne, two of them with flowers, two playing instruments. Umbrian character is apparent in the length, leanness, and affected action of the frames and heads. The outlines are mechanically and incorrectly drawn, the draperies without style. The colour, of a dull neutral tint and of a dry, thin substance, is slightly relieved by red shadow. The treatment of this picture and its peculiar hatching recall to mind the works of Carlo, and even of Vittorio Crivelli, whose influence extended to the painters of S. Severino.

Perugia. Gallery, Sala X., No. 3. Catalogued under the name of Bernardino of Perugia. Virgin, Child, and infant Baptist between St. Francis and another saint (wood, life-size). The group of the Virgin and two children prettily conceived, and recalling in that sense only Raphael's in the altarpiece of S. Antonio of Perugia, in 1859–1860 in the Royal Palace at Naples.[2] The execution, however, as in the foregoing.

Same Gallery, Sala X., No. 7. Catalogued as above. Wood, half life-size. Coronation of the Virgin, an angel at each corner, a conception and movement also recalling those of Raphael, but by an artist unable to realize them. The costumes are fanciful, and gold is profusely employed. The execution a little less rude than the above, yet the manner similar.

Perugia. In private hands, but originally in S. Severo.[3] A Virgin and Child with a saint in front, and two more at the sides. Two angels attend in rear. Similar to the last.

London. Dudley House.[4] Wood, tempera, a third life-size. Virgin holding a bird by a string, the Infant Christ in her grasp, within an arch decorated with fruit and flowers. Like the preceding, with a mixture of the schools of Squarcione and Crivelli.

The painter of all these pieces is an Umbrian who preserves the stamp of his countrymen in the character, type, and action of his figures. The handling, the system of tempera, costumes and copious gildings are those of the San Severini, of Carlo and Vittorio Crivelli.

* [1] Now Perugia Gallery, Sala X., No. 6.

* [2] Now in the collection of the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

[3] Present whereabouts unknown.

* [4] Present whereabouts unknown.

Photo. Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Bernardino di Mariotto

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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Either he went early from Perugia to Sanseverino, or he was born there. One traces the effort of a follower of Crivelli to assume the Perugian manner rather than that of a Perugian desirous of appropriating that of Crivelli. The place where the records of Bernardino of Perugia have been found is S. Severino. The pictures above described are like those of the San Severini and Crivelli, and those amongst them which are in the Gallery of Perugia are attributed to Bernardino of Perugia. We therefore possess enough to determine the style of Bernardino, who was so long confounded with Pinturicchio.[1] Yet we must not forget that another picture exists under the name of Bernardiño of Perugia. It is in—

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,642.[2] Subject: The Crucifixion, with numerous figures. ORSINI assigns it (*Guida di Perugia*) to Pinturicchio, with

* [1] The full name of this painter is Bernardino di Mariotto dello Stagno. As pointed out by Dr. BOMBE (*u.s.*, p. 95), he was probably the pupil of Lodovico di Angelo Mattioli of Perugia, whose signed Christ among saints, in the Perugia Duomo, offers many points of contact with Bernardino's works. In S. Severino (where his presence is first recorded in 1502, but where he probably had by then been living for some years) he appears to have worked in company with Lorenzo II. da S. Severino. In 1522 he was back at Perugia, where he spent the rest of his life, dying at a very advanced age in 1566 (compare BOMBE, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allegemeines Lexikon*, iii. 441 *sq.*).

In addition to the works by him hitherto mentioned, the following may be enumerated:

Assisi. Mr. F. Mason Perkins. SS. Dominic and Sebastian (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte umbra*, i. 110).

Bastia (near Assisi). S. Antonio. The Virgin of Mercy adored by St. Anthony the Abbot, St. Anthony of Padua, and the members of a confraternity (reproduced in GNOLI, *u.s.*, p. 144).

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, No. 557. Pietà (Morelli collection).

Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Museum. The Marriage of St. Catherine (from the Caccialupi collection at Macerata; see PERKINS, *u.s.*, p. 110, with reproduction).

Foligno. Communal Gallery. The Virgin and Child with two angels.

Gualdo Tadino. Duomo, sacristy. The Virgin and Child (*cf. antea*, p. 223).

London. Mr. Robert Benson. The Salutation. The Marriage of the Virgin.

Matelica. Museo Piersanti. The Coronation of the Virgin (reproduced in GNOLI, *u.s.*).

Perugia. Communal Gallery, Sala X., No. 1. The Virgin and Child with SS. Andrew and Juliana (from the church of S. Antonio Abate at Perugia]. *No.* 2: The Holy Family with SS. Sebastian and Roch.

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. The Visitation. The Presentation (fragments of a predella).

Rome. Scialoja Collection. Signed picture (*cf. L'Arte*, xi. 319).

* [2] This picture is now catalogued as the work of an unknown Italian painter of the sixteenth century.

the date of 1518. It is an Umbrian work in oil, by a man of a coarse fibre, but full of power and life, a contemporary of Giambattista Caporali, Cocchi, and Paris Alfani, but not the same artist as the author of the foregoing series, unless he completely altered his manner.

A few lines also for Matteo Balducci.

This third-rate artist was born at Fontignano, and is known by a contract of 1509 (in which his name appears in the capacity of a witness) to have been in connection with Pinturicchio (com. VASARI, vi. 408). He had, however, gained no great proficiency there when Pinturicchio died. In 1517 he was bound apprentice to Bazzi for six years (*Doc. Sen.*, iii. 72). GUALANDI has published a contract and payments for an altarpiece by him in S. Francesco di Pian Castagniano in Montamiata, 1523–1524 (*Memorie, u.s.*, ser. ii., pp. 17, 18). There are returns of his property in Città della Pieve for the year 1543, and he was a municipal councillor in that place in 1550 and 1553 (MEZZANOTTE, *Vita di Perugino, u.s.*, p. 286).

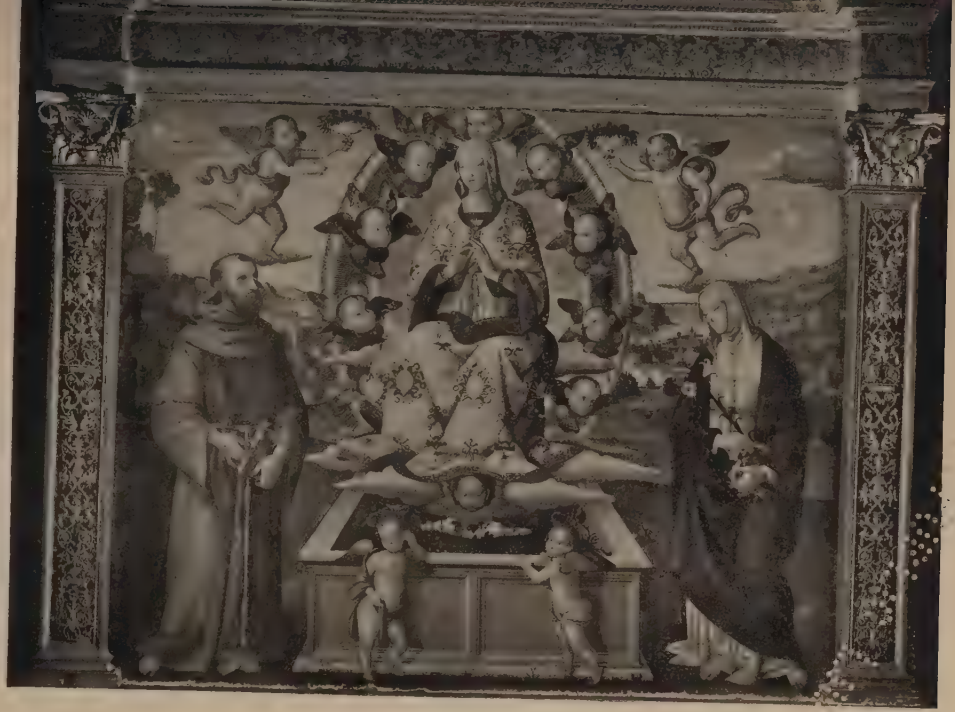
Matteo Balducci is the author of the following pictures:

Siena. S. Spirito. Cappella de' Borghesi. Altarpiece (wood, oil), assigned (FALUSCHI, *Guida*, p. 142; TAIA, *Guida*, p. 111) to Matteo di Giovanni. Assumption of the Virgin. By the side of the tomb, below the glory, St. Francis and St. Catherine of Siena, and in front two infant angels. Two seraphs at the side of the glory bear flower pots. In a lunette, the Eternal in benediction in a halo with cherubs' heads. The Virgin's face is softly expressive, but the figures generally are feeble, and the colour is dim, washy, and without relief. The angels in front of the tomb resemble those at the base of the plinths in the cappella Piccolomini. Balducci is therefore an Umbrian of the school of Pinturicchio. The predella of this picture, representing the Virgin with the dead Messiah on her lap, with St. John Evangelist and the Magdalen, St. Francis receiving the stigmata, and St. Catherine, is in the same style as the altarpiece, and now in—

Siena. Academy, No. 406. There are further in the collection: *No.* 359, half-length of the Virgin and Child, between SS. Bernardino and Catherine. *No.* 346, an Angel in Adoration (small panel). *No.* 391, Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Francis. *Nos.* 393, 377, 381, 379: The two first, in tempera, figures of Justice and Faith; the two last, in oil, Fortitude and Charity.

Siena. S. Maria Maddalena.[1] Nativity (small), an Umbrian com-

*[1] Now in the Siena Gallery (No. 386).



THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN
By Matteo Balducci
From a picture in S. Spirito, Siena

Photo, Alinari

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position on the model of Pinturicchio, of a light colour, and feeble in character, variously assigned to Perugino and Pinturicchio.

Same convent.[1] Virgin and Child, and youthful Baptist, reminiscent of Pinturicchio, and perhaps by some other of his pupils than Balducci.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,417. Virgin, Child, and saints, classed in the Umbrian school, careful, but feeble tempera, in Balducci's manner.

There is no trace of the influence of Bazzi on Balducci in all these pieces.[2]

*[1] Now in the Siena Gallery (No. 387).

*[2] The catalogue of Balducci's extant works may be extended as follows:

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, No. 548. The Flight of Clœlia (Morelli collection).

Cetona (near Siena). S. Francesco, Chapel of S. Egidio. The Virgin and Child with the boy St. John the Baptist, St. Lawrence, and St. Francis.

Cologne. Wallraf Richartz Museum, No. 528. The Virgin and Child with two saints.

Gubbio. Communal Gallery, No. 35. Bacchanal.

London. Earl of Crawford. Diana and Actæon.

Oxford. Christ Church. St. Christopher.

Siena. Gallery, No. 364. SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen. *No.* 398, SS. Agnes and Francis. *Opera del Duomo.* St. Anthony of Padua. *Ex-convent of the Campansi. First Cloister.* The Assumption (fresco; only in part by Balducci). *Palazzo Saracini. No.* 1,424. The Dream of Hercules.

CHAPTER XII

LO SPAGNA

THE most interesting figure amongst the Peruginesques, Raphael always excepted, is that of Giovanni di Pietro, known in his time and by posterity as Lo Spagna.[1] The darkness which conceals the history of his birth overspreads the greatest part of his career. There is no knowledge of the period when he joined Perugino. His life is a blank until 1507, when he appears for the first time as an independent master at Todi.[2] The qualification of Spaniard appended to his name in a document of that period leaves no doubt as to his nationality; but the artistic education which he received was purely Italian, and he seems to have been bred to the profession of a painter under Perugino and Pinturicchio.

As such he is as a candidate for a share in the execution of the ceiling at the hall of the Cambio, or of the double altarpiece at S. Francesco al Monte, ordered of Vannucci in 1502. The style which characterizes his authentic works in Spoleto may be traced in the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian of 1505 at Panicale, and in a fresco of the same period in S. Agostino of that place.[3] He was

[1] He is called Magister Joannes Petri in a record dated in 1517 at Spoleto, quoted by MARIOTTI (*Lettere*, p. 196). It is a question whether Petrus here is the father of Spagna or Pietro Perugino—his master in art. But see *Giorn. di erud. art.*, iii. 15.) [* There seems to be no reason why, contrary to common use, Petrus should here not stand for the name of the painter's father. In a record of June 6, 1511—when Perugino was still alive—Spagna is called "magistro Johanne quondam Petri hispano pictore."]

[2] See *postea*. [* On March 9, 1504, Spagna, together with the Papal treasurer, Alfano degli Alfani, valued some paintings executed by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in the chapel of St. Sebastian in S. Pietro at Perugia (ROSSI, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. ii., p. 313; BOMBE, in *Italienische Forschungen*, v. 126, 333). On the share which Spagna probably had in the Circumcision ordered from Domenico Pecori of Arezzo in 1506, see *antea*, p. 131, n. 2.]

[3] See *antea*, Perugino's Life.

Photo, Alinari

THE NATIVITY

BY LO SPAGNA

From a picture in the Vatican Gallery, Rome

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the companion of Raphael at Perugia during their joint stay in the school of Perugino, and after Sanzio began to labour on his own account in Città di Castello. His manner is a mixture of the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque, without the high qualities of either; and its earliest development is to be found in the youthful and somewhat feeble Nativity at the Vatican, called the Madonna della Spineta from the convent near Todi, for which it was commissioned.[1]

There is very little in this composition calling for special remark. The Infant, lying on the foreground, with its fingers in its mouth; St. Joseph to the left, on one knee, expressing surprise by startled action; the Virgin to the right, resigned and in prayer; two angels in rear between them and a third in immediate attendance behind the mother of Christ, form the principal group. In the middle distance, two shepherds, and others on foot and on horseback in a landscape; to the right, the pent-house and cattle; in the air, three angels, erect, singing from a long scroll—this is all. The peculiar traits in the piece which distinguish Spagna are the long head, neck, and shoulderless frame of St. Joseph, the square and lanky shape of angels, curt proportions of hand and foot, and overcharged drapery. Superadded are gravity of demeanour, an ashen grey coolness of tone, equal finish of parts in fore and background, minuteness of detail without great relief by light and shade. The picture, though painted in oil, looks washy and pale. It is the first impression of an arrangement repeated with variations in the altarpiece of the Ancajani at the Berlin Museum.[2] The annexed reproduction of the abraded

[1] Gallery of the Vatican, assigned by VERMIGLIOLI (*Bernardino Pinturicchio, u.s.*, p. 42) to Pinturicchio, by ORSINI (*Life of Perugino, u.s.*, p. 104) to Vannucci, and in descriptions of the Vatican to Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael. The latter theory seems countenanced by PASSAVANT (ii. 5, 449) when describing a head of St. Joseph amongst the drawings of the British Museum. The drawing, however, cannot be by Raphael (it is numbered No. 44 ex-Reynold's collection), being too loose. On the back of the sheet is a figure of St. Sebastian, in which Spagna's hand, following the style of Perugino, is more apparent. But caution is required before assigning either the head or the St. Sebastian to Spagna. The former is not exactly the same as the head of St. Joseph in the Spineta altarpiece.

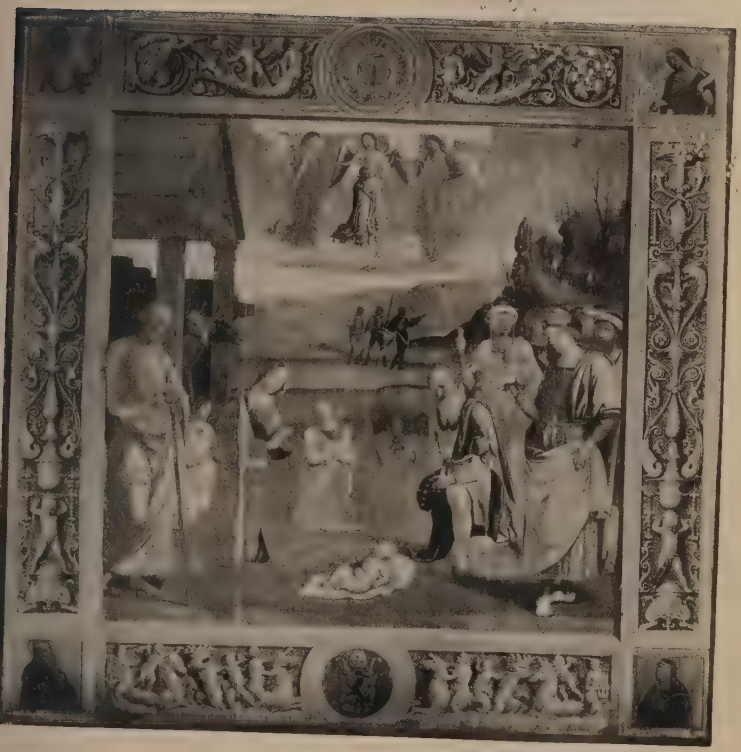
[2] Berlin Museum, No. 150, under the name of Raphael. [* Now under that of Spagna.] Its removal from S. Pietro in the monastery of Ferentillo, and subsequent peregrinations, are related by PUNGILEONI (*Raphael, u.s.*, p. 18), and by

distemper may be compared with the Spineta Nativity, and will prove that the Virgin, Child, and attendant angels are lined in both from different sides of the same cartoon.

The Berlin altarpiece is an Adoration of the Kings, and was painted for Ancajano Ancajani, who lived fifteen years (1478–1503) Abbot of Ferentillo near Spoleto. It was placed in the church of S. Pietro attached to that monastery, and was only removed for the purpose of being restored in the year 1700. That it should have been attributed to Raphael's youth is due to the Peruginesque mode of its distribution and drawing, and its Raphaelesque accompaniments of type and drapery. Yet, on close inspection, its cold carefulness produces an impression different from that of a Raphael. Purity, delicacy, and refinement are the qualities usually assigned to the figures.[1] It would be truer to say that they are carried out with honesty of purpose and minuteness of detail, but with less feeling or selection than are usual even in Sanzio's earliest performances. Their setting and air are such as might be realized by a man without great originality of power, of the passionless diligence for which Sassoferrato was remarkable at a later period. The mould of the faces is broadly imitated from that of Raphael, but without his candour and lightness of grace; with more than his usual stiffness, but none of his sentiment. They are simple blocks without waving lines of beauty. The male heads are long in forehead and jaw, pinched and withered in features, often vulgar like those of Pinturicchio, those of females and angels are round and plump, but of an unhealthy fleshiness, unnaturally projected from the neck, with round noses and small prim mouths, a family likeness being traceable through them all, and proving conventionalism and want of vigour in the artist. The drapery is drawn together by hand, and made to fold where Nature would have left it plain and hanging. It is for this reason surcharged, broken, or festooned. Without entering into detail, one may note the heavy squareness of the Virgin and of the young

PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, i., p. 66, and ii. p. 16). Another picture quite with the impress of Spagna, is No. 135 in the Berlin Museum, under the name of Raphael. Subject: the Saviour in the Tomb (canvas, kneepiece). [* Not now shown officially ascribed to the Umbrian school, *circa* 1500.]

[1] KUGLER'S *Handbook*.



Photo, Schwarz

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

By Lo Spagna

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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king erect on the right, the bony dryness of the kneeling one, and the gaunt leanness of the angels. All the hands and feet are short in shape and cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The landscape, a vale, on the rocky sides of which the king's suite descends, is a mixture of Raphael and Pinturicchio. The colour, abraded down to the cloth, leaves the drawing bare, and seems to have been originally of a pale yellow, slightly shadowed with grey.[1]

The two altarpieces of the Spineta and of the Ancajani, executed for convents in the vicinity of Spoleto, where Spagna usually lived, naturally suffer by comparison with pictures by Perugino and Raphael; yet they are of the greatest interest as evidence of the process by which an industrious and conscientious workman succeeded in combining the manner of his master with that of his comrade, and laid the foundation of a prosperous career by steadiness and attention. The mode in which he concentrated the individuality of Raphael, Perugino, and of Pinturicchio in productions of his own, is further illustrated in the large panel of S. Girolamo at Perugia,[2] where a vast inlaid throne, protected by a rich dais, is occupied by a beautiful Virgin and Child full of Raphaelesque freshness. A St. Jerome in sweeping draperies stands reading intently at one side, with St. Anthony behind him. St. John the Baptist on the other looks round towards the throne, to which he points, and St. Francis pensively pauses as he holds a book in both hands. The style which reveals Spagna in the two first and in the angel above them, is modified by a reminiscence of Pinturicchio in the two last, whilst an angel, hovering to the

[1] The angles of the frame contain two sybils, SS. Benedict and Scholastica. The ornament of the frame, which is of Spagna's time, has been renewed or retouched.

A drawing (No. 62, MS. Payne Knight, British Museum) is preserved, and has been assigned by PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, ii. 547, and WAAGEN, *Treasures*, i. 226) to Sanzio. It is described as a study for the young king, standing to the right in the Ancajani altarpiece. The attitude is not exactly the same, however, and the drawing is inverted. But this is a feeble school work.

The character of Spagna is more decidedly apparent in (No. 63, MS. Payne Knight, British Museum) a drawing of a group of horsemen and two figures on foot, in black point on slightly tinted yellow paper, with the lights in white. This sheet, once assigned to Raphael, is now under the name of Pinturicchio. The style is that of Spagna.

[2] Now in the Perugia Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 19.

left over the pair, resembles one by Vannucci. In the minute detail and symmetry of the distance, in the finish of the ornaments on the throne, in the cast of drapery in general, one is also reminded of Pinturicchio; but the hand is that of Spagna, whose talent is not sufficient to yield anything of great originality, and who supports himself as he best can by grafting on the old style of Vannucci and Bernardino the younger one of Sanzio, and thus produces a cento of no disagreeable kind, but still without the breath of independent genius. Most striking is the use of oil medium on the system pursued by Raphael at the beginning of his change to the Florentine manner, the pale colour being laid in on a white ground. Equally so are the leanness, dryness, and length of forms, and the bony development of articulations and extremities resembling those of the Milan Sposalizio.[1]

But the companionship of Spagna and Raphael is still more apparent in pieces now preserved in private English collections. In a charming little panel in oil at Stafford House in London, Christ crowned with thorns is depicted in the act of carrying the cross. He bends slightly under the dreadful load. His face, of a fine tone, is turned towards the spectator, and the delicate hair of head and beard waves lightly in the breeze. A clear sky verging to pale yellow where the distant hills impinge upon it, an undulating country of varied hues, with trees of simple branch and leaf, form a total so completely impregnated with Raphael's spirit that the picture bears his name.[2] The Saviour, indeed, is full of tender resignation; the touch is exquisite, the colour warm and pleasing, the landscape bright. The whole is worthy of Raphael, yet really by Spagna imitating Sanzio. The type and forms are less select and grand, the pose less simple and natural than Raphael's.

[1] The right side of the panel is most injured, a mishap distinctly marked also in the forehead of St. Francis, in the right hand and lower part of right leg of the Baptist. On a "cartello" in the panelling of the throne steps an inscription seems once to have stood, which is now illegible. The whole assigned by RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, iii. 57) to Raphael.

[2] No. 61. The catalogue of Stafford House contains a statement that the picture was formerly in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace in Florence, and that it was originally painted for the private chapel of Giovanni de' Medici, who was afterwards Leo X. An elaborate yellow-grey monochrome ornament gives richness to the small pilaster framing (wood, oil). [* This picture was not included in the Sutherland sale, July 11, 1913.]

The figure betrays an overstudied elegance, and the drapery an unnecessary repetition of folds in one direction. The colour is more remarkable for softness than force, more careful than bold and masterly. That which in Raphael is a natural gift, the undefinable something which gives its charm to everything he does, is wanting.[1]

Mr. Fuller Maitland's collection is enriched with another attractive specimen of Spagna's imitative capacity;[2] an adaptation on a small scale of Perugino's Christ on the Mount,[3] with the Redeemer in profile, the three sleeping apostles in the foreground slightly changed in attitude, the angel sent back into the distance, and the soldiers in rear in quiet action. Raphael is also credited with this picture. It has not, however, the ease and unstrained action, the sweetness and freshness, the charm of life which please in Sanzio even when his figures are least happy in proportions or general aspect. Nor is the colour in Mr. Maitland's panel treated with the great master's accustomed ease, or bright with his vivid and transparent tone. It has not the pure harmonic chord which vibrates to the depths of the spectator's heart. The difference between this Christ on the Mount and one that Raphael might have produced, is that which must always be discerned in comparing the creations of two men, one of whom is replete with genius, whilst the other is not.

Spagna, the least favoured of the two, is the author of Mr. Maitland's Christ on the Mount. Yet Mr. Passavant, in speaking of it as one of Raphael's youthful efforts,[4] supports his theory on a passage in Vasari, in which it is stated that a highly finished panel representing the subject was ordered by Guidubaldo of Urbino, and after many vicissitudes became the property of the monastery of the Camaldoles of Urbino.[5] From thence Mr. Passavant relates that it was taken to Gubbio, and preserved there in the family of the Gabrielli, one of the members of which had been prior of the Camaldoles, and thence to the Palazzo Gabrielli in

[1] On the other hand, we see the same stamp of art here as in the saints at Dudley House, known to be by Spagna.

[*2] It is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,032).

[3] Academy of Arts at Florence, No. 53 (see *antea*, p. 312 *sq*)

[4] *Life of Raphael*, i. 77-8, ii. 31.

[5] VASARI, *Life of Raphael*, iv. 323 *sq*.

Rome. But the whole of this story rests on a fanciful basis. The picture of Mr. Fuller Maitland is that which was in the Palazzo Gabrielli at Rome, but it is not that which Vasari mentions, unless we assume that he described it incorrectly. He distinctly states that the Saviour prays on the Mount, but that the apostles are asleep in the distance. At Mr. Maitland's the apostles are in the foreground. But even were it true that this very work was done for the Duke Guidubaldo, the name of Raphael would still be incorrect, and we must assume that Spagna executed it in oil at Raphael's request.[1]

The catalogue of the Spagnas in this class is hardly exhausted with the notice of a graceful and exquisitely finished little Virgin and Child, a distemper in the mode of the Ancajani altarpiece, exhibited under the name of Perugino in the Gallery of Rovigo.[2]

As early as 1507 Spagna begins to leave more certain traces of his passage through the towns surrounding Spoleto. In September of that year he promises a Coronation to the church of the Reformati of Monte Santo di Todi,[3] and agrees to imitate the altarpiece of S. Girolamo at Narni.[4] He stipulates for time, and is only ready to deliver in 1511.[5] As at Narni, where the painter

[1] Geheimerrath Dr. WAAGEN (*Treasures*, iii., p. 5) has already suggested that Spagna had a share in the work. It is in all but perfect preservation, with the exception of the head of the sixth soldier to the left, counting from the right-hand side of the panel. There are little bits of the drapery of St. Peter and St. John slightly abraded, a spot on the temple of the Saviour, and an abrasion of the halo.

[2] No. 42, Gallery of Rovigo. This is a half-length, with a vertical split through the Virgin's face, a little restored, of a pleasing warm colour, and somewhat flat. The Virgin's gilt nimbus is new (wood, 15 inches by 13).

* [3] This picture is now in the Communal Gallery of Todi.

[4] "Die 12 Septembris, actum Tuderti in pede plateæ magnæ presentibus domino Ludovico de Aptis et domino Julio de Tuderto . . testibus videlicet. Hector Joannis Rubri de Tuderto procurator loci Montis Santi . . . prope Tuertum sponte sua dedit et locavit ad faciendam unam tabulam seu ornamentum pro Ecclesia Montis Sancti magistro Joanni, alias Spagna, Yspano, pro qua ipse promittit dare manufactori ducatos ducentum auri, et dictam tabulam. . . dictus magister Joannes promittit facere pictam de auro cum coloribus et aliis rebus ad speciem et similitudinem tabulæ factæ in Ecc. Sancti Ieronymi de Narnia. . . ." (Contracts of the notary Gian Antonio di Ugolino Benedettoni, an. 1507, p. 148, in *Memorie storiche di Todi*, by Lorenzo LEONI, *u.s.*, p. 119).

* [5] Between 1507 and 1511 Spagna moved about a good deal. On August 3, 1508, he, at Todi, received payment for the painting of a curtain for the church of S. Maria della Consolazione. Fifteen days later we find him at Macerata, pledging

is an assistant in Domenico Ghirlandaio's atelier, the Saviour crowns the Virgin, on clouds supported by cherubs' heads, under a conical canopy held up by seraphs, in the centre of a company of angels, prophets, and sybils. On the meadow below, St. Francis kneels in the midst of a score of saints, prominent amongst whom are SS. Jerome, Louis, Bernardino, and John the Baptist. The arching of the upper part is a border with cherubs' heads; and three niches in each pilaster contain SS. James, Mary Magdalen, Louis, Giovanni Capistrano, Catherine, and Bernardino. A better proof of the subordinate talent of Spagna can scarcely be found than is here afforded. The clever and conscientious Spaniard, who commonly imitates the manner of the Umbrians, is now willing to take an entire composition from a Florentine; and he does so with comparative success, moulding the figures according to his own familiar type, and tinting them after his own fashion. It is not difficult to select some fine forms and heads, particularly in females and angels, but in general his tendency is to exaggerate the usual length of the human frame, and he often fails to give it the proper life and breadth. The round faces are not unfrequently vulgar in look and in feature, and there is a want of breed in the coarse feet and in the large long palms of short-fingered hands attached to thick-set wrists. His study of drapery is superficial, and the result too often unmeaning festoon. The flesh-tints also are not those of healthy individuals in whose veins the red blood flows, on whose cheek it mantles. They are pale and sickly, shadowed with earthy grey, and therefore slight in relief. They are untransparent and raw.[1] Spagna's adaptation of Perugino's

himself to fulfil his obligations as a member of that community. On December 14 of the same year he at Todi acknowledges receipt of fifty-seven ducats, being part of the payment for the Monte Santo altarpiece. On April 17, September 30, and October 4, 1510, he is recorded to have been at Recanati; but by June 6, 1511, he was back at Todi (see GIANUIZZI, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. i., p. 81; ROSSI, *u.s.*, p. 313 *sq.*).

[1] Three of the male saints in the glory to the right are discoloured by sunlight. The picture is 9½ feet by 7¾, wood, with the "MDXI" at the base. The figures now in the pilaster frame seem the same as those in Dudley House. But they are in oil, whilst those of Dudley House are distemper pieces. The pilaster saints at Todi are more modern in appearance than the rest of the picture, and perhaps they are copied from older ones. They are, at all events, replicas of those which belong to Lord Dudley.

manner was thus incomplete, as he did not master the science of colouring, nor compensate for its absence by feeling. His cold and mechanical treatment seems incompatible with the attainment of perfect atmosphere.

In order to copy the Narni altarpiece, it was necessary that Spagna should visit that place. Two saints, the Beato Bernardino da Feltre, and St. Anthony of Padua in S. Girolamo of Narni might prove that he had been there, though they cannot be taken as good specimens of his skill.[1]

At Todi it is said that he painted six of the cathedral chapels;[2] and the remnants of a Trinity in fresco transferred with success to a wall in the Duomo, shows that when he worked there his style was in its prime and of the fullest breadth.[3]

In the Coronation, which he completed immediately after 1511 on the model of that of Todi, for the Franciscans of S. Martino near Trevi,[4] he repeated many saints in reversed position, as he

[1] Bernardino is represented on panel with the symbol of the Mons Pietatis, which he founded, in his hand. At his feet a miniature figure kneels in prayer. The medium is oil, the work done at one painting, of a low reddish tone, showing the under preparation. . . . Some flakes of colour are scaled off. This piece is to the left in the church as one faces the high-altar. The panel in which St. Anthony stands with a child at his feet is let into a circular panel. He holds the lily and shows the flame. The tone is also low and of thin substance. A third panel of a saint holding a calix in the same church seems by another and coarser hand.

* [2] Payments were made to him on October 9, 1513, for paintings in the chapel of "M. Agamemnone," and on February 11, 1515, for paintings in the chapel of "Donna Clarice," who later caused him to paint yet another chapel, dedicated to S. Fortunato. He received various rates of payment for this work between November 10 and December 30, 1525 (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 314 *sq.*).

[3] The Eternal, under life-size, is broadly treated, as likewise the fleshy form of the crucified Redeemer. There is some heaviness in the proportions, which are, however, correct. The drapery is festooned. The flesh is stippled over verde, of a reddish tinge.

A S. Bernardino da Feltre on panel in the interior of the convent of Monte Santo is less able. This is a panel about 2 feet high, split vertically down the middle. The saint holds a banner on which one reads "curã illius ab Mons Pietat." The painting is a little flat and hard.

[4] The upper glory of this Coronation is dimmed by time and dust. Two angels flying at the sides of the canopy are repeated from those of Todi. The frame is not filled with saints, but with arabesques. Two rounds in the spandrils of the arched portion contain the Virgin and the angel annunciate. Up till shortly before 1866 two pieces of the predella (wood, oil, 2 feet by 15 inches) were above the door in the church choir. They represented St. Francis receiving the stigmata with

ad learned to do in the school of Perugino, and he reduced the otal number of personages considerably. He placed a very raceful Magdalen and St. Catherine at the sides of the foreground, nd in the distance a view of the convent and church of S. Fran- esco at Assisi, as seen from the mill on the old road from Sterpeto o the sanctuary. His drawing and colour on panel remain nchanged.[1]

A more successful production of the same period is the fresco f the Assumption, dated 1512, in the dead-house of the convent. t is far less crowded than the Coronations, and abler in conception nd design. The Virgin in her almond-shaped halo stands in a rand and natural attitude, and the cherubs in the glory are worthy f Perugino. Two angels in prayer at her sides would be charming ere the long stiff frames lined out with grace equal to that of he heads. As it is, the stiffness strikes one as akin to that of the lanets in Perugino's ceiling at the Cambio of Perugia. SS. erome, John the Baptist, Francis, and Anthony of Padua, looking p as they kneel, are amongst the finest things of Spagna, the tter especially full of inspired tenderness. The cast of drapery s excellent, especially in the saints in monkish dress, and the pale ellow flesh-lights are fused with ease into the reddish stippling f the half-tones and shadows. Yet the failings traceable through he Spineta and Ancajani altarpieces upwards are not entirely bsent.[2]

More curious, however, and perhaps of greater interest, are the rescoes in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi. In lunette, S. Ubaldo in benediction sits between rows of kneeling ionks, whilst an angel holds up an open book out of which he eads, and others attend with his crozier and mitre. In the Deposition from the Cross, beneath the lunette, as in the chief

e attendant friar (figures with long frames and small heads) and St. Martin aring his cloak with the beggar. These pieces were missing at a later visit. he altarpiece is of the same size as that of Todi, and of the same period. [* This tarpiece was really ordered from him on July 10, 1522. See Leonj, in *Giornale erudizione artistica*, iii. 174 *sqq.*]

* [1] Both the Coronation and the two pieces of the predella are now in the ommunal Gallery at Trevi.

[2] On the lower edge of the fresco is the date "MDXII," the last cipher abraded. art of the cheek and three fingers of one of the hands in the Virgin are gone.

personage of the lunette itself, a distant reminiscence of Raphael may be discovered. The Deposition is taken from that in the Borghese palace at Rome, or from one of the numerous drawings sketched previous to its completion. But at Trevi the composition is transferred to the wall in Spagna's manner, the figures being slender and square, and carried out with his cold and unwearying diligence.[1] On the pilasters of the altar two canvases contain St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Cecilia in natural proportions, both nicely poised and drawn, with a fair share of elegance and refinement in their appearance.[2] Had not Spagna renewed his companionship with Raphael at Rome, he could scarcely have done anything so redolent of the great master; but the question arises, Where may Spagna and Raphael have met again? Could they have seen each other at Florence or at Rome? Proofs of Spagna's residence at Florence are not forthcoming, nor is there direct evidence of his stay at Rome, but the existence of certain frescoes there might circumstantially confirm it.

The summer residence of La Magliana, enlarged by Julius II., was frequently used in the sixteenth century for parties of pleasure. A chapel in the interior of the edifice, erected under the superintendence of the Cardinal of Pavia, was adorned with frescoes of the Annunciation and Visitation, a Martyrdom of St. Felicity, and the Eternal in benediction. Although damage of various kinds has been done to these wall-paintings, in the first instance by the opening of a door between the Virgin and the Angel of the Annun-

[1] These frescoes are injured by a flaw running down the centre of the wall. Part of the angel holding the crozier has scaled away with the lime of the wall. The head of Christ in the Entombment is rubbed off and retouched, and that of a spectator nearest to the man carrying the Saviour's body at the shoulders is new. The Virgin on the left is in great part damaged. Indeed, the whole of the left side of the wall is in a bad condition. A saint is painted in a niche to the left of the Entombment, a St. Joseph in another niche to the right. Above are two half-length prophets in medallions on mosaic ground.

[2] St. Catherine holds a book and a sword. Her face is a little vulgar. The blue background is repainted and opaque. The St. Cecilia plays the pipes. Her head is neatly attired, and the feet and hands are better drawn than usual. On the ground are a flute, tambourine, and music. The flesh is not so well preserved as in the St. Catherine, and the shadows have become black. But Spagna's execution of the figures in tempera is better than usual. Both are life-size. [* These pictures are now in the Communal Gallery of Trevi (Nos. 63 and 66).]

ciation, and by a breach of large dimensions in the Martyrdom; in the next place by the transfer of the remains to canvas in St. Cecilia at Rome, there is enough left for forming a judgment upon them. The Annunciation and Visitation are like designs by Perugino carried out by Spagna. The grouping, movement, and types are affected, tender, and graceful. The Virgin's head in the Visitation is distinctly Peruginesque, and the two angels at the sides, with their arms across, recall those in song in the sky of the Spineta Nativity.[1] The most important variation of these pieces from one by Perugino is in the drawing, the faulty nature of which points directly to Spagna. In the Annunciation, lively movements are marred by the exaggerated manner in which the extremities are cramped. The drapery also is like that of Perugino's declining years, or that of the Coronation and Crucifixion of 1502 at S. Francesco al Monte of Perugia. The colour is that of the Entombment at Trevi, of a pale yellow flesh shaded with greenish grey, without much relief or mass of chiaroscuro. The handling is also like Spagna's. The Martyrdom of St. Felicity is scarcely recognizable in its mutilated condition. But the composition is exactly that of Raphael, as engraved by Marc Antonio, though the execution apparently remained in Spagna's hands, as the colour resembles his in the Entombment of Trevi.

The Eternal is a noble conception in the spirit of Raphael's best time. The splendid turn of the Father's frame as he looks down from the glory by which he is surrounded, with his left hand open, and the right raised above the forehead in token of blessing, is full of swing, whilst the two angels at his sides casting flowers from out of the clouds are admirably conceived. These figures are so fine as to leave no room for doubting they were designed by Raphael, of the same stamp as the Sacrifice of Abraham, Moses and the Burning Bush, and the Dream of Jacob, in the Hall of Heliodorus at the Vatican, or the mosaics at S. Maria del Popolo. But the composition is not carried out by its creator. It is drawn with some hardness and want of feeling. The draperies are an adaptation of Raphael's grand cast without the necessary study of the forms beneath it. The handling is cold, the colour pleasing, but wanting in atmosphere and relief, and treated without

[1] The angel to the right is somewhat injured.

breadth.[1] Spagna, not Giulio Romano, or Penni, would have worked out a sketch of Raphael in this way. It might be that in the Annunciation and Visitation he used a cartoon of Perugino's school, taking for the two other frescoes one from Raphael. The impression in general seems to be that the whole series is by the same artist. Spagna's imitation of Perugino and Sanzio would thus be very tangibly proved.[2]

After much wandering in this wise between the capital and cities in the valleys of the Tiber and its confluents, Spagna determined to settle permanently in one spot with his family, and he chose Spoleto for this purpose, perhaps because his wife, who was a native of those parts, desired it, perhaps because the town was centrally situated with respect to places in which he found most employment.

Before the death of Julius II. in 1513 he had painted the arms of that pontiff for the Public Palace at Spoleto in the usual form, with two fine compositions of Charity and Clemency at the sides, and Justice in a lunette above them. It is curious to mark the resemblance between the first of these subjects and Marc Antonio's engraving from Raphael's Charity. One sees how much more successful Spagna was when he imitated Sanzio than when he took Perugino or Pinturicchio for his models.[3] He doubtless adorned the whole of the space in part filled up by these arms; and the whitewash on the walls may yet conceal some of his frescoes.[4]

[1] The ground in this fresco, which was blue, is now bared to the red under preparation, and only a few spots of the blue remain.

[* 2] These frescoes are no longer in S. Cecilia, and the editor has no clue to their present whereabouts. On the other hand, the Capitol Gallery at Rome contains a series of frescoes reproducing Apollo and the nine muses (Nos. 1–10), formerly in the Magliana, and surely by Spagna.

[3] The bust of Julius is held up in a circular frame by a naked figure under it. The keys are supported by two angels (draperies of lower figure and keys new). The upper lunette is much damaged, and contains Justice with the balance and two angels in front, on clouds pointing at the allegorical figure. The head of the latter is coarse and common. Pilasters separate the central compartment containing the arms from those at the sides filled with the subjects of Charity and Clemency. In the former, a female gives the breast to a child, whilst another child stands by. Clemency is seated with her hand on the head of a kneeling man. The pilasters are adorned with arabesques. [* This fresco is now in the Communal Gallery of Spoleto (No. 40).]

[4] Above a door in this hall, two angels in a niche (fresco) seem also by Spagna. [* Now in the Communal Gallery of Spoleto (No. 34).]

Almost every year brings to light some specimen of his skill in Spoleto, and lately[1] a fine life-size Virgin and Child of good movement and powerful tone has been recovered above the first altar to the right in S. Ansano.[2]

A crucifixion may also be seen in a very bad condition at the sides of the Oratorio di S. Pietro Martire in S. Domenico;[3] a Virgin and Child amongst saints, and other wall-paintings, in the ex-monastery della Stella.[4]

Spagna's masterpiece of this period, however, is the fresco of the Infant Christ erect, with the orb, on the lap of the Virgin, seated between SS. Jerome and Francis, Catherine and Brizio, once a portion of a decoration in the citadel of Spoleto, and since taken down for transfer to the Palazzo Communale. A scutcheon in the lunette is held up by children of ungainly aspect, yet reminiscent of the Raphaelesque, and the pilasters are neatly dressed with arabesques. Great freshness and a pleasing air give charm to the Infant Christ and to the Virgin and saints. A clear, well-fused, and transparent colour adds to their beauty, yet a general coldness is prevalent, and there is some want of expression and feeling in the slender figures.[5]

*1 *I.e.*, shortly before 1866.

2 There are traces of a St. Roch on the right, and of an angel above him. The colour, of much impasto, as in S. Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi. [* Compare on this fresco, Sordini, in *Rassegna d' arte*, vii. 81 *sqq.*]

3 Four angels hover about the cross. Below (from left to right), a St. Jerome of the seventeenth century, St. Vincent, the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalen (head new), St. Peter Martyr at the foot of the tree looking up, St. John Evangelist and St. Dominic (repainted). To the right of the Crucifixion are traces of a St. Francis receiving the stigmata. The angels are full of movement, and recall the manner of Gaudenzio Ferrari.

4 The first of these, in the entrance hall, represents the Virgin and Child enthroned, attended by an angel, between SS. Augustine and Stephen. The Child's movement is the same, in a reversed position, as that of 1516 in S. Francesco at Assisi.

In the same place are school frescoes, perhaps by Jacopo Siculo, much injured, of SS. Agatha and Barbara, an Assumption of the Virgin, with headless apostles below it, and in an upper hall a Virgin and Child between SS. Augustine and Peter Martyr, with an Eternal in a lunette.

5 An inscription beneath the fresco tells how it was removed from the citadel in 1800. There are abraded spots in the lower part of the faces of St. Jerome, St. Francis, and the Virgin, in the neck of St. Catherine and the mouth of S. Brizio.

Equally important are the altarpiece of the cappella S. Stefano in S. Francesco at Assisi, which was completed in July, 1516,[1] and the frescoes in the cell of St. Francis at S. Maria degli Angeli. The irregular hexagon of the latter is filled with portraits of saints, chiefly of the Franciscan Order, in various action and natural gesture, conversing or in thought, and the more successfully wrought as models were not wanting to Spagna when he composed the groups. They are drawn with great firmness of hand, rounded successfully, and coloured in a powerful and rich tone. Some heads are full of life and animation, and almost attain a Florentine plasticity of relief.[2] The altarpiece at S. Francesco of Assisi is the best of its kind that Spagna ever produced. It recalls Raphael in the narrow oval of the face and the elegant shape of the Virgin who sits on a high throne between SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Francis, and a nun, a friar, S. Chiara, and St. Louis the King. Of the latter the head is fine and interesting. The St. Catherine is dignified in attitude and chaste in mien, and the draperies are broader and better than usual. The Infant Christ is well proportioned, though perhaps a little feeble of limb. Two angels kneeling on clouds are in pretty attitudes of prayer.[3]

After his return from Assisi[4] Spagna received the freedom of

The Virgin's dress has also partly scaled away. The pilasters supporting the cornice and lunette are pleasantly adorned. [* This fresco is now in the Communal Gallery of Spoleto (No. 43).]

*1 It was ordered on January 18, 1516 (see Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 314).

2 The figures are all seen to the knees, and fill a perpendicular space equal to three feet. They are on four sides of the hexagon, and inclosed by ornamented pilasters and a cornice, above and below. There is also a fine arabesque with children and monsters in the vaulting of the chapel entrance. The ceiling is blue, with stars. Amongst the saints to the left, S. Bonaventura holding a red hat and pointing with the right hand, is injured. To the right an oblique split cuts the frame of a reading monk and the head of another figure. This fresco was restored in 1766 by Girolamo Stampa. See *Glorie della Sacra Porziuncula*, Perugia, 1858, *u.s.*, p. 83.

In the sacristy of S. Maria degli Angeli is a panel with a Virgin and Child, much in Spagna's manner.

3 On the base one reads: "AD. MCCCCCXVI. XV Julii." The marble floor is restored, the step of the throne and its side are ornamented in Pinturicchio's fashion. The altarpiece is in oil (7 feet by 5½). The Virgin's figure is ill-restored, and the blue draperies renewed.

*4 He had visited other places in the meantime. On August 13 he, at Todi, agreed to paint the "Tabernacolo dell' Organo" in the cathedral; the two half-

he city of Spoleto (December 7, 1516), "in consideration of his rusty and honorable character during a long residence," his fee or this privilege being a painted cloth for the table of the public alace.[1] On the last day of August of the following year he was lected Captain of the Guild of St. Luke.[2]

From that time till 1521 his career glides noiselessly on, and aves no trace behind.[3] Still it has its regular and not unteresting chronology. We resume acquaintance with him in he church of S. Maria d'Arone, where he decorates an apse and emi-dome in company with Vincenzo Tamagni. In the latter a oronation of the Virgin, with the usual array of saints, sybils nd angels, reminds one of Spagna, whilst a Nativity and a Death f the Virgin on the circular face of the apse, and four saints in ilasters, seem the work of Tamagni imitating Lippi and Michael ngelo. The words, "Restauratum in honore Virginis MDXXI." the border of the semi-dome, and those of "Vincentius de sčo emignano et Joānes de Spoleto faciebant," under a window-sill ave no doubt as to the authorship or as to the period, but the wer frescoes being clear imitations of those of Fra Filippo, and he inscription making allusion to a restoration, suggest the robability of wall-paintings having previously existed in S. Maria Arone.[4]

ngths of SS. Peter and Paul, noticed by the authors (*postea*, p. 443), are fragments this work. On November 11 the Chapter of the Cathedral of Todi granted agna the use of the old Scuola dei chierici as long as he would need it. Ten days er the painter had been arrested at Macerata for walking in the streets with his ord, but was released by the Municipal Council (Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 315; Gianuizzi, ., p. 81).

[1] "Actenta fide et virtute . Magistri Johannis . . . Hyspani pictoris excelntiss. qui in dicta Civitate plurimos annos degens nupsit" (Mariotti, *Lett.*, ., note to pp. 195, 196). [2] *Ib.*, *ib.*

[3] Rossi (*u.s.*, p. 315) notices a Virgin of the Rosary, adored by Dominican ars and nuns, seen by him in the Spiridon collection at Rome, and signed: Io. Hispanus pinx. A.D. MDXX." The present whereabouts of this picture is t known.

[4] Three angels support the cloud on which the Virgin is crowned, a golden halo rrounding her and the Redeemer. They are attended by six angels in Spagna's g and lanky form. Amongst the saints kneeling to the left, one is St. John. To right the sybils are in prayer. The left side of the lunette is injured. Ornanted borders separate the Coronation from the lower course of frescoes. The asters contain SS. Paul and Roch, Peter and Sebastian, the latter a grotesque

The same subject of the Coronation in the semi-dome of th parish church of Gavelli outside Spoleto bears the remains of mutilated date and Spagna's name. Beneath it, on the walls, ar figures of saints and the Miracle of St. Michael on Mount Garganc The Coronation is coloured in the style of the fresco in the Palazz at Spoleto, and repeats the general features of those of Narni an Todi, the conical canopy being omitted. In the thickness of th fore-arch are the Evangelists and Doctors, in the sides above th vaulting the Virgin and the angel annunciate. The best place i the middle of the curve is given to St. Michael trampling a monste under his armed heels, striking him with the point of his lance at the same time that he holds a balance which the monster strive to turn on his side with the help of a grappling-iron. In thi unartistic concatenation of incidents we may trace the will of som rustic patron, but the figure itself, square in frame and round o head, betrays Spagna's want of style in drawing, though it is stil essentially Peruginesque in general character. A St. Peter i festooned dress, a St. Paul near him in Raphaelesque movement both feebly treated by assistants, are to the left of St. Michael, th miracle on Mount Gargano to the right.[1] On the walls of tw large altar niches at the sides of the tribune there are frescoes o the Virgin in glory with various saints on the foregrounds, S Jerome being the principal one on the altar sacred to his name St. Sebastian prominent on the other. At the foot of the first, on reads: "... Hoc Sacellum pingendum mandavit anno D. M. D XXIII."; at the base of the second: "..... anno D ..... The whole decoration of the Gavelli church is evidently by Spagn and his aids, the hands of the latter being particularly visible i

imitation of Michael Angelo's style by Tamagni. In the Nativity, the child i a little reminiscent of Spagna's manner. Above the Death of the Virgin hangs a imitated picture of the Virgin giving the girdle to St. Thomas, between two ficti niches in which are statues of Faith and Charity. The place in which these fresco are is very dark, and the paintings very dim.

[1] The blue grounds of the Coronation have been abraded, and are now whi plaster. The figures to the left are much injured. The subjects are parted b pilasters with grotesques, in dead colour on yellow ground. On a scroll fastene to the right pilaster one reads: "Johĕ Hyspano MD. . . . p." [* According t Sig. Sordini (*u.s.*, p. 82), the signature should read: "Johe Hyspano pentore M.D.XVIII."] Gavelli is in the hills, outside the S. Jacomo gate of Spoleto, ride of eight hours.

the round fresco at the altar of S. Girolamo, the period of the execution probably 1524.[1]

Clear evidence of Spagna's industry may likewise be found in the church of S. Giovanni at Eggi, where the tribune is covered with frescoes in his usual manner. There are remnants of a Baptism of Christ between SS. Roch and Sebastian in the apsidal curve, a Virgin and Child in glory between two angels in the spring of it; the first a very exaggerated imitation of Perugino and Pinturicchio, the second influenced by contact with Raphael.

On the face above the semi-dome the Eternal on clouds sends the dove to the Virgin annunciate on the right, the angel kneeling to the left, the latter also Peruginesque and in contrast with the Raphaelesque air of the Eternal.[2]

Again in the tribune of S. Jacopo outside Spoleto we have St. James with incidents of his life and a Coronation of the Virgin, the

[1] The fresco at the altar of S. Girolamo is very much altered by damp, especially in the upper part, where one sees a Virgin and Child and traces of angels to the right, those to the left having entirely disappeared. Below is St. Jerome between SS. Anthony of Padua and Francis, the latter figures also nearly ruined by moisture. But the execution of this work is rude, and is probably due to Spagna's assistants.

The Virgin in glory at the altar of St. Sebastian is better. The Virgin is fair, though not perfect in proportion. The St. Sebastian bound to a tree, on the left, is a fine figure, stained by damp. The movement of St. Catherine of Alexandria, next him, on her knees, is not without life. St. Apollonia also kneels (lower part damaged), and the Baptist, right, points towards the Virgin. The fresco is in an ornament, two victories filling the sides above the arched glory.

[2] The whole of the lower part of this Baptism is new, as well as a St. Jerome in a pilaster to the left, St. Xaverius on that to the right, and the Virgin Annunciate above the semi-dome. [* According to Count Gnoli, in *Bollettino d' arte*, iii. 16. 2, the figure interpreted by the authors as St. Xaverius is St. James. The inscription, "Franciscus Xaverius," under it is the name of the donor, just as the inscription, "questa figura ha f(atto) f(are) Alinoro," under the St. Jerome gives us the name of the donor of that figure.] The St. Sebastian is extensively injured. The red tunic of the Virgin in glory is renewed, as is likewise the ground below. In the Baptism the figures are inordinately long, the St. Sebastian particularly round headed, with a thin waist, broad hips, and paltry limbs. The angel annunciate is graceful enough, but long, lean, and draped in festoons. It is necessary to remember that Spagna at this time, being a master, suffers also from the rapid carelessness of assistants. The colour, as usual, is pale yellow without much relief, the hatching blackened by time. The drawing is more than usually mannered, and the flesh is flabby and hangs in disagreeable wrinkles. Count Gnoli (*u.s.*, p. 16) has deciphered under the Baptism (reproduced, *l.*, p. 15) the inscription: "(Questa) opera la fatta fare li heredi de Antonio de Jufinu adi X de iuliu AD MDXXXII."]

inevitable subject of Spagna in these parts. Imitating in Todi and Trevi a school work of Ghirlandaio's atelier, he copies at S. Jacopo actions of sybils and saints from Fra Filippo's frescoes in the cathedral of Spoleto. Yet he still maintains to the last the careful system of handling and finish characteristic of his earlier years.[1] But in the side chapels of S. Jacopo, Spagna also laboured, and whilst the apsis is inscribed with the date of 1526,[2] the lateral altar to the left bears that of 1527, at which date no doubt the St. Sebastian, between SS. Fabian and Roch, beneath a Virgin, Child, and angels, was completed.[3] It was not till 1528 that Spagna obtained payment for these frescoes. They were, however, about the last which he painted, and a record of 1533 is preserved in which his widow Santina receives a final balance of one florin for the pictorial decoration of the edifice. It would seem indeed as if he had died before 1530, when Dono Doni finished the altar opposite to that of St. Sebastian,[4] covering the space with a Virgin and a St. Anthony of Padua between two saints.[5]

[1] This fresco has been varnished, and is consequently much injured. The left side of the semi-dome especially is altered by damp, the heads of St. John the Baptist and two others being almost gone. The blue mantle of Christ has partly scaled. The lower part of the figure of St. James in the middle of the apse is new. There is a Raphaelesque air in an Angel Annunciate within a medallion at the side of the arch of the semi-dome, and the Virgin opposite is a fine half-length. The St. James a little feeble. In the fresco to the right, which represents St. James restoring the two roast cocks to life, the figures are academic. In that to the left, where the saint rescues the hanging man, the figures are short in proportions. In the pilasters are a fine St. Lucy and St. Apollonia, near which on the vanishing faces one reads: "Año Dñi MDXXVI."

[*2] On April 8 of this year he was commissioned to paint the apse of the church of Scheggino, near Spoleto. He did begin this work, but it was finished by one Piermarino di Castel S. Felice. The frescoes in question were whitewashed in the eighteenth century, but have lately been recovered (see PIRRI, in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, ii. 39 *sqq.*).]

[3] The Sebastian in this fresco is pleasing, but the Virgin, Child, and angels are badly preserved; the blue mantle of the first being repainted, the frame of the second and the glory of cherubs' heads done afresh. Of the angels at the side one (left) has no head, the other is ruined. The lower parts of the SS. Fabian and Roch are restored. As at Gavelli, the drawing is mannered and defective, the touch broad and from a full brush. [* This fresco is reproduced in *Bollettino d' arte*, iii. 18.]

[*4] It would seem that he was still living in July, 1532, which is the date inscribed under the Baptism at Eggi (*cf. antea*, p. 439, n. 2).

[5] 1526.—*Spoleto. S. Jacopo.*

The following list will comprise the remaining genuine performances of Spagna, those in which his disciples had a part, and those that are without reason assigned to him:

Bettona (near Assisi). Collegiate Church. Cloth. St. Anne, in an almond-shaped glory, shelters the Virgin and Child under her cloak, warding off darts that fall from the Eternal in an upper medallion. On the foreground of a landscape, in which is a view of Bettona, kneel SS. Crispoldo and Anthony of Padua. In the spandrils of the arch

In nome dm̃j Amen.

Adì ij de Septẽbre 1526.

Mãstro Johi pictore fo cõfesso havere receputi fino al pñte di s. parte della pintura della trebuna de Sc̃o Jac̃o ϒ tutto ff. sexantã sei . . . . ff. 66.

Adì 21 Octobre 1526.

piu ebbe decti maestro Joani pictore p parte del suo salario ossia p la pintura della capella grande florini ventiquatro ff. 24. p la mano de brunoro de Sancto et tomasio deputaro de Sc̃o Jac̃ō.—(hand of administrator).

In nom̃e dom̃j—

Adì ij di 7bre 1526.

Dō fuschino ha pagati ducati uno d'oro promissi p la pintura della tribuna — ff. 2. bolognini 4.

(Follow thirty other subscriptions of the same nature.)

Adì 26 de' Dec̃bre 1527.

Ricordo facto adì 26 Dec̃bre come . . ϒ questo dì ho rec̃uto fiorini decivotto pc̃to de la tribuna—

Me restano debictore de fiorini dodece et f.

Jo scrisse de mō propria
Lo Spagna pẽtore.

Recor̃ō et memoria fact° adì 2 de febraro 1528 come jo Jov̄a sopradicto lo Spagna ho recevuto da fr̃aceso et piac̃te suo cõpagno p cõto de la capella de Sãto sebastiano fō (fino) al pres̃te dì fioreni tresta (30) et quatro cõputate duj some et mezza de mosto (wine) et ītranoi (intra noi) p il cõto d̄ la capella de Sãto Antonio.

"In Spagna's own hand."

"Jo mastro Jov̄a sopradicto lo Spagna pectore me facio confesso d̄ essere entieramente pagato di fiorini ciento e trenta dela pictura de la tribuna p le mane d. brunoro e tomasso suo compagno. adì 29 de febraro 1528." (Autograph.)

Adī 7 de Giugno 1530.

Jo francescho et piacente avemo speso p. calcina tolta da brenato (? Bernardo) . . . p diciotto (18) coppe monta in tucto ff. 1. bbi 17.

Adì 30 de lullo 1530.

pur havimo dati a mastro dono per la capella de Sac̃to Antonio ff 12. (Hand of administrator.)

encircling the upper group are two prophets in rounds. St. Crispoldo has a saw imbedded in his skull. There is much softness in this piece, which is tinged with Spagna's usual cold yellow colour; but the forms and faces are Peruginesque, reminiscent of those in a canvas (oil) at S. Bernardino of Perugia (now in Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 9) by Perugino. Much loss of tone has resulted from injury done to the banner ($6\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$).

Bettona (*near*). *Church* (*abandoned*) *of S. Simone.* In this edifice are frescoes of a low class, betraying the influence of Spagna, but see *postea* (Tiberio d'Assisi).

Assisi (*near*). *Church Alla Rocchicciola* (seven miles from the sanctuary of S. Francesco). Fresco in Spagna's manner, but somewhat feeble: the Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua; in a triangular lunette the Eternal between two angels. (The Virgin's mantle new.)[1]

Terni (*one mile outside*). *S. Maria delle Grazie.* Tempera on canvas about a plaster statue of the crucified Saviour, hanging at the side of the choir near the high-altar, but much injured. The Virgin, Mary Magdalen, SS. Francis and John Evangelist, seem by Spagna.

Amelia. Cathedral. Wood. Last Supper, a rude production of

Adì 30 de julij 1530.

Jo dono doni d'Assisi ho auto da francesco piacente Santesi (Santese means administrator) della ciesa di Santi Jaco̅ p conto della capella quale prezo ? auto in due volte dodici fiorini et cosi scrivo di mia mano ff. 12.

E piu ho avuto adi 22 di Septe̅b 1530 p el sopradicto conto ff. 16.

Adì 13 ottobre 1530.

Jo bolondino petore dassisi mi chiamo avere recevuti fiorini sette da francesco e piacente d̃ Antonio Santese della chiesa d̃ sancto Jaco̅ per ultimo pagamento dela capella d̃ Sancto Antonio, e io belardino supra dicto fo fine quetanza p comesione d̃ dono pintore d asisi fine al presente dì doggi qualunque cosa—avesse avuto a fare co̅ loco.

Adì 28 del mese d̃ octobre 1533.

Jo frate r̃cagelo da Mo̅tefalcho fe̅t (fattore) d̃ S^to^ Nicolo di Spulite fo questa presente fede e scritto in nome d̃ Sa̅tina moglie gia d̃ mastro Johañs alˢ lo Spagna. Como a dicto di dicta Sa̅tina a receuto da Francisco d̃ Cardarello Santese d̃ la chiesse d̃ S^to^ Jaco̅ fiorino uno p ultimo pagamento d̃'una capella quale haveva gia pe̅ta in la chiessa d̃ Sco̅ Jaco̅ el do̅ m° Johañs la dicta Satina sechiama satisfacta del tucto e cusi lei ne fa fine quetanza.—

Extract from a book of various memoranda and payments MS. in the Archivio Parocchiale of S. Jacopo of Spoleto.

* [1] Reproduced in *Rassegna d' arte*, x. 96.

the close of the sixteenth century, to which undue attention was lately given. (A copy of it has been made for 400 scudi.)

Montefalco. Collegiate Church of S. Bartolommeo (misprinted "S. Matromeo" in PASSAVANT'S *Life of Raphael*, i. 510, and the error copied into VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, com., vol. vi., p. 54). St. Catherine between SS. Vincent and Nicholas (wood, 4½ feet high, gold ground, and split), with stamped nimbuses. The best of these is St. Catherine, especially as to the head, but there is little relief, a fault extending to the other saints. The colouring is light and rosy, with thin verde shadows coldly and carefully handled. The first impression created is that of a picture by an Umbrian striving to imitate the style of Fra Filippo's works at Spoleto. The hand is that of Spagna or one of his pupils, perhaps Bernardino Campilius (see *antea*, in Fra Filippo).[1]

Todi. Duomo. (Wood, oil.) St. Peter, bony and ill proportioned. St. Paul (wood, oil). Both knee pieces, split vertically, of Spagna's latest period, or by one of his disciples, done at one painting with thin body of colour; the grounds here and there scaled off.[2]

Deruta. Church of S. Anna, of old S. Jacopo del Borgo. Remains of the upper part of a Crucifixion in fresco—*i.e.*, Christ to the knee, the head of a saint to the left, part of a head of the Magdalen, in the character of Spagna's advanced age.

Perugia. S. Pietro. Cappella S. Martino, upper floor of convent. Semi-dome fresco. Eternal between angels, and Virgin enthroned between SS. Nicholas and Martin; landscape distance. The Eternal is Raphaelesque in movement, the angels at the sides Peruginesque in type. The Virgin has a small head and slender neck. She holds a plump Infant naked on her lap, whose forms are also reminiscent of Sanzio. The nude, however, is faulty, and the hands are short. Whilst the Eternal reminds one of Eusebio, the Virgin and Child recalls Spagna. The colour is warm, and like that of the Entombment at the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi; the outlines coarse. This fresco, first injured by damp, was in 1859 mutilated by soldiers quartered in the building, who stabbed the heads with their bayonets. The name of Ingegno has been affixed to this work, but we await records to confirm his existence.

Same Church, last chapel to the left. This chapel was at one period entirely covered with subjects. The Annunciation may still be seen

*1 The facial types, the drawing of the hands, the monumental quality of the design, and other features, indicate that this picture—which is now in S. Francesco at Montefalco—is a work by Antoniasso Romano (*cf.* GNOLI, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, p. 43; GOTTSCHEWSKI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, ii , 151 *sqq.*).

*2 *Cf. antea*, p. 436, n. 4

(life-size) beneath a window, with arabesques in some lunettes, and a renewed figure of the Eternal in a blue starred ceiling. Assigned to Pinturicchio. The colour is now rough and red, and it is difficult to decide who laboured here, whether Pinturicchio, Eusebio, or Spagna.[1]

Same Church, choir. Virgin and Child, with two angels, so restored as to forbid an opinion. (Assigned by CONSTANTINI, *Guida*, p. 27, to Spagna.)

Perugia. Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 18. Lunette in its old frame (wood, oil). Eternal in benediction amidst angels. Colour grey, cold, slightly relieved, and of thin substance. This piece is like Spagna's at S. Jacopo of Spoleto. (Called Spagna, PASSAVANT, *Raphael*, i. 510; MEZZANOTTE, *u.s.*, p. 235.)

Perugia. S. Domenico, sacristy (now Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 22). Arched panel (oil, life-size). A fine figure of the Beata Colomba; in type and feeling reminiscent of the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque; of a bright tone, probably by Spagna.

Perugia. S. Domenico (now Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 20). Wood, oil. St. Margaret of Hungary between St. Margaret of Castello and St. Agnes of Montepulciano, grand, of olive tone, and done at one painting; a little square and broken in drawing, ruder in execution than the Beata Colomba, and with less relief; possibly by Spagna with the help of Manni.

Florence. Pitti, No. 451 *bis.* A Marriage of St. Catherine between SS. Francis and Anthony, in Spagna's manner, but somewhat feeble (wood, oil, half-lengths, one-third life-size); dull, because spoiled by restoring.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. Wood, oil, split vertically in two places. St. Jerome penitent, given by Vermiglioli to Pinturicchio. It is all but life-size, and recalls Perugino's panel of the same subject at Caen. It is probably by Spagna, dimmed and damaged.

Spoleto. Hospital degli Esposti.[2] Nativity (wood, oil). This is almost an exact copy of the Spineta altarpiece, with the exception that the angels in the sky kneel, and the Virgin's head is draped. It was originally executed for a family at Norcia, and bears the following inscription: " questa tavola la facta fare Costantino de Loccio p. sua devozione. Jacomo dejoᵛano frio fece la pentura de questa tavola sõmente. MDXXII." There is a family of Locci still existing in Norcia. As to the painter (?) one may ask, is the inscription to be

* 1 It is now known that it was Giovanni Battista Caporali (see *postea*, p. 483, n. 3).

* 2 Now Communal Gallery, No. 37.

read so that the artist's name shall be Jacomo di Giovanni Onofrio? This Jacomo cannot be the same as Jacopo Siculo, Spagna's son-in-law. PUNGILEONI (*Raphael*, p. 18) speaks of a copy of the Ancajani altarpiece by Jacopo da Norcia. Does he allude to this Nativity? These are questions that may perhaps be solved at a later period. The picture is at all events a bad copy of Spagna's, of ignoble types and forms, and raw in colour.

Spoleto. Chiesa e Convento all'Arco di Annibale. Tabernacle containing the Virgin and Child with two attendant angels between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, Scholastica, and Anthony the Abbot. This seems a school-piece reminiscent of others in the same style at Eggi, Caso, and elsewhere.

Eggi. Oratorio della Madonna delle Grazie. Fresco. Christ and angels, with SS. John the Baptist, Sebastian, Roch, and Michael; below, the Virgin and Child. This has the defects of the wall-painting at the altar of S. Girolamo in the church of Gavelli. Can it be by Orlando of Perugia, supposing him to be the author of a Nativity in the cathedral of Gubbio, assigned to Pinturicchio? (See *antea*, Pinturicchio.)

Patrico, church of (*near Spoleto*). Wall-paintings representing S. Maria di Cortona, between St. Roch and a saint in episcopals, a Virgin and Child, SS. Sebastian and Stephen. Again, the Virgin and Child in a tree, and a saint. These, by aids in Spagna's atelier, are less defective than the foregoing at Eggi, but still seem by Spagna's journeyman at the altar of S. Girolamo in Gavelli. Feeble, of a brick-red tone.

Ferentillo. On the road from this place to Monte Rivoso is a tabernacle. In an external lunette, the Eternal between two seraphs. Inside the tabernacle, the Virgin erect with the Infant Christ. Four angels support a daïs. On pilasters are St. Sebastian and a half-length of St. Roch. In the same character as at Patrico and Caso, but prettier in colour.

Ferentillo. S. Stefano. Here is a Nativity (fresco) reminiscent of Spagna and Tamagni. On a pilaster are the words: "1559. die XXVI. Xbris."

Caso (*near*). *S. Maria delle Grazie.* The walls of this church are filled with numerous frescoes, some of which are drawn from Spagna's, by his disciples. Several inscriptions bear the date of 1516; others that of 1522.

Caso (*outside*). *Chiesetta di S. Cristina.* This church also is full of paintings of various periods, many being by Spagna's pupils. In the semi-dome, an Eternal (lunette) between two angels and a figure of

S. Cristina, with the inscription: "S. Cristina. V. M. — Johanni de Appolonia f. f. p voto 1527."

Viterbo. Chiesa dei Frati Osservanti. Wood, distemper. Nativity. Ill-drawn, but on the model of one by Spagna, and reminiscent of the Nativity in the Hospital at Spoleto, and the wall-paintings of Patrico and Caso. In a lunette outside this church, a Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Francis is in the same character as the above, perhaps a little better.

London. National Gallery, No. 282. Glorification of the Virgin. This will be found (see *postea*) in the catalogue of the Bertuccis of Faenza.

Same Gallery, No. 691. Wood. Ecce Homo. In this picture the character of Spagna is not sufficiently marked. It would, at all events, be an unsatisfactory specimen of his manner.

London. Dudley House. Six saints in two frames (wood, distemper), originally in the Bisenzio collection at Rome. In the first, St. Mary Magdalen between SS. Louis and Giovanni da Capistrano; in the second, St. Catherine between a canonized friar and S. Bernardino da Feltre. These belong to the class which has been frequently attributed to Raphael's youth; the style and proportions being good, the movement refined. They want the softness and feeling of Raphael, but they are of Spagna's best time.[1]

Same collection. Wood, oil. Half-length of St. Catherine, part of a larger picture, in Spagna's spirit, but injured by restoring.[2]

London. Collection of the late Mr. Barry. No. 96 *at Manchester.* Half-length of the Magdalen with the box of ointment. Small, and perhaps by Spagna.

London. Ex-Bromley collection. Crucifixion. (Not seen.)

London. Baring Gallery.[3] (Wood, oil; under the name of Raphael.) The Virgin (half-length) is seated in front of a low screen; the Infant, standing on her lap and supporting itself with the elbow on the Virgin's bosom. Distance, landscape. The Virgin shows something of Spagna. The Child imitates those of Raphael in the Madonna del Cardellino, but it is also in the manner of Eusebio, in the Holy Family at S. Fran-

*1 The former picture (in which the third saint is the B. Giacomo della Marca) is now in the collection of the late Dr. L. Mond; the latter was bought at the Dudley sale (June 25, 1892, No. 83) by Messrs. Colnaghi, and was subsequently in the possession of the late Sir J. C. Robinson.

*2 Present whereabouts unknown.

*3 Now in the collection of Lord Northbrook.

cesco of Matelica.[1] A replica, somewhat later in date, is in the Munich Gallery (No. 1,079),[2] under the strange name of Fra Bartolommeo. A Virgin and Child, called a Penni, at Stafford House in London, and stated to have been once in Lucca, is very like that of the Baring Gallery as regards stamp and handling.[3]

Hamilton Palace (*near Glasgow*). Wood, one-quarter life-size. Virgin and Child between St. Anthony and a female saint carrying a lily. Injured by abrasion and restoration, but like a Spagna.[4]

Scotland. Glentyan. Seat of Captain Stirling.[5] (1) Annunciation. (2) Nativity. (3) Adoration of the Magi. (4) Presentation in the temple. Predella (tempera) by some one of the followers of Spagna.

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,539. Wood. Nativity, called a Perugino,[6] the exact reverse of that of the Spineta, with the three angels kneeling in the sky. This is by an assistant of Spagna, opaque and monotonous in tone, and hard in execution. It came into the Louvre after the sale of the collection of Baron de Gérando, who had it presented to him by the city of Perugia, when he administered the civil authority there in 1811.

Louvre, No. 1,540. Wood. Half-length Virgin, holding the Infant Christ with a scroll in its hands; a prime picture by Spagna, as is suggested in the Louvre catalogue (though still classed as a Pinturicchio).[7] A pretty and carefully executed example of the somewhat cold Spagna.

Louvre. No. 1,568: Pietà. *No.* 1,569: St. Francis receiving the stigmata. *No.* 1,570: St. Jerome penitent (wood, oil). These are three fragments of a predella, catalogued in the "school of Perugino," but impressed with the stamp of Spagna's school.

Louvre, No. 446 (Catalogue of 1864).[8] Virgin and Child. Like the foregoing, but inferior, and a mixture of the styles of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage, No. 8. Adoration of the Infant Christ, the Saviour on a cloth on the ground, the Virgin kneeling, and St.

* 1 The over-smooth and commonplace colouring, and the poor type of the Infant Christ, are certainly disconcerting in this work; yet it seems to the editor that the beautiful rhythm of the composition and the masterly rendering of form point to Raphael as the author. * 2 Not now shown.

* 3 This picture, which surely is much inferior to the Madonna belonging to Lord Northbrook, was sold at the Sutherland sale, July 11, 1913.

* 4 Not included in the Hamilton Palace sale.

* 5 Subsequently in the collection of the late Sir William Farrer, and sold at the Farrer sale (March 23, 1912, No. 64).

* 6 Now officially ascribed to Spagna.

* 7 It is now definitely given to him. * 8 Not now shown.

Joseph standing in rear in attitudes and expression of worship. SS. Martin and Barbara on their knees in prayer at the sides of the principal group. In the landscape to the right, the Procession of the Magi. The colour is dull and monotonous because all the figures, having suffered from old abrasions, were at some remote period repainted; the result being loss of tone and alteration of the forms. There was also a transfer to canvas of this picture, which is described as originally in Castelfranco di Sotto near Florence. Umbrian and Florentine character are both apparent; but the former predominates, especially in the distance. The name of Spagna (his latest years), or of one of his immediate followers, would be correct.[1]

Whilst Spagna at various periods of his career surrendered himself to the imitation of Raphael, it was scarcely possible that he should give to his pupils any great or durable lessons. Being possessed of no great original power, he necessarily induced such painters as became familiar with his ways to saunter in the same paths; and we thus find his son-in-law, Jacopo Siculo, commingling the manner of Spagna with that of the Raphaelesques.[2] It seems not improbable that Siculo should have been at Rome previous to Sanzio's death, and in company with Tamagni. The connection of the three artists at Spoleto is still more likely. Siculo is stated to have received the commission for decorating the cappella Eruli,[3] now the Baptistery of the cathedral at Spoleto, in the ceiling of which four figures of Adam, Noah, Moses, and Melchisedek, above life-size, are depicted, whilst the walls are covered with scenes from the Old and New Testament, and the border frames with arabesques and small compositions of the

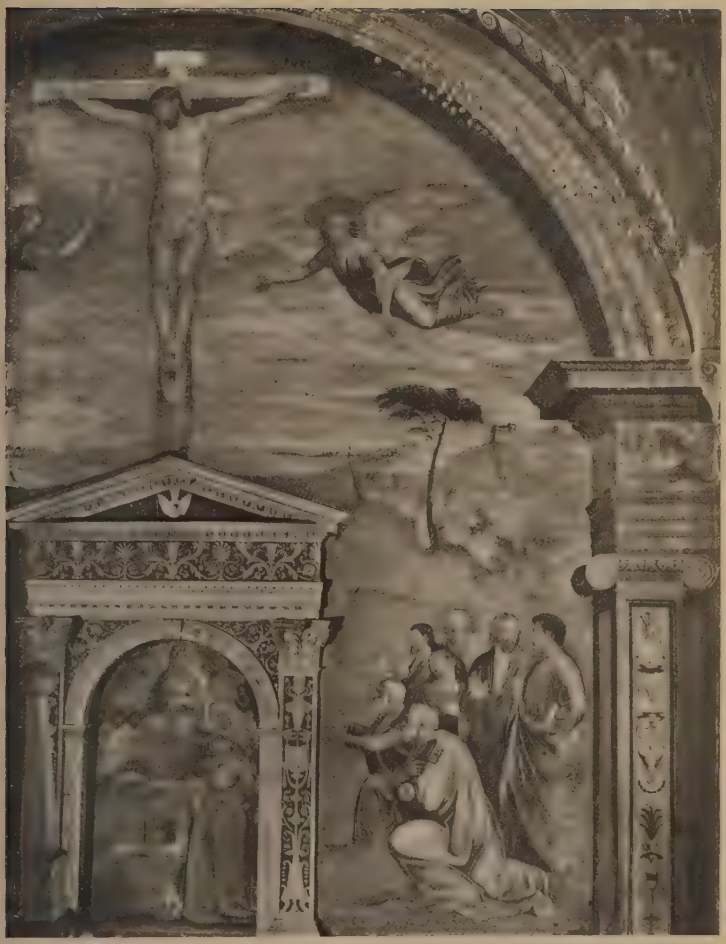
* [1] This is a work by Raffaello Botticini, ordered in 1512 for the Oratorio di S. Martino at Castelfranco di Sotto near Florence. The following may be added to the list of works by Spagna:

Campello sul Clitunno (near Spoleto). Oratory. The Virgin and Child with SS. Roch and Sebastian (fresco).

London. Wallace Collection, No. 545. The Assumption of the Magdalen.

* [2] His earliest dated work is in the church of S. Giovanni at Aspra, and bears the signature: "Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quanto Iacobo Siculu faciebat" (see *Rassegna d'arte umbra*, i. 65).

[3] The author of an article entitled "Oratione Academica per la solenne distribuzione dei premi," 8°, Spoleto, 1836, states this fact as well as that Jacopo Siculo was the son-in-law of Spagna, and he shows in his oration that he has examined the MS. of the Spoleto archives with care.



Photo, Alinari

THE CRUCIFIXION

By Jacopo Siculo

Detail of a fresco in the Baptistery of the Cathedral, Spoleto

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same sacred class. Here and there Michaelangelesque character is accompanied by a system of handling and design reminiscent of Spagna. Elsewhere the great masterpieces of Raphael are recalled to mind; and the space generally seems distributed with the symmetry and in the mode peculiar to Sanzio. The work might be assigned to the joint labour of Spagna, Tamagni, Dono Doni, and even Siculo.[1] It is the same sort of cento that may strike the eye in the front of the Palazzo Arone facing the Duomo of Spoleto,[2]

[1] Adam, nude and Michaelangelesque in character, is a fairly preserved figure, drawn and coloured in a manner reminiscent of Spagna. Two angels, in a round close by, are still more in Spagna's manner. Above the figure one reads: "Origo"; beneath it: "Noxius praevaricator."

Melchisedek, an aged man with joined hands, near an antique altar, with a vase on it. The feet are drawn in Raphael's style (the lights on the arms retouched). Beneath, the word: "Premium." Above, the words: "Origo novae legis."

Noah, an aged man, nude, holding a vine with grapes in both hands, poor in head (two angels in a round renewed). Above, the word: "Interitus;" beneath: "Pœna."

Moses, in fine Raphaelesque movement, but injured by damp and restoring (two angels in a round completely ruined). Beneath, the words: "Utilis planta, perversi fœtus."

In the walls: (1) A St. Jerome, reminiscent of Tamagni and Dono Doni, with a lunette in which Aaron is represented as high-priest (some little figures in distance), all damaged. (2) Crucifixion, filling wall and lunette, a mixture of the styles of Spagna and Tamagni. Two angels at the ends of the cross not without feeling. (3) St. Michael weighing the souls, and St. Lucy (imit. Spagna), and in the lunette a figure with a long staff, and distant people. (4) (Above the entrance) Christ blesses Peter, the miraculous draught of fishes beneath. In the lunette, Elijah ascends to heaven (ruined by damp). No trace here of the manner of Spagna. The whole of these frescoes, in cornice frames in which there are three rounds containing portraits. In the borders of the ceiling there are graceful little figures and arabesques on variegated ground, and small frames inclosing: (1) Moses and the burning bush; (2) the dove flying to the Ark; (3) a Raphaelesque composition of the Entrance into the Ark; (4) Abraham and Melchisedek; (5) the Sacrifice of Abraham; (6) the Creation of Man; (7) the Creation of Woman, in which the Eternal raises the rib which has already in part the human shape; (8) a crowd of men on foot and horseback, and females looking towards the sea (? subject). [* The subject is the Submersion of Pharaoh.] At the angles of the ceiling are angels, some of which are new. All the lunettes and the ceiling are executed in a better style than the lower courses. Two hands at least must have been employed.

[2] Beneath the first row of windows is a chiaroscuro of feigned pilasters with children sounding conchs, and in certain squares between them subjects taken from mythology. Two women are seated on oxen.

Beneath the second row of windows is a fictive bas-relief of sea gods and goddesses, some drawn in cars by horses, concluding with an incident of a fight, a most animated series.

or in the frescoes of an abandoned chapel in S. Francesco at Rieti[1]. The earliest independent production of Siculo to which an authentic character can be conceded is a large domed panel on the high-altar of the parish church of S. Mamigliano, from the lunette of which an Eternal gives the benediction to an enthroned Virgin and Child between the standing SS. Peter and John Evangelist, and the kneeling Biagio and Mamigliano. The Virgin looks downward towards S. Biagio, whilst the Infant, stalking naked over her lap, looks round at S. Mamigliano, a Raphaelesque idea bringing to mind that carried out in the Virgin and Child of the ex-Rogers collection.[2] A well-fused colour of good impasto is somewhat darkly shadowed in grey tones. A long inscription above a predella in several parts closes with the words "Jacobus Siculus faciebat," and on the border of the lunette one reads: "Sumptibus universitatis MDXXXVIII."[3]

In this piece Siculo appears as a fair second-rate amongst the Raphaelesques and little below Andrea da Salerno. His hand

Beneath the third row the painting is gone, but between the windows there still remains a figure (female) with a sword (? Judith). Another female with one hand raised (? Justice). The whole front was clearly once painted in chiaroscuro with feigned architecture and a fine architectonic distribution, the figurative part full of life and motion.

Between the windows of each story there were figures like those at the highest story. Of these there remain one of a female with a tripod and fire in front of her between the windows of the lowest story.

The work has something of the manner of Beccafumi, but in a style less marked than his.

One sees the school of Raphael in the composition and arrangement, in the action and style of drawing, particularly in the small incidents on the basement. There is some exaggeration in the rendering of forms. The children have something of the character of those in the Eruli chapel. The period of the execution is the first half of the sixteenth century, and the decoration is one of the best of this time (*i.e.*, after Raphael's death).

As to handling, the drawing is engraved, and the hollow is filled up with black, not only in its outlines, but in the hatchings of the shadows. The mass of shadow is well defined so that the relief and effect must have been good. Striving to reconstruct the whole mentally in its pristine state, one might name as the authors both Vincenzo da S. Gimignano and Jacopo Siculo.

[1] The subjects are: The Last Judgment, the Resurrection, Paradise, and Doom. Pilasters are adorned with arabesques.

[*2] Now in the National Gallery (No. 2,069).

[3] The predella contains SS. John, Lazarus, and the four major prophets, besides the Adoration of the Magi and the Martyrdom of S. Biagio. Two rather feeble

may then be recognized in an unsigned fresco, transferred to canvas and brought from S. Niccolò to the Palazzo of Spoleto. It represents the Virgin and Child in the same feeling as at S. Mamigliano, is graceful in grouping, as well as rich and transparent in colouring.[1] An equally important but dim fresco of the same kind is in the last chapel to the right in S. Niccolò itself, a large piece that has been subjected to no restoring, though it is injured by dust. The Virgin with the Child in glory is adored by several persons kneeling in a landscape between two erect saints of good and grand Raphaelesque outline.[2]

In later works, for instance in the Coronation of the Virgin of 1541 at the Annunziata outside Norcia, Siculo merely imitates with slight variation the arrangement of Spagna in the altarpieces of Todi and Trevi.[3]

angels support a hanging behind the Virgin. St. Peter's is a fine head as regards drawing and richness of tone. The foot of the Virgin and the stole of S. Biagio are a little restored. The inscription in full is as follows: "Æditus per Viacentio Laurèti et Pacciano Bernardini, nec non Benedicto Laurentii, Dionisio Damiani, Fabriano Celloni et Cicchi, edilibus impensis oppidanorum Sancti Mamigliani, decem aureis, quos legavit dominus Innocentius, duntaxat exceptis. Jacobus Siculus faciebat."

[1] The sky of the fresco is injured as well as the Virgin's blue mantle. Her form is lean, that of the Infant plump, the head being small, with an open forehead. The flesh transparently painted, warm and rich. The Virgin's mantle covers her head, her veil is wound round the Child's hips.

[2] The Virgin is seated on a cloud, and holds the white drapery of the Infant with her right. There are cherubs in the cloud. The figures are life-size (wood, oil).

[3] The colour and handling of this work are a little feeble. The predella plinths contain the Virgin and the angel annunciate, the predella itself SS. Jerome and Francis. On a "cartellino," to the right of the principal panel, one reads: "Anno domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo primo, die vero vigesimo Martii. Jacobus Siculus faciebat."

In this church, at the altar of St. Elisabeth, are a Virgin, Child, and several saints, feebly shadowed, of a light, rosy tone, the figures ill-draped as one finds them in some of Tamagni's pictures at S. Gimignano. In the predella, the angel and Virgin annunciate, and Christ in the Tomb. In the church del Rosario at Norcia is an Assumption (wood, oil) by a student of Spagna's manner, of a hard and dull yellowish colour. The angels sounding instruments are like similar ones by Cola dell'Amatrice. The Virgin is most like the creations of Spagna.

At Bettona, on the high-altar of S. Antonio of the Minorites, is a canvas of the Virgin and Child attended by angels like those in Spagna's frescoes at S. Jacopo of Spoleto. Below are kneeling saints, amongst whom SS. Crispoldo, Francis, Jerome. Distance, a city. On the predella, portraits of the donors and the

In the Duomo of Spoleto the figures on the stalls of the winter choir seem feeble ones of Jacopo;[1] and in the parish church of Ferentillo, two chapels, the walls of which are covered with frescoes, dated severally 1540 and 1557, are like productions from the same hand, or from that of men employed under his superintendence.[2]

No other name besides that of Jacopo Siculo need be added to the list of Spagna's followers at Spoleto except that of Bernardino Campilius, whose signature is written at length beneath a fresco of the Virgin adoring the Infant on her knee, to the left on the Piazza S. Gregorio, as one enters the town gate of Spoleto.[3] The painter is a fourth or fifth rate one, imitating Fra Filippo in the forms of the Child, and the Peruginesque side of Spagna's style in the draperies of the Virgin.[4] An altarpiece at S. Maria d'Arone, representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony and John the Baptist, bears, if memory be not treacherous, the same signature; and there is a fresco in the sacristy of the church of the Nunziatella at Foligno, assigned to Mantegna, betraying his

following inscription: "pro lascita Juliani Aquilini AD. M.D Dona Ciancia ejus uxor fecit fieri XLVII (1547)." This is a feeble piece in the style of the Norcia Coronation, and seems done by assistants. In the same class one might name the frescoes of SS. Agatha and Barbara, and the Assumption, already noted in the monastery della Stella, near Spoleto (see *antea*, Spagna).

[1] In the winter choir is a picture on gold ground assigned to Spagna, and representing a Pope giving a book to the Infant Christ seated in front of the picture. The Virgin is in rear, and to the right is a saint (repainted). This is not a picture by Spagna, but a work of the sixteenth century, due perhaps to the hand of Bernardino Campilius. It is inscribed: "Episc. Benedictus Gregorius Spoletam obiit M°.CCCCLXXIII." (see *postea*).

[2] The first of these in the third chapel to the right represents the Eternal in benediction, with (lower) SS. Lucy, Agatha, Catherine, Barbara, and Apollonia, all long and lean figures. In the framing one reads the date: "1540. . die primo Octobris."

In the fourth chapel is a fresco of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and above it, the Virgin giving the girdle. On a pilaster: "1557 . . . die primo . . ."

In the fifth chapel a St. Anthony, above which a Virgin and Child.

*[3] Now transferred to the Communal Gallery (No. 9).

[4] A lunette contains the Eternal; and on a house in the distance of the picture one reads: "Dom̃s Bartholomeus episcop̃. Spoletē." A little framed space by the right capital bears the date: "MDII," and beneath are the words: "Bernardinus Campilius spol. facebat." The fresco is much injured by time. [* "Campilius" (or, as it has been read, "Campillus,") refers to Campello near Spoleto. The Italian form for the artist's name would be Bernardino Campilio, or Campillo.]

manner or that of Cola dell' Amatrice.[1] The date, 1502, on the resco of the Piazza S. Gregorio gives a clue to the period in vhich Campilius laboured.[2]

[1] The Redeemer, almost naked, is seated in death on a stone, supported under ne armpits by the Evangelist and Virgin; St. Mary Magdalen in rear. This injured esco at first suggests the name of some Veronese artist, such as Caroto or Liberale, ut on a closer inspection shows something of the manner of Spagna; and there is othing more of the Mantegnesque than might be taken from the examples of lunno.

*[2] As pointed out, *antea*, iv. 171, n. 1, as well as by Count Gnoli (in *Bollettino arte*, iii. 18, n. 2), this date renders it impossible to class Campilius as a llower of Spagna, of whom we possess no record prior to 1504.

CHAPTER XIII

MANNI, EUSEBIO, AND OTHER PERUGINESQUES

ONE of the active subordinates in Perugino's atelier is Giannicola di Paolo Manni,[1] a native of Città della Pieve,[2] whose place amongst the Perugians at the close of the fifteenth century it would be easier to determine if the pictures which he executed in 1493 and 1499 had been preserved.[3] From records embodying the commissions for these works, as well as from others in which the production of a banner and pennons (1502, 1505) is noted, it would appear that Manni chiefly practised at Perugia,[4] and that his performances must have been confined to that city. Yet his long life and the small number of extant things traceable to him, as well as the Peruginesque character which they display, lead us to consider him as a constant assistant to Vannucci. Although he probably enjoyed with Spagna the advantage of Raphael's company in the master's shop, he did not perceive that Sanzio's example might lead to progress and fame, and when further experience taught him the necessity of placing himself on a level with the changed spirit of Italian art in the rise of the sixteenth century he seems to have felt a predilection for the school of Pacchia, a clever Sienese, who had modified his own style by contact with Francia Bigio and Andrea del Sarto. One of his youthful creations is, as we believe, a Virgin and Child under the name of Raphael in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, previously in the collection

[1] VASARI, iii. 596 *sq.*

[2] DELLA FARGNA, in ORSINI'S *Life of Perugino*, *u.s.*, note to p. 270; and MEZZANOTTE, p. 223.

[3] In 1493 he agreed to paint the Last Supper in the dining-hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia (MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, *u.s.*, p. 229). In 1499 a picture ordered for the room of the "Capo d'Offizio" in the same palace was valued 18 florins by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Bartolommeo Caporali (*ib.*, *ib.*, p. 232).

[4] *Ib.*, *ib.*, p. 232.

Photo, Alinari

THE SAVIOUR IN GLORY

By Giannicola Manni

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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of Archdeacon Hore. The naked Infant, erect on the Virgin's knee and grasping her dress at the bosom, turns towards the spectator with great gentleness, and shows the whole of a somewhat small and gracile form. The Virgin, of regular shape and face, is softly meditative and Peruginesque. The minute drawing and a light, somewhat flat, colour, tending to yellowish rosy, betray more carefulness than feeling. For Manni it is a most beautiful production reminiscent of his education under Vannucci, and of the companionship of Raphael and Spagna.[1]

The Saviour in glory between the Virgin and Evangelist, with a crowd of adoring saints in erect positions in a landscape, is, after this of Cambridge, the earliest of his authentic panels with which we are acquainted. It adorns the cappella Baglioni at S. Domenico of Perugia,[2] and shows that Raphael's grace was not lost upon him, yet that the influence of the young and rising artist was outweighed by those of Perugino and Pinturicchio.

But, whilst naming Manni in the same breath with the three greatest celebrities of the Umbrian schools, we must not forget his real inferiority. There is a pretty freshness in the glory of the altarpiece of S. Domenico. Some figures may deserve praise for good intention in movement; but most of them are lean and lank, paltry, or skinny and flabby in features. The hands are cramped and spidery, the faces at times of broken outline, or contoured

[1] Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 120. Wood, half life-size. One of the hands a little injured, the rest well preserved. The distance is a pretty landscape. [* Now catalogued as "Imitation of Perugino."]

[2] Now in Perugia Gallery, Sala XVI., No. 30. It is stated in a MS.: "Registro della Chiesa di S. Domenico di Perugia" (compiled 1548): "Baglione della Baglione della fece pingere la tavola d'Ognisanti per mano di maestro Niccolò discipulo di maestro Pietro Perugino" (favour of Professor Adamo Rossi). VASARI says, too, this picture was by Giannicola (iii. 597). It is on wood, in oil, and 7½ feet by 7, but the arched upper part is cut down. Four playing angels are at the sides of the circular glory. These and the cherubs' heads are reminiscent of Perugino's in type and movement. The outlines are broken as if they were cut out with scissors. The Saviour is lean, with drooping shoulders; the Baptist in fine movement, recalling Pinturicchio; the Virgin in prayer pleasing, with a plump face like those of Raphael's youth. An angel on the extreme right of the glory is posed in the attitude of one by Pinturicchio at Aracœli, and fairly rendered. A St. Peter amongst the foreground saints seems inspired from that of Perugino in the Lyons Ascension. The mannered curves of some facial outlines are similar to those of Gerino of Pistoia, and like those of the Last Supper in S. Onofrio at Florence.

in puffy curves. Some recall Perugino, others Pinturicchio. The draperies are generally involved and poorly cast. The colours are used with great thickness of impasto, but without relief, and a constant flatness pervades the waxy flesh and its grey shadow; nor does the use of oil-medium seem familiar. One sees the stippling and hatching of a man accustomed to tempera.

The sides of a Crucifixion in S. Domenico, representing the Virgin and Evangelist, and the Magdalen with St. Sebastian, are better drawn and more successful than those of the Saviour in glory at S. Domenico, and they are comparatively good specimens of proportion, attitude, and expression.[1] They may take rank amongst his best efforts, together with a fresco of the Virgin and Child between SS. John Evangelist and Lawrence in S. Martino di Verzaro at Perugia—an altar-decoration in which fair relief and lively tones, free handling, and some approach to a good style of drapery may be noticed. It is not unnecessary, at the same time, to mark the redness which begins to pervade the surface of Manni's colour.[2] It may be found in the slight and broadly decorative pieces forming at one time the ornament of the organ loft in S. Lorenzo of Perugia; a round of St. Lawrence martyred, two half-lengths of S. Peter and S. Paul,[3] and a lunette containing Christ with the banner between SS. Lawrence and Costanzo.[4] The date of 1513 on the first shows how long Manni clung to his purely Peruginesque style. He had been intrusted in 1511 with

[1] These panels are now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XVI., No. 15), and the figures on wood, of life-size. Much damage has been done to them by time and repainting, but their character is that of Manni, and, besides, it appears from the register of S. Domenico, already quoted, that they were done by him: "Questo M° Niccolò fece ancora le quattro figure all'altare dell'Crocifisso." The work is cold, but of strong impasto, and one is struck by the resemblance of its waxy colour with that of a Virgin and Child between SS. Bernardino and Tommaso di Villanuova, dated 1500, in S. Agostino of Perugia (see *antea*, Perugino, p. 359).

[2] This fresco has been injured by damp, and the Virgin's mantle is in great part new. The drawing is Peruginesque in style, but the chief merit of the piece is in the fairness of the proportions and movements. Some figures at the sides of the fresco are inferior to those under notice, and otherwise unimportant.

In the same church on a wall to the left as one enters is a feeble figure of S Martin dividing his cloak, injured in the upper part, and not equal to the foregoing. There is something in it, too, of the Leonardesque, and an impress as if from Eusebio.

[*3] Now in the cappella dell' Arciprete.

[*4] Now above the second altar to the left.

the task of repainting the dial of the palace clock.[1] In 1515 (June 27) he bound himself to adorn the walls of the chapel of the Cambio.[2] Like many other artists, Manni was unpunctual in his labours. He had received 45 florins as an advance long before the frescoes passed the preliminary stage, and in February, 1518, a part of them only had been done. The authorities practically reminded him of his duty by threatening to fine him 150 florins unless he should finish them before the following August (1519).[3] The shortness of this interval, and the necessity for speed may be the cause why some episodes in the Cambio chapel are much more feeble than the rest. In the ceiling the Eternal in benediction is surrounded by the Evangelists, the apostles, and the doctors of the church; in the spandrils of two arches, the Lybian and Erythrean sybils; in the vaulting of the same, small frames enclosed in ornament, with scenes from the Old Testament. The lunettes, four in number, comprise the Birth of St. John, the Visitation, the Beheading of the Baptist, and the Presentation of his Head. Three circles above the entrance-door are filled with busts of SS. Constanzo, Ercolano, and Lorenzo. On an altar stands a Baptism of Christ, on panel, with the angel and Virgin annunciate at the flanks; and on the paliotto or altar-front, medallions of the Virgin and Child, the Precursor, and two other saints.

It is easy to perceive that the chapel was not completed at one period. The ceiling figures are Peruginesque, but short and paltry, with a monotonous similarity of character in the heads. The angels are coarse and square; the general tone red. A more modern art is displayed in the lunette subjects, which are better composed. It is the time when Manni exhibits some relation to Pacchia, and for that reason suggests reminiscences of Andrea del Sarto, yet the local colour is still reddish. The sybils are the intermediate link between the frescoes of the ceiling and those of the lunettes, and a child at the feet of the Lybian discloses an attempt to imitate Raphael. The altarpiece is very poor, and the paliotto seems due to Sinibaldo Ibi.[4]

[1] Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 232. [2] *Ib.*, *ib.*, p. 161. [3] *Ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*

[4] The fresco of the Decollation is in part renewed. The head of St. John in the resentation is new, as well as a dog forming part of the detail of the composition.

A picture of the time when the ceiling of the Cambio was brought to a termination is the enthroned Virgin with saints and angels, in the Louvre, under the name of Ingegno. The heavy red of the high surface colour, the feebleness of the types, and the mixture derived from Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael, point almost exclusively to Manni.[1]

The best of the master's later subjects is the Incredulity of St. Thomas in S. Tommaso at Perugia, a fairly grouped composition, lacking neither life nor freedom, but of a reddish flatness in the unglazed tones.[2]

The angel and Virgin in the sides of the altarpiece are on gold ground, of a reddish tone, and carried out at one painting on the gold. The central Baptism has been assigned by ORSINI (*Life of Perugino*, p. 111) to Perugino, but on no tenable ground. It is done with thin, washy colour, and now much blistered. There is no chiaroscuro and no strength in the execution generally. Two figures, stripping, are downright ugly, and the landscape is not good.

[1] No. 1,372 at the Louvre. The drawing of this picture is poor. The Infant is heavy. The panel has suffered from overpainting, but one still sees Manni's red tone, with shadows of a reddish brown. The types and action are similar to those in the ceiling of the Cambio chapel. A predella, now in the Perugia Gallery (formerly No. 163, and dated 1512), represents the martyrdom of some saints. It is difficult to say on what grounds it is assumed to be the predella of the foregoing. It is by Domenico Alfani. [* This picture cannot be identified with any one at present shown in the Perugia Gallery.]

[2] This is a large panel (wood, oil), 7 feet square, with life-size figures, much damaged and restored. The movement of the Saviour is good as he raises his right arm to allow St. Thomas to place his hand in the wound. He looks with dignified mien out of the picture, but the cast of the face is square, the nose broad at its junction with the brows. The red drapery is well folded, but partly scaled away. At the side of the two principal figures are SS. Dominic, Thomas Aquinas, and John, George, Benedict, and another. The colour is given at one painting with little relief and no glazes. The ground and landscape distance are higher in surface than the figures.

The following may be classed under Manni's name: Louvre, No. 1,369, Baptism of Christ; No. 1,370, Assumption of the Virgin; No. 1,371, Adoration of the Magi. These are all parts of one predella, and good examples. In S. Agostino (Fraternity), at Perugia, a picture dated 1510 is assigned to Manni (MEZZANOTTE, p. 226), but is by Sinibaldo Ibi (see *postea*). At Gubbio, a panel in the church of S. Pietro representing a Visitation and other figures, with a monogram, not suggestive of Manni's name, is still attributed to him. It is injured, and has not, now at least, the marked character of the Peruginesque school.

Considering the prevalent redness of tone in Manni's works, one might assign to him a share in the large Assumption of Perugino at Corciano, and in the large altarpiece by the same at the Servi. [* The following extant paintings by Manni may still be noticed:

Manni lived to a good old age, was in the magistracy at Perugia in 1527,[1] and died on October 27, 1544.[2]

Eusebio da S. Giorgio, his comrade in Perugino's school,[3] did not rise above a respectable mediocrity. Bred in Perugia, a fellow-labourer with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Berto di Giovanni in 1501,[4] he was made free of his guild immediately after Pinturicchio.[5] His style approximates to Bernardino's in its least interesting features, whilst his system of colouring is a counterpart of Manni's; but he is fortunate at times in imitating the early Raphaelesque, and in this distantly emulates the example of Spagna. He was one of those whom Pinturicchio induced to join him at Siena, and there is a memorandum in the Sienese archives of a large money payment from the latter to Eusebio in 1506.[6] The altarpiece of the Epiphany in the chapel of that name at S. Agostino of Perugia betrays this connection.[7] It is a panel

Brussels. Late Somzée Collection. The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (No. 384 in the Somzée Sale in 1904; subsequently in the hands of M. Sedelmeyer of Paris). This picture was kindly pointed out to the editor by Count Gnoli.

Citta di Castello. Sig. Magherini-Graziani. Bust of Christ.

London. National Gallery, No. 1,104. The Annunciation.

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. St. Sebastian.]

Frescoes said to be by Manni at Pacciano (Orsini, *u.s.*) are not to be found there now. The Christ at the Mount mentioned by Vasari (iii. 596 *sq.*), and noticed at S. Bernardino of Perugia by Constantini (*Guida*, pp. 318, 319), is missing. Manni is registered in the guild of Perugia, but under no specific date (Mariotti, *Lett.*, p. 231).

[1] Mariotti, p. 231.

[2] Orsini, *Vita, &c., di Perugino*, note to p. 274.

[3] Vasari, iii. 596.

[4] They all paint pennons together (Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 232). [* In 1493, Eusebio had painted an altarpiece for S. Pietro at Perugia. Urbini, in *Augusta Perusia* i. 35.]

[5] His name in the register is "Eusepius Jacobi Cristophori" (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*).

[6] Com. Vasari, iii. 596. [* The date of this document, according to the new style, is 1507. As we have seen (*antea*, p. 408, n. 1), Pinturicchio bound himself in it to pay 100 ducats to Eusebio for his undertaking to execute the greater part of the altarpiece for S. Andrea of Spello.]

[7] This picture is now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XVII., No. 12). It is given by Vasari to Eusebio (iii. 596), on wood, in oil, 7 feet by 5½. The Virgin, on the right, points out the Child on her lap to St. Joseph, who stands near her, whilst the first king offers a cup, and the second stands with his back to the spectator. The foreground is a meadow with grasses and flowers; the distance, rock with grottoes. Two figures on horseback are in the middle distance. Four angels in the sky kneel and play instruments. They are not ungraceful, though small and feeble. The Child has a large round head and puffy frame. The date "MDV." is on the border of the Virgin's dress, near her foot. On the hem

in oil, dated 1505 or 1506, with all Pinturicchio's leanness in the figures, his quaintness in costumes, his pompous affectation in attitudes, with great dryness superadded, and a ruddy even tone. Nothing can be more minute than the hair outlines of the drawing, more thin than the plain surface of the colour. Eusebio in this instance is the miniature of Pinturicchio, with a tinge of the Raphaelesque. As a composer he is almost null. His stiff and pinched imitation of Sanzio may be noticed in the Annunciation, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata on the walls of S. Damiano near Assisi; the date of 1507 and Eusebio's name authenticating the latter.[1] Nor is it improbable that he should be the author of a part of the cappella delle Rose at S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi, on the walls of which a number of Franciscan saints are depicted.[2] Eusebio's hand may be observed also in a St. Michael in the Casa Gualtieri at Orvieto, which we have seen Passavant attribute to Ingegno.[3]

Better than any of these is the Holy Family, with saints, carried out by Eusebio in 1512 for S. Francesco at Matelica. He improves the proportions and action of his personages, adapting to them so much of Raphael's charm as he can, and even adding something

of the king's dress, who stands with his back to the spectator, are an S. and I., initials of Sinibaldo Ibi. Yet the work is probably Eusebio's; certainly not, as some say, by Raphael. A part of the frame of the Infant Christ has scaled.

[1] The Virgin on her knees to the left (part of neck and cheek abraded) has a spacious forehead and receding chin, the features following a line oblique to the curve of the face, thin, and pinched. The angel, running in on the right a little stiffly (injured in the outline profile of the face), is reminiscent of Raphael's Vatican predella (already so frequently mentioned), has spare feet and hands, and numerous folds to his slashed dress. There is feminine smallness in the art of Eusebio here. The Eternal in the sky between the buildings is pleasing, but small in forms. Through the doors of a wall joining two houses, a landscape and hills are seen.

The friar looking at the miracle in the fresco of the stigmata is much injured. The drawing is not correct. On the border: "Eusebius Perusinus pinxit A.D. MDVII."

[2] On the wall, near the entrance close to the altar, are two figures of S. Elisabeth and S. Chiara, in proximity to which: "MDVI. die prima Augusti." On another wall are figures of SS. Buonaventura, Bernardino, Louis, and Anthony of Padua, the heads of which are all damaged by stains. These parts of the capella delle Rose seem to be done in the style of Eusebio. The rest, we shall see, is by Tiberio d'Assisi.

[3] See *antea*, Ingegno. The figure is a little under life-size. A small spot on the forehead, and others, were restored by the painter Cornelius.

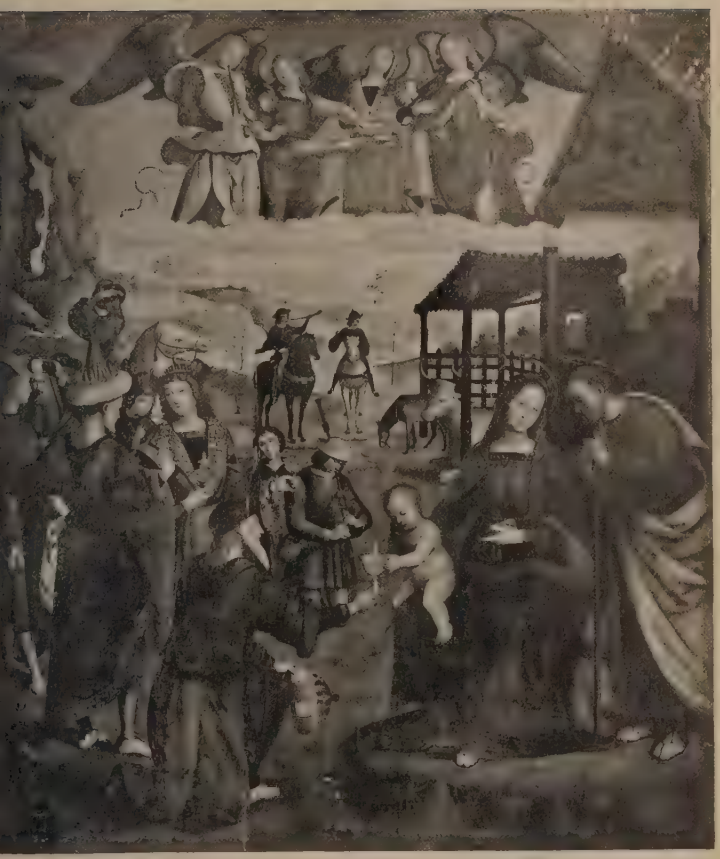

Photo. Alinari

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

By Eusebio da S. Giorgio

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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of the Leonardesque to his manner, all this with a meritorious carefulness of handling, and a soft fusion of pale tones. The predella, containing three scenes from the legend of St. Anthony of Padua, not only recalls, but positively copies in parts Raphael's at the Vatican. It is of a thin and bright melting colour, and, being small, conceals the master's chief defects.[1] At Perugia there are four or five panels in the monastery of S. Agnese, originally forming one predella, which exhibit the same traits,[2] and the catalogue may be swelled by two more in the Gallery, and an Adoration in S. Pietro,[3] but the most interesting of all the pictures to which Eusebio can lay claim is a half-length of St. Sebastian in the Accademia Carrara, a small panel which to many connoisseurs has appeared worthy of Raphael. There is something of the Peruginesque in the gentle bend of a head moulded in the plump

[1] The Virgin and Child recalls that of Raphael in the Connestabile Gallery, and still more that of Raphael (No. 141) at the Berlin Museum, which with but slight differences is a reverse of this one. The Baptist at her feet, in a little jacket of skin, is reminiscent of the children in Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino. His form is fleshy and somewhat puffily rounded. He sits holding the cross and pointing out a passage in a book (cut across forehead and right eye). St. John Evangelist and St. Andrew stand, SS. Anthony and Bernardino kneel, at the sides of the throne, on the step of which is the inscription: "1512. Eusebius de sčo Georgio Perusinus pinxit." On an upper border of the throne is the addition: "Dionisius Petri Berti faciundum curavit." In the arched upper part, two angels hang the crown above the Virgin's head. In this picture, again, one notes, *e.g.*, in the Virgin, Eusebio's tendency to give the line of the nose and mouth an oblique direction in respect to the oval of the face.

The predella represents, firstly, St. Anthony setting the wounded leg, in which three erect females (right) are copied from Raphael's Circumcision, in the Vatican predella. Secondly, the Sermon of St. Anthony, in which a group (left) is also copied from the same piece by Raphael. Thirdly, the Miracle of the ass kneeling before the host.

[2] These five panels are now in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XVI., Nos. 18, 20, 17, 19, 21). They represent: (1) The Nativity; (2) Adoration of the Magi (copied from Raphael's Vatican predella); (3) Sermon of S. Bernardino; (4) the Samaritan woman at the well; (5) two Saints. All in the character of Eusebio.

[3] Sala XVI., Nos. 25 and 24. (1) St. Louis; (2) St. Chiara. In these a slight approach to the manner of Spagna. The Adoration at S. Pietro again reminds one of the predella by Raphael at the Vatican, but is attributed to Dono Doni; yet is not in the style that usually distinguishes the latter—*i.e.*, mixture of Giulio Romano and the Michaelangelesques.

We have noted (see *antea*, Perugino) frescoes in S. Agnese at Perugia in which Vannucci's mould and the handling of Eusebio seem revealed. Also (see *antea*, Spagna) frescoes in the monastery of S. Pietro at Perugia (cappella S. Martino), in which Eusebio's name is also suggested.

form of the sixteenth century Umbrians, something of Raphael in the dainty delicacy of the hand holding an arrow, something of the tender finish of Sanzio in the light chestnut hair that falls about the face and neck, the frill of white with its fine plaits and gold lights which covers the breast, and the blue damask vest on red cloak which deck the frame, yet we miss the force of Raphael's outline and the pure harmony of his tints in every part, and we recognize an imitator of his manner in careful but unmarked contour, in pallid sweetness of tone and in soft unmeaning transition from light to shade.[1]

We might also claim for Eusebio the Virgin and Child of the Baring Gallery,[2] in which a mixture of his style and Spagna's is apparent. It is quite likely that both painters were together in the Cappella S. Martino at S. Pietro of Perugia.[3]

In Tiberio, who is a native of Assisi, and whom Vasari does not mention among the pupils of Perugino, we have an artist of less feeling and of less power than Eusebio, whose scarce works are all dated in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century. His finest fresco, a lunette of the Virgin and Child, in S. Martino outside Trevi, is conceived in the spirit of that assigned to Ingegno at S. Andrea of Assisi, and thus connects him with the school of which Fiorenzo is the representative; but the square shape of the figures, the straight lines of draperies, and the sharpness of the colouring already reveal the germs of his decline.[4] In two angels

[1] Bergamo Accademia Carrara, No. 314 (Lochis collection), assigned to Raphael, Wood, under life-size. The line of an oval nimbus runs upon a blue sky. [* The editor holds, with most critics of the present day, that this is a work by Raphael.]

[2] Assigned, as we have seen (Spagna), to Raphael.

*[3] *Cf. postea*, p. 483, n. 3. A Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Benedict painted, probably in 1508, for the Confraternita di S. Benedetto a Perugia (now Perugia Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 15) and a St. Anthony the Abbot with SS. Francis and Bernardino, painted in 1513 for S. Francesco al Prato at Perugia (now Perugia Gallery, Sala XVII., No. 16) should be added to the number of extant works by Eusebio. He was still living in 1530 (URBINI, *u.s.*, pp. 53, 55, 34).

[4] The fresco is altered in colour by time, but the sharpness of the tones is peculiarly Tiberio's. The fresco is worked up on the old principle with red on green. On the border of the lunette are the words: ". oãnes Baptista magi. . . . . de Trevio fecit fieri. Tiberius de assi . . ."

In the dead-house, which contains Spagna's fresco, there is a figure in Tiberio's manner of S. Emiliano in episcopals, with a nun in prayer near him. The rest of the space is whitewashed.

at the Virgin's sides a reminiscence of Spagna may be discovered. At S. Francesco of Montefalco, where Tiberio painted a fresco of the Madonna between two saints in 1510, and in the cappella delle Rose at S. Fortunato in the same town, where he left five scenes from the life of St. Francis in 1512, he is more Peruginesque, yet emptier and more lifeless than at Trevi.[1] He is more successful in a full-sized St. Sebastian on a pilaster, rude and mechanical though it be, in the same edifice. A couple of angels attending a Virgin and Child, with saints, in the Cappella S. Girolamo at S. Domenico, near Assisi, reminds one again of Vannucci, whilst the Madonna brings us back to the manner of the so-called Ingegnos. Amongst the saints S. Chiara is striking as a mere copy of a figure by Simone Martini in the chapel of Cardinal Gentile at S. Francesco of Assisi.[2] The incidents from the life of St. Francis, repeated in 1518 in the cappella delle Rose at S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi, give no higher idea of Tiberio,[3] and other productions

There are traces of the Umbrian style of Tiberio, too, in a St. Martin sharing his dress, on an altar to the left in the dead-house. The figures are, however, very paltry (see *antea*, Pietro Antonio).

[1] Note the pilaster and border of this fresco. Note also the ornamentation of the throne, and the defective drawing of the extremities in St. Andrew (beard and hair in part renewed). The figures have no relief, and the shadows are of a dull red; the outlines sharp and wiry. On the pilaster to the left are the words: "Mái Francesco Everillus salvatus Augusti," and on the border: "..pus fecit fieri familia Agusti de Montefalco die XV mensis novembris AD. MCCCCCX. Tiberiŭ de assisio pix." Looking carefully at this piece, it suggests the probability that Tiberio should be the executant of a Virgin and Child, and four saints (No. 146); in the Berlin Gallery, attributed there to Perugino. [* Now on loan to the Gallery at Hanover, and officially ascribed to the School of Perugino.]

In the chapel of the Roses at S. Fortunato, an Eternal and seraphs in the ceiling are a feeble imitation of Perugino. The following inscription authenticates the frescoes: "Gratia dei bĕi factum hoc opus ad MCCCCCXII. XX. die maii impĕsis chili seide S. Sebastiani pro aĩa sua suorum et defunctorum. Tiberius de Assisis pinxit."

[2] The Virgin adores the Infant recumbent on her lap. Two angels kneel at her sides. Two others hang the crown over her head. To the left are SS. Bernardino and Jerome; right, SS. Francis and Chiara, and a female in black, in prayer. On the border are the words: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Galeottus de Bistocchis de Assisi A.D. MDXVII. die V° Septem." The Virgin is like that assigned to Ingegno on the arch of S. Antonio (road to Moiano). In the same chapel are a St. Sebastian and a St. Roch, inferior to the foregoing, inscribed: "Facta fare de Sãtorilio da Cãpello MDXXII. by Tiberio or one of his school.

[3] This part of the chapel is by another hand than that already described near the altar. Close to the door facing the latter one reads: "Hoc opus gratia Dei

to which his name might be attached are only to be registered for the sake of history.[1] The latest dates connected with Tiberio are of 1521 and 1524. In 1521 Fiorenzo and he appraise for Giacomo di Gherardo of Città della Pieve.[2] In 1524 he receives payment for the arms of Clement VII. on some monument at Assisi.[3]

Three authentic pictures by Sinibaldo Ibi mark him as one of the feeblest of the followers of the Peruginesque school in the beginning of the sixteenth century. At Gubbio, where he was

consumatū fuit AD. MCCCCCXV. . ." MEZZANOTTE gives the date as 1518, and adds the name: "Tiberius de Assisis pinxit," which is now absent (*Life of Perugino*, p. 237). The person who painted the portion here alluded to is obviously Tiberio, who chose for subjects: (1) The Preaching of St. Francis and Publication of the Indulgence; (2) St. Francis in the midst of roses before a Pope and his suite of cardinals; (3) Christ and the Virgin in glory, and St. Francis below, offering roses at an altar; (4) St. Francis naked amongst thorns (lower part new); (5) St. Francis between two angels (much injured). A lunette above the altar, with St. Francis and his companions, seems also by Tiberio, as well as an Eternal (injured) in the ceiling.

[1] In the cappella S. Antonio at S. Francesco of Assisi is an altarpiece of the Crucifixion, four waiting angels, SS. Liberius (?), Anthony the Abbot, Francis and Chiara, a flat and wire drawn picture by Tiberio (figures life-size). In the gallery of Perugia, two Crucifixes (Sala XVIII., Nos. 14, 15) are classed as productions of the fifteenth century, and are probably by Tiberio. Eight lunettes with scenes from the life of the Virgin in S. Anna of Foligno seem by the same hand, as well as several frescoes on the walls of the church of S. Simone, on the road to Bettona. MARIOTTI mentions a Nativity and a Majesty, signed: "Tiberius de Assisis p. p. MD XVIII," near Murelli, outside the suburbs of Perugia (*Lett., u.s.*, pp. 209–10). [* This picture is now in the Villa Monaldi, near Perugia.

As works by Tiberio may further be noticed:

Castel Ritaldi (near Spoleto). Parish church. The Eternal, SS. Sylvester, Catherine of Alexandria, and Raphael (frescoes, signed "Tiberius de A."; see OJETTI, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. ii., vol. ii, p. 252 *sqq.*).

London. Mr. P. Gellatly. SS. Ansano, Claire, and Francis (frescoes, transferred to canvas; formerly in the church of S. Michele at Bastia, near Assisi; see GUARDABASSI, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti . . . dell' Umbria*, Perugia, 1872, p. 34; GNOLI, in *Rassegna d' arte umbra*, i. 52, 101).

Sigmaringen. Prince Hohenzollern. The Coronation of the Virgin, with SS. John the Baptist and Claire. Signed at the back: "La facta fari sora vetoria da montefalco Tiberio de Asisi pinxit A.D. MDXII" (see HARCK, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. vi., p. 390, with reproduction).

Stroncone. Monastery of S. Francesco, chapel of St. Anthony. The Virgin and Child with four saints (fresco, dated 1509; see LANZI, in *Augusta Perusia*, i. 11).]

[2] In this record he is called Tiberius Diotalevi de Assisis (MARIOTTI, *u.s.*, 210).

[3] This notice is taken from a sketch of the life of Dono Doni, in *Archivio stor., u.s.*, ser. iii., No. 40., October, 1865, by Antonio Cristofani. From the same source we learn that Tiberio's brother Diosebio was also a painter.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Sinibaldo Ibi

From a picture in the Cathedral, Gubbio

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in company with Orlando of Perugia,[1] he finished the Virgin and Child between SS. Sebastian and Ubaldo, in 1507, for one of the cathedral altars. Without any powers to justify his pretensions he affects to rival the grace of Pinturicchio, and the tenderness of Raphael, but the result is altogether poor. His Infant Christ is wooden. His St. Sebastian totters on the floor, and St. Ubaldo is a caricature of Manni. Mechanical outlines and dark strips of shadow, insufficient to relieve a flat red tone of flesh, are prominent faults.[2]

It is puzzling to be asked to assign to the same hand a Virgin of Mercy in the collection of the Marquis Ranghiasci at Gubbio, a canvas banner in which Raphael is imitated with a certain success and with much of the character peculiar to Timoteo Viti.[3] We revert to the more certain inferiority of Ibi in an enthroned Virgin, Child, and saints of 1524, originally in a church on one of the

[1] Orlando is noticed as the companion of Sinibaldo Ibi at Gubbio in a register of expenses of the fraternity of S. Maria de' Laici (*Libro di Amministrazione*, 1504 to 1509, p. 91). In the *Libro delle Reformazioni del Comune di Gubbio*, 1502 to 1506. p. 106, Orlando's reception of the right of city at Gubbio is registered (see *antea* as to a banner in S. Croce, and in Pinturicchio as to a Nativity in the Duomo of Gubbio).

[2] On the border of a conical canopy above the Virgin's head is the date : "AD.MCCCCCVII." and on the sides of the Virgin's throne: "Sinibaldus Perusinus pinsit hoc hopus sexto Kalendas Octobri." Two angels kneeling on clouds at the sides of the canopy are full of Peruginesque affectation. The same is apparent in St. Sebastian on the right of the throne, holding a dart. S. Ubaldo, in episcopals, is a grotesque caricature of the manner in which Manni details the human features. On the arms of the throne are the words: "Hieronimus de Bentivolus p. p. plo et Madalene soris sue."

[3] This piece is very superior to the foregoing. If proved to be by Sinibaldo, it would be his best work. The angels above the Virgin, holding festoons, are quite Raphaelesque (one of them is mutilated), and that on the left supporting the Virgin's mantle is reminiscent of Spagna (that on the right scaled away). In the foreground kneel eight figures in white under the Virgin's cloak. The Virgin herself has a pleasant round head; the Child is outlined also in good curves. It is said that this is the banner of the brotherhood of the Laici for which there is a record that Ibi had the commission in August, 1509, after he had, in 1504, painted a banner for the same community representing also the Virgin of Mercy on one side. and S. Ubaldo on the other (see MS. vol. *Di Amministrazione della Fraternità di S. M. de' Laici*, 1504 to 1509, August, 1509, p. 91, in the archive of Gubbio, in which the commission to Ibi is contained). [* The last-mentioned banner is now in the Communal Gallery at Gubbio, and is signed: "Sinibaldus Perusinus pinxit MCCCCCIII." The present whereabouts of the banner seen by the authors in the Ranghiasci collection is not known to me.]

islands of the Thrasimene Lake, and now in the left transept at S. Francesca Romana at Rome,[1] and in an Annunciation of 1528, lately preserved in the Audience of the Notaries at Perugia.[2] Less authentic, though in his mode, are the Madonna and saints of 1510 in the hall of the Confraternita di S. Agostino,[3] the Virgin and Child between SS. Peter, Catherine, Agatha, and Paul in S. Agostino,[4] other subjects in the gallery of Perugia,[5] and the Virgin enthroned between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, the kneeling Francis, and Bernardino, in the convent of nuns of S. Bernardino at Orvieto.[6]

[1] It was originally in S. Secondo, on the Isola Polvese, afterwards in the church of S. Antonio Abate at Perugia, and in 1813 carried away (MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, p. 202; MEZZANOTTE, p. 282). It is now in S. Francesca Romana, at Rome, not dated 1532 (PASSAVANT, *Raphael*, i. 520; and GAYE, *Kunstblatt*, No. 86, 1836), but signed as follows on the front of the pedestal of the Virgin's throne: "Sinibaldus Perusinus pinsit MDXXIIII." The picture is high up, above a door, in the left transept of the church [* it is now above the first altar to the left]. Wood, oil, figures half life-size; much cleaned and overpainted. It is defective in drawing and without relief. A lunette of the Eternal, once above it, is missing. The saints at the Virgin's sides are four in number, including St. John the Baptist; and the head of that on the extreme right is repainted.

[2] This panel passed into the hands of Signor V. Bertelli, and is now deposited in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XVIII., No. 22). It is much injured, has inky shadows, and is said (our notes are mislaid) to bear the inscription: "Scribarum impensa, Sinibaldo Perusino pictore fiebat opus ex archetipo veniens MDXX"; and on the base of the desk, before the Virgin: "MDXXVIII" (MARIOTTI, pp. 203–5).

[3] Virgin and Child enthroned in a court between SS. Augustine and Sebastian. On a hexagonal step the date: "AD.MCCCCCX" (wood, oil). Now under the name of Manni in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XVIII., No. 29). The piece is not without character akin to Manni's, but of a lower class. The Virgin, in an exaggerated movement, is Peruginesque, the Child very heavy and square, the St. Sebastian affecting a mannered pose, and wooden, the St. Augustine paltry and short. Colour flat, pale yellow; drapery common. [* This picture was ordered in 1508 from Berto di Giovanni and Sinibaldo Ibi jointly (BOMBE, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, iii. 503).]

[4] Wood, oil. On the step one reads: "AD. M.CCCCCVIIII. L. A. S. I. ." The last letters are like those in the Adoration of the Magi by Eusebio (see *antea*). The picture is light and unrelieved, more like Manni or Eusebio than Ibi. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XVII., No. 10), and may confidently be assigned to Eusebio, from whom it appears to have been ordered in 1506 (URBINI, *u.s.*, p. 52).]

[5] Perugia Gallery, formerly No 66. St. Francis (wood, oil), of a pleasing but flat tone. [* Now Sala XVIII., No. 24 ? This is, however, not a panel, but a standard.] Formerly No. 129: Virgin, Child, and two saints; cold, poor, and injured. [* Now Sala XVIII., No. 27.]

[6] Wood, oil, well preserved. The figures are short, the head round, and the

Photo. Alinari

ST. JOHN EVANGELIST IN PATMOS

By Berto di Giovanni

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia.

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Sinibaldo Ibi is noted in the guild of Perugia, and was one of the voters of a hundred at an election in 1527.[1] He may claim to fill a space in the chronology of Italian artists like that held at the same period by Berto di Giovanni.

A curt entry in the register of taxes at Perugia proves that the latter was a householder in 1497. He made pennons for the trumpeters of the Magistracy in 1501, with Fiorenzo and Eusebio; is noticed in a record of 1507, and in documents of 1511–13, as companion in art to Domenico di Paris Alfani.[2] In 1516 the nuns of S. Maria di Monteluce, near Perugia, renewed an old contract with Raphael for a Coronation of the Virgin, agreeing to pay him 120 ducats on the arrival of the panel from Rome in 1517, and binding Berto di Giovanni to furnish the frame and predella for 80 ducats.[3] It is historical that Raphael was unable to fulfil his promise to the nuns, and that the contract was not carried out till 1525, by Giulio Romano and Penni. Disappointed in 1517 by the neglect of Raphael, it would appear that the nuns employed some one to furnish a Coronation to take the place intended for Raphael's. At all events, there is a representation of the subject in a poor style, reminiscent of Ibi and Manni, on the altar once occupied by that of Giulio Romano and Penni in S. Maria di Monteluce.[4] It is dated July 25, 1517, and seems by the same hand as a St. John Evangelist in Patmos at S. Giuliana of Perugia.[5] At the foot of the altarpiece of S. Giuliana is a

group of Virgin and Child reminiscent of the Raphaelesque. Ibi is perhaps the author of the copy of Perugino's Marseilles altarpiece in the Castelbarco Gallery at Milan.

[1] MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, p. 205.

[2] MARIOTTI, pp. 205, 206, 232, 242. [* In 1506 Berto di Giovanni agreed to execute the (still extant) picture for the high-altar of S. Francesco at Montone (see BOMBE, *u.s.*).]

[3] The whole contract in BIANCONI, *Opere*, Milan, 1802, vol. iv., p. 52, is reprinted in PASSAVANT, *u.s.*, *Raphael*, ii. 382 and following.

[4] The Virgin is crowned on a high throne, at the sides of which are SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Augustine (?) and Paul, SS. Jerome and Francis kneeling in front. On the throne step: AD. M.DXVII die XXV Julii. The forms are not pleasing, and there is no relief. The drawing is mechanically careful, but faulty. The flat colour shaded with grey, is a hard, light red. The style recalls Manni and Ibi. MEZZANOTTE attributes the picture to Domenico Alfani (p. 252). [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XVI., No. 16).]

[5] Now Perugia Gallery (Sala XVI., No. 14). Same manner as the Coronation, of slight colour and done at one painting. The figure of St. John is grotesque, ill proportioned, and badly drawn. Wood, oil. The Eternal looks down from a

predella with various subjects: Two Female Saints, a St. John Evangelist, a Martyrdom in a Caldron, and a Miracle. The style displayed in these small works is more modern than that in the figure of the Evangelist in Patmos above it.

When the Coronation originally ordered of Raphael was brought from Rome to S. Maria di Monteluce in 1525, the predella, including the Nativity, Presentation, Marriage, and Death of the Virgin, was delivered, it may be presumed, by Berto who had contracted for it. This predella, dated 1525, is like a production of a later Raphaelesque, of a red-brown colour with strong shadows. It betrays the hand of one in the same relation as Bagnacavallo is proved to have been to Raphael; but it is curiously like the predella of the St. John Evangelist in Patmos at S. Giuliana of Perugia. Are we to infer that the painter of the Evangelist and of the Coronation of 1517, who at that time imitated Ibi and Manni, is the same who, in the interval between that date and 1525, changed to a more lively and modern Raphaelesque manner? These questions must remain open for the present. It may be necessary in the meantime to note that an Eternal and a Virgin in the Naples Gallery, which seem fragments of one altarpiece, resemble in execution the Coronation of 1517 at Monteluce.[1] We thus know but little really of Berto di Giovanni; and the only additional fact connected with his life is that he laboured for the magistrates of Perugia in 1520, and was of the Perugian guild.[2]

lunette. The original drawing for the Evangelist, by the same hand as the picture, is in the Royal collection at Stockholm, under the name of Raphael (from the Crozat collection).

[1] Naples Museum, Sala VI., No. 33. Wood, oil, life-size. Represents the Eternal in a glory of rays and seraphs (four), with a crown in his hands, wooden in form, raw in colour. Not numbered (wood, oil), in addition, Virgin, half-length, also with a crown in her hand. These two pieces, by a pupil of Perugino, exhibit the same style of art as the St. John and Coronation of Monteluce of 1517. [* As shown by Dr. FISCHEL (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxxiii. 105 *sqq.*, xxxiv. 89 *sqq.*), these are fragments of the altarpiece representing the Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, which Raphael and Evangelista da Pian di Meleto, on December 10, 1500, undertook to paint for the church of S. Agostino at Città di Castello.]

[2] MARIOTTI, p. 207. We have seen (*antea*, in Perugino) that Mr. Ruhland has suggested the probability that certain fragments of frescoes in the Connestabili collection at Perugia are by Berto, though assigned to Perugino. [* Berto di Giovanni was dead by October 14, 1529 (BOMBE, *u.s.*).]

His son Jerome is in its register also from 1523 to his death in 1543.[1]

Turning for awhile from the consideration of works by native Perugians, we shall not find a less remarkable extension of the influence of Perugino and Pinturicchio in Francesco of Città di Castello, or Tifernate, who reminds us in an Annunciation at S. Domenico of that place, of the class which Ibi represents, with longer proportions in the human frame, and draperies of more unnatural festoon.[2] A similar subject in the sacristy of the cathedral,[3] and a Virgin, Child and saints, in the convent church of Tutti Santi,[4] a Virgin and angel annunciate belonging to Signor Mancini,[5] all in Città di Castello, betray an effort to mingle the Peruginesque with the grace of the youthful Raphael, whilst now and then a fibre as of Signorelli may be traced.

A far more interesting and able man in this class is Gerino of Pistoia, whose education in an Umbrian atelier produced an art of a Peruginesque stamp. His character is cleverly drawn by Vasari, who says that he was a friend of Pinturicchio, a diligent

[1] Orsini, *Life of Perugino, u.s.*, note to p. 294.

[2] This picture (wood, oil, figures almost life-size) hangs in the choir of S. Domenico. [* It is now in the Communal Gallery of Città di Castello (No. 76).] On the front of the floor one reads: "Franciscus Thifer." Francesco is a low-class Umbrian painter, whose colours are given with high body, and slightly glazed, the tone being generally a little red. The outlines, which are also red, are broken and angular. The Virgin, strained in movement, has a long, thin head, curiously dressed in tresses. The hands are drawn and cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The angels in flight, at the sides of the Eternal in benediction, are obese in face; the cherubs in the glory round-headed.

[3] This Annunciation is represented in an interior (wood, oil, figures half life-size, injured). There is great affectation in the forms, which are imitated without success from those of Raphael's early time. The faces betray an effort to realize something in the mode of Signorelli.

[4] The subjects of this arched altarpiece are the Annunciation in a lunette, and the Virgin and Child between SS. Augustine, Catherine, Francis, and Nicholas. There is a Peruginesque turn in the figure of the angel annunciate. The Infant in the lower composition gives the ring to St. Catherine. The attempt to approach, in these and other figures, the grace of Raphael is singularly unsuccessful. The outlines are hard, the colour dry, but the careful execution, especially of hair and beard, would not be unworthy of Timoteo Viti. [* This altarpiece is now in the Communal Gallery of Città di Castello (No. 75).]

[5] This panel, assigned by some to Signorelli, is said also to have been part of Raphael's Dudley House Crucifixion; if so, by another hand (wood, oil). [* *Cf. antea*, p. 112, n. 5.]

colourist, and a follower of Vannucci.[1] When he did the Virgin of Succour at S. Agostino of Borgo S. Sepolcro in 1502, he might already be considered a fair copyist of his master as regards type and proportion, drawing, and colour;[2] and there is no reason to doubt that his talents were valued at that time and in that spot beyond those of others, as the remains of frescoes about contemporary with the Virgin of Succour still testify. Of these some are preserved in a passage leading to the sacristy of the Pieve,[3] and others are visible, though rapidly yielding to the effects of time, in a tabernacle at Fonte Secca di Borgo, outside the Porta Nuova of Borgo S. Sepolcro.[4] In his fresco at the Pieve, which represents St. Barbara and a couple of other saints, he leaves the impression as of a tolerably gifted artist, partial to warm tones, more nearly related to Perugino than to Pinturicchio. In the tabernacle, the fine contours of an erect Virgin and Child between SS. Sebastian and Roch give an idea of his power as an imitator of young Raphael and of Perugino. Without further inquiry, one might say of Gerino, in consideration of these efforts, that he was a second-rate Peruginesque, heading Manni and Eusebio, but inferior to Spagna.

In 1505 he is employed in the cathedral of his native city[5] and in 1509 he furnishes for the neighbouring church of S. Pietro Maggiore an altarpiece of the Virgin, Child, and saints, that may still be seen there. Years have elapsed since he frequented the atelier of Perugino, and in the interval he has altered. The weight

[1] VASARI, iii. 506 *sq.*

[2] This is a canvas. It represents, as usual, the Virgin, erect, saving a child from the grasp of Satan, and threatening the Evil Spirit with a stick, whilst the mother kneels on the left in prayer (life-size figures). The flesh of the child is bleached by exposure, and the drawing is bared, but there is no restoring. On the border one reads: "Hoc opus pisit Gerinus pistorensis MCCCCCII."

[3] VASARI mentions these without giving the subjects (iii. 507). S. Barbara holds a tower, and near her, in the foreground, is a saint wielding a sword. The other fragment represents a canonized cardinal and a friar in white. Vasari also speaks of a Circumcision by Gerino (wood, oil) in the Compagnia del buon Gesù at Borgo S. Sepolcro, but it is missing (VASARI, iii. 506 *sq.*).

[4] This fresco is likely soon to disappear. Is it that described by VASARI (iii. 507) as "Sulla Strada che va ad Anghiari"?

[5] The payment for a figure of St. Zeno above the door of the Duomo, near the Campanile, is in GUALANDI, under date August 18, 1505 (*Memorie, u.s.*, ser. vi., p. 35).

and breadth of the head in his figures become more conspicuous; the frames are smaller, and the draperies are more paltry. His art is thus more akin to Pinturicchio's; but his drawing, and the soft fusion of rich and juicy tones, disclose an increased tendency to study Raphael's early creations.[1] This mixture of Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael is most striking in the Last Supper at S. Onofrio of Florence, attributed by so many critics to Vannucci and Sanzio; and it is not unlikely that Gerino, with other pupils of Vannucci, should have had a share in its execution. He produces, indeed, something like it in the frescoes of S. Lucchese, near Poggibonsi. He laboured in the convent of that name about 1513, and two scenes from the life of Christ, with that date and his signature, are preserved in a refectory, now turned to the profane uses of a canteen. They are hastily done, of strong colour, and mannered in drawing, though still Peruginesque, and showing the gradual descent of Gerino into the slough of conventionalism and ease.[2] In later years, a fresco of St. Agatha and St. Eulalia (1520),

[1] Under a daïs like those of Pinturicchio, the Virgin sits enthroned with the naked Infant Christ erect on her lap. On the left stand a youthful figure in armour, and St. Peter; on the right, SS. Paul and John the Baptist (figures all but life-size). In a predella is Christ between the twelve apostles. On a "cartellino," on the step of the throne, one reads: "hoc opus fecit Gerinus Pistoriësis MCCCCCVIIII." There is no balance of light and shade. The saint in armour has a round Peruginesque head, similar in this particular to those of the Virgin and Child, and of St. Paul. The face of St. Peter is pinched and small (injured by old restoring). The picture has been recently cleaned, but remains in its old gilt frame.

See for a panel in the style of the above a so-called Perugino in the gallery of Count Sergei Stroganoff at St. Petersburg (*antea*, Perugino, p. 367 *sq.*). [* The catalogue of the W. Coningham sale (June 9, 1849) mentions (under No. 49) a "Virgin and Child enthroned with St. John, St. Lawrence, St. Augustine, and St. Theresa," by Gerino da Pistoia, signed and dated 1510, and coming from "the nunnery of St. Clare at Città San Sepolcro."]

[2] In one arch is Christ amongst the apostles, and raising one of them who kneels before him, all in a landscape (figures less than life-size). In another is the Miracle of the loaves and fishes. On a border, in which are a Virgin and Child, and a St. Francis, one reads: "Hoc opus pinsit Gerinus Pistoriënsis. 1513." The whole of the remains is much injured.

In the church of the fortress of S. Lucchese (on an altar to the right) is a panel, in tempera, representing the Noli me tangere, with the Eternal above in a circular glory, and in a border (in rounds) SS. Francis and Anthony the Abbot. This piece is scaled in many places. It reminds one somewhat of Lorenzo di Credi, but it may be by Gerino or one of his school.

in S. Paolo, and a Coronation of the Virgin on the first staircase of the Palazzo della Comunità, at Pistoia strongly show the feeble side of his character.[1] He is less Peruginesque and more Florentine, but weak as a draughtsman, and no longer charming by richness of tint. The Virgin with saints of 1529, originally in the Convento di Sala at Pistoia, and now in the Uffizi, exhibits the progress of this final change more clearly still. The Perugian element is not entirely eradicated, but nearly so, and the tints are grey and dull. One could hardly tell, indeed, how the same Gerino should produce a piece so totally different from that of 1502.[2] But the history of this gradual transformation teaches us that a man of second-rate powers may in his youth, and at a good school, be respectable in works which he no longer equals when he has lost the spur of rivalry and the advantage of daily studying the examples of a great master.

Without the feeling of Gerino for colour, but influenced in a certain measure by Pinturicchio and Vannucci, Giovanni Battista of Faenza, or Bertucci, as he is more commonly called, now claims our attention.[3] Bertucci's name is found in numerous contemporary records, in which he is noted as "Johannes Baptista olim Michaelis de Bertucciis." The earliest reference to him found by local investigators is a contract for an altarpiece once exhibited

[1] The two saints are little below life-size, of a dull reddish flesh tone, inscribed: "Jacopo di Cristofano Donzello de Sinnioria a fatto fare questo altare per sua devotione. 1520." The character of the figures is more than ever small, the handling like that of a large picture at the Uffizi in Florence. In the fresco of the Coronation, SS. Apollonia and Eulalia kneel at the sides of the foreground.

A wall-painting on one of the altars to the right, in S. Andrea of Pistoia, was uncovered shortly before 1866. (It had been partially concealed by a canvas of more modern date.) It is much repainted, but exhibits something of Gerino. Subject: The Crucifixion (Christ in wood) with many saints; in a lunette, the Resurrection. A St. James in S. Maria dell' Umiltà is also assigned to Gerino TOLOMEI, *Guida*, p. 93; and TIGRI, *Guida*, p. 217). It is a canvas, dated: "MD."

[2] Uffizi, No. 91. Virgin and Child between SS. James, Cosmo, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Roch, and a male saint with a crown, inscribed: "Gerinus Antonii de Pistorio pinsit 1529." This picture, originally in the convent di Sala, was exchanged for the Uffizi with a picture by Rosselli (TOLOMEI. *Guida*, p. 176). There is a reminiscence of Fra Paolino of Pistoia mingled with the old Peruginesque character in this picture.

[3] Giovanni Battista is not to be confounded with a later painter of the same name, for whom see BOTTARI, *Raccolta*, in vol. vii., pp. 98 and 104.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Gerino da Pistoia

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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on the high-altar of Sant' Antonio of Faenza, a composite picture with the Virgin and Child attended by St. Jerome in the centre, the Pietà in an upper course, and two figures of the Baptist and St. Francis in a predella. This altarpiece was finished on May 29, 1503. The second authentic proof of Bertucci's existence is a Virgin in Majesty, originally composed for Sant' Ippolito, but now in the Municipal Gallery of Faenza, and inscribed with the date of 1506. Bertucci was not a painter of repute beyond the walls of his native city; but he had a large practice there which extended to every branch of the art. The largest commissions of which we have note as having been entrusted to him is one dated 1510 (*circa*), in which he executes, with the assistance of local painters, a series of frescoes in the library of the Monastery of San Domenico; and another, dated 1511, to execute frescoes in the church of the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Grazie. In both cases Bertucci's work has not survived. His will in the archives of Faenza bears the date of 1516, at which time he is described as "corpore languens."[1] Bertucci inherited the technical handling, the dull opacity of tone, and the rigidity of Palmezzano; but he also had a local style related in feeling to the Umbrian, and his pictures are kindred of others by uncertain artists at Faenza.[2] The earliest of these is a Virgin and Child enthroned between two kneeling saints, in the Pinacoteca of Faenza, an assemblage of poor, dry figures of pale brown-grey tone in flesh, by a precursor of Bertucci;[3] the next a Nativity with saints, and a Flight into Egypt in the distance, in the same gallery, equally careful in finish, but combining the same sort of poverty in forms and colour as the previous example, with something Peruginesque in the faces.[4] An Adoration of the Magi in this collection follows, and

[1] See the records in *Dei Pittori e degli' artisti faentini de' secoli XV e XVI Ricordi di* GIAN MARCELLO VALGIMIGLI, 8°, Faenza, 1869, pp. 17-23. Signor Valgimigli describes as extant in private hands (Fratelli Guidi) at Faenza a lunette epresenting the Coronation of the Virgin, originally in Santa Caterina of Faenza. [* This is the lunette of the picture now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (see *postea*, p. 475); it was sold at the sale of the Guidi collection at Rome in 1902).]

[2] Of these see a catalogue in the *Calendario Faentino*.

[3] Wood, figures one-third the size of life.

[4] Much damaged and partly renewed in the draperies. It is catalogued amongst Bertucci's works. The child lies on the ground with the youthful Baptist near it;

exhibits more of Bertucci's character, being on a level in value with two frescoes of saints in niches in the sacristy of the Servi at Faenza. The latter, however, though lean and slight, are not without dignity, and have a mixed Florentine and Umbrian air.[1] A Christ on the road to Golgotha, and a Pietà, bright wall-paintings removed from the refectory into the cloister of the Michelline of Faenza, are conceived in the Umbro-Peruginesque style, but not without expression or life in the features and action of the thinly-built personages. The art is akin to Gerino's, and not improbably Bertucci's.[2] Two Madonnas of the school might be named in the Communal Gallery at Forlì and in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.[3] We come upon Bertucci with certainty in a Majesty, inscribed and dated 1506, in the Municipal Gallery of Faenza. It is remarkable for tenuity in the engraved outlines, for the length and leanness, as well as overweighted head, of the figures, for the hardness of the drapery, and the redness of the flesh tones. In a lunette the Eternal glances downward upon the portico, in the arches of which two angels in the Umbrian mould of Perugino and Pinturicchio, hang the crown of heaven above the Virgin's head. Two more hold up the drapery of her cloak as she stands erect with the Child in her arms. In front of her, two boys of slight proportions have each a foot on the step of her pedestal, one to the left looking up with joined hands, the

the Virgin and St. Joseph in adoration at its head and feet. On the sides, SS. Jerome, John, and Bernardino (wood, oil). A piece has been added to the bottom of the panel.

[1] These saints are in niches with scalloped semi-domes. They are in fresco and of life-size. One is the beato Enea with a cross, a lily, and a book; the other is the beato Giacomo Bertoni with joined hands. Both are in friar's dress. The necks and hands are thin and small.

[2] The figures in these fragments are one-quarter of life-size.

[3] At Forlì, the half-length Virgin and Child (No. 68) is attributed to one Giovanni Battista de Rusitis, by whom it is said there are inscribed works in existence. [* These are a Virgin and Child with angels, signed: "Jo Baptista de Rositis Foroliviensis pinxit 1500 de Mense Martii," in the church of S. Maria del Trivio at Velletri, and a Virgin and Child in the Chapter-House at Esztergom (Hungary), signed: "Johannes Baptista de Rositis Foroliviensis pinxit Theo toco 1507." The picture in the gallery at Forlì is inscribed at the back in a later hand: "De Rositis pict. Foro," and, according to Professor C. Ricci, the style of the painting countenances this name (see RICCI, in *L' Arte*, xiv. 91 *sq.*).]

In the Borghese Gallery the Virgin and Child (No. 401) is assigned to Perugino, but is probably by Bertucci.

Photo, Hanfstaengl

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Giovanni Battista Bertucci
From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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other playing a mandoline.[1] Other pieces of the same sort, in which the rigidity of the Forlivese school is apparent, adorn the gallery—*e.g.*, two panels with SS. Hypollitus and Romualdo, Benedict and Lawrence in couples,[2] a Baptist in the desert,[3] a Magdalen in a landscape,[4] in all of which the colour reminds one of Palmezzano's for its flatness, rawness, and cold shadows; whilst the method of rendering form and drapery unites Umbrian peculiarities with the angularity of Cotignola. With such things before us, we cannot assign to any one else but Bertucci the Adoration of the Magi in the Berlin Museum, which has been catalogued under Pinturicchio's name, and the Glorification of the Virgin in the National Gallery, attributed to Spagna. The first was commissioned for the Manzolini family in S. Caterina of Faenza;[5] the second was for a time in the Ercolani collection at Bologna. The Adoration is composed and drawn after the fashion of Pinturicchio's Sienese works, but tinted like Bertucci's, and filled with figures of his tenuous outline. The Glorification is still more remarkable.[6] The Virgin and Child are not unlike Pinturicchio's in the altarpiece of 1508 at S. Andrea of Spello; but the two infant angels on the marble platform below are in the spirit of those placed by Bertucci in his picture of 1506. The glassy raw tones are likewise similar to those of the Faventine who jumbles in a lifeless cento Pinturicchio, Spagna, and Palmezzano.[7]

[1] The altarpiece is 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 8½ inches. On a "cartellino" are the words: "Jōanes Baptista de Favētia pi sit ano domini 1506."

[2] Size, 4 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 9 inches. The colour of strong impasto, unglazed, like the works of Panetti of Ferrara. [* These are the wings of a triptych in the centre of which is the Virgin.]

[3] The movement, pose and drapery quite like those of Pinturicchio; size, 3 feet 7½ inches by 1 foot 10 inches. [* This and the following picture are the wings of the Adoration of the Magi at Berlin, to be noticed presently.]

[4] Same size and appearance as the foregoing. In the same gallery is a fragment (wood) inclosing a round of the Virgin and Child, by a local painter imitating Pinturicchio and Spagna, and the youth of Raphael.

[5] Vermiglioli, *Vita di Pinturicchio*, p. 28. The picture is No. 132 in the Berlin Museum (wood, oil). The style of drawing, cast and detail of drapery, value of local tone, and technical execution, are all like those of Bertucci's Virgin of 1506.

[6] No. 282, National Gallery; purchased from the collection of Lord Orford at Wolverton. Same style and handling as at Berlin and Faenza.

[*7] The following pictures by Bertucci are yet to be noticed:

Budapest. Gallery, No. 107. The Marriage of St. Catherine.

The spread of Perugian art was not confined, however, to Umbria or the Marches. To the South it went as far as Naples; to the North it touched the Alps.

In the refectory of S. Maria la Nuova at Naples,[1] an Umbrian composer, with slight power as a draughtsman or a colourist, has bequeathed to us a whole series of frescoes, which by some strange caprice or error have been given to the Donzelli. In a lunette the Virgin receives the crown from the Redeemer, in the midst of angels. In a lower course the Virgin and Child are adored by the Magi, in the presence of a numerous suite; and saints of the Franciscan order kneel or stand at the sides of the principal scene. Beneath this, the Annunciation and the Nativity fill the compartments at the side of a door. The spirit of the composition is that of Pinturicchio, the treatment as rude as anything produced by Tiberio d'Assisi.[2] But the artist is neither of these. His hand, or at least that of one intimately connected with him, is to be found in a more hasty and unskilfully treated Pietà, with an Adoration of the Magi, and numerous medallions beneath it, an altarpiece in a chapel of the convent church of Liveri, two miles from Nola. Some of the figures seem repetitions of those in the Adoration at Naples, the style of drawing and the colouring being equally, if not more, defective. The interest of this panel is great,

Faenza. Gallery. The Call of Peter and Andrew. The Virgin and Child with angels.

London. National Gallery, No. 1,051. Christ, SS. Thomas and Anthony of Padua, and a donor.

*1 This room serves now for the meetings of the Provincial Council of Naples.

2 The fresco is injured. A large flaw cuts a portion of the Virgin and Child in the Adoration, and the drapery of the kneeling king is repainted. There is also a vertical flaw in the Nativity. Amongst the kneeling friars at the sides of the Adoration are (left) SS. Francis, Bernardino, and Anthony of Padua; (right) St. Buonaventura and others. Dominici, who describes these wall-paintings, has discovered that the head of the third king is a portrait of Alphonso II.! The character and mould of the slender figures are ugly, the outlines hard and black, the colour brown, red, sombre, and flat. [* On the frieze is the inscription: "M. L. A. P. Corona aurea super caput ejus expressa signo santitatis gloriae honoris et opus fortitudinis et desideria oculorum ornata. Eccl. XLV. V. II (?)." Professor Rolfs (*Geschichte der Malerei Neapels*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 118 *sq.*) suggests that the four letters at the beginning of this inscription stand for "M(agister) L(oisius) A(bbas) P(inxit). We possess records of such a painter—also known as Loisio dello Abbate, dating from 1492 and 1497. As for the third king in the Adoration, Professor Rolfs thinks he may be a portrait of Ferdinand II. (*died* 1496).]

because a " cartellino " on the right-hand foreground bears the words: " Magister Franciscus T . l . . . . . us pinxit M.D.XXV. L." If it could be supposed that in Francesco's shop the Adoration was carried out with the help of assistants, it might be inferred that he in person executed the frescoes of S. Maria la Nuova at Naples. Yet it may be also that Francesco is but the pupil or aid of the author of the frescoes, who proves himself by his work to be of Umbrian origin.[1] But the altarpiece at Liveri is not solitary. Another in the same church is devoted to the Virgin, Child, angels and saints, with a crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and Evangelist in a lunette, and eight incidents from the life of St. Barbara in a predella. On a " cartello " at the foot of the central panel are the words: " Dspũm a franc° Tollentinate factũ posuit simulacrum ab r̃manato Deo 1530."[2] A second is a Virgin and Child between two saints, with the Resurrection in a lunette, and apostles in a predella, on the pilasters of which is the inscription: " Jacopo Pastore de Montefusculo pinxit año dñi M.CCCCCXLIIII."[3] A third, in the same shape, is devoted to SS. Zachariah and Elizabeth, between SS. John the Baptist and James of Compostella, with an Annunciation in a lunette, and three scenes in a predella.[4] In the two latter the style is a coarse derivation from that of Francesco of Tolentino, but taking its rise at an Umbrian source, and of a class in which Giovanni da Monte Rubbiano has already found a place. That class is headed by Vincenzo Pagani of Monte Rubbiano, to whom a Peruginesque Holy Family with saints, miscalled Crivelli, in

[1] The second and third kings are similar in appearance and movement to those in the Naples fresco. The colour is flat, brown-red, and of a hard, thin texture. The lights and shadows are hatched, and betray want of practice in handling oil medium. The outlines are black. The drawing is poorer, however, than at S. Maria la Nuova. In the border medallions are the Messiah between SS. Guarinus and Peter. Paul and Bernard.

[2] This altarpiece is in a great measure repainted. In the central panel, the Infant Christ takes cherries from the young Baptist, and two angels hang the crown over the Virgin's head. At the sides are SS. Anthony the Abbot and Barbara.

[3] The Resurrection is greatly damaged. The saints at the Virgin's sides are Benedict and Jerome.

[4] The predella, which is almost gone, represents the Nativity, Resurrection, and Adoration of the Magi.

S. Francesco of Monte Santo Pietrangeli, near Fermo, may be assigned,[1] and Cola dell' Amatrice, who apes Raphael and Michael Angelo.[2]

An ill-taught Northern painter upon whom Perugino left a clear impression is Franciscus Verlas,[3] whose Virgin, Child and angels, in the Brera at Milan, is dated 1511. Without feeling or life, Verlas reminds us of Vannucci in his angels, whilst his Virgin and Child are like those produced by the later followers of Mantegna.[4] He is still more Peruginesque in a Marriage of St. Catherine, dated 1512, at Schio near Vicenza. The Eternal in benediction, in a lunette, is fairly though flatly imitated; the children are drawn in the puffy Umbrian mode of Gerino of Pistoia.[5] The Chiesa dell' Ospitale, in which this altarpiece is preserved, seems to have

[1] RICCI (*Painters of the Marches, u.s.*, i. p. 210), assigns this picture to Crivelli. It is an altarpiece in courses with the Holy Virgin, Child, and young Baptist in the centre, between SS. Anthony of Padua and Peter, Francis and Sebastian. In an upper course, the Pietà between SS. Lawrence and a bishop, Bernardino and Catherine. In pinnacle rounds, the Eternal between four saints. Predella: Christ between the twelve apostles (wood, oil). This piece shows a derivation from Perugino, and recalls Eusebio in type and character. It has the same stamp as Pagani's authentic works of 1507 at Pausola, and 1529 at Sarnano; as others in the cathedral, and S. Giovanni; as frescoes in S. Liberata, of Macerata; as a picture in S. Francesco of the Minorites at Massa.

[*2] Compare on this painter CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS. ii. 441 *sq.*

[*3] In Italian, Francesco Verla.

[4] Milan, Brera, No. 197, signed: "Franciscus Verlas MDXI.," on canvas, of a grey and opaque tone. [* The signature is somewhat difficult to decipher, but it seems that it ought to be read as follows: "Franciscus verla F^{a}. l. s. MDXX." (*cf.* GEROLA, in *L'Arte*, xi. 340). The date is surely 1520; the picture is therefore the latest dated work by that master which is extant. A sketch for the composition—which is based on Mantegna's Madonna della Vittoria, now in the Louvre—is on a sheet in the Berlin Museum, on the other side of which is a drawing for an angel in the lunette of the Schio altarpiece (both drawings reproduced in *L'Arte*, i. 299 *sq.*).]

[5] Chiesa dell' Ospitale. Canvas, oil, inscribed on a card, on the step of the throne: "Franciscus Verlus de Vincentia pinxit die XX. Junii MDXII." The Virgin sits under a throne festooned with fruit. St. Catherine, to the left, receives the ring; near her, St. Lucy and another female. To the right, St. Joseph with an infant holding the hem of his dress, and St. John the Baptist by him. The Eternal, in a lunette, is attended by two angels. The latter is quite Peruginesque, of a cold, flat, but rosy tone. The Virgin and St. Catherine have coarse, round heads; the children are grotesquely puffy. The forms and drapery generally are Umbrian. But the picture, in its pilaster and border adorned with patterns and gambols of infants, is much injured.

Photo, Alinari

THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE

By Francesco Verla

From an altarpiece in the Hospital Church, Schio

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been decorated almost entirely with frescoes by the same hand.[1] A later instance of Verlas' third-rate adaptation of Perugino is a canvas of the Virgin, Child, and saints, dated 1517, in the parish church of Sarcedo, near Thiene (province of Vicenza).[2] Another, equally characteristic, though unauthenticated by a signature, is the Madonna and saints in the church of Velo by Thiene, in which the drawing is taken from a cartoon by Vannucci; and two children at the foot of the throne are copies from the Perugino of Marseilles.[3] We shall see in a further notice of the school of Vicenza

[1] One side of the nave contains a series of panelled frames filled with scenes from the lives of the saints, and one with singing children. Beneath these are eleven half-lengths of saints, male and female, in rounds. Above the arch of the tribune is Christ in benediction with SS. John and James. On the other side of the nave, the continuation of subjects similar to those first described, the whole in Verlas' manner, not to be confounded with that in a canvas of the Virgin adoring the Infant on her knees, between saints; a local tempera of the close of the fifteenth century. [* A fresco of St. Catherine, formerly behind the above-mentioned altarpiece, and now at the end of the left aisle, is also by Verla.]

One may note in passing as works with a local stamp, at S. Giorgio, near Velo (close to Schio), frescoes of the Crucifixion, Nativity, Resurrection, St. George and the Dragon, and four Evangelists, in a ceiling; of the same weak class as an altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child between SS. George, Anthony the Abbot, Blaise, and Martin, inscribed: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Bonencontrus Dam. Dñi Andree de Pione de Vello, de mŏse sĕptembris M CCCC otavo. (1408)." All injured. [* The date is now obliterated. These paintings are by Battista da Vicenza, as noted by the authors in a previous volume of this edition (iii. 247). For notices of this painter, see also BORENIUS, *The Painters of Vicenza*, London, 1909, p. 207).]

[2] The Virgin's face is round and coarse. She is attended by two angels, and cherubs show their heads around her. The saints at her sides are (from left to right) St. Christopher carrying the Infant, dry, lean, and repulsive; S. Jerome, a copy, one should say, from Perugino; SS. Roch and Sebastian (foot new). The drawing of the latter and of St. Jerome is that of a fourth-rate Peruginesque. On the step of the throne is a "cartellino," on which are the words: "Franciscus Verlus de Vicenctia pinxit 1517." The Virgin and angel annunciate are at the upper sides of the picture, each figure on gold ground (canvas, oil). [* Reproduced in *L'Arte*, xi. 334).]

[3] Wood, oil. At the sides of the Virgin, SS. Anthony the Abbot and Dominic. [* In the first edition of the *History of Painting in North Italy* (i. 420, n. 1), the authors made the following addition to the list of Verla's pictures:

"Padua, Casa Piovene, but originally in the family chapel at Lugo in the province of Vicenza, canvas, with figures two-thirds of life-size, representing the enthroned Virgin between SS. John the Baptist, Augustine, Francis, and Jerome. This is an Umbrian creation with the Peruginesque *smorphia*. Some heads are spotted, and the lower part of the picture is renewed. [* This picture is now untraceable; see GEROLA, *u.s.*, p. 342.] Trent, cathedral, high up in the right

how Speranza, a local artist, received an impress from the Umbrians, whilst Bartolommeo Montagna, in some pictures, imparts to his subjects something like a reminiscence of the Peruginesque. Having thus reconnoitred the country outside Umbria in which Vannucci's example found attraction, we revert again to Perugia, to the career of the two Caporali, of Melanzio, and the Alfani.

Bartolommeo Caporali is one of the old and inferior craftsmen whose names are found in records in connection with ordinary labours.[1] He furnished pennons for the magistrates of Perugia in 1472,[2] and contracted for an altarpiece in a chapel at S. Lorenzo in 1477.[3] He was commissioned to deliver a Madonna in 1487 for the church of S. Maria Maddalena at Castiglione del Lago,[4] and in 1499 he and Fiorenzo valued a picture by Manni.[5] The only specimen of his skill that has any claims to authenticity is that of 1487, the several parts of which are preserved in the Casa Parocchiale at Castiglione del Lago, consisting of a half-length Virgin and Child, SS. Mary Magdalen, Anthony the Abbot, Roch, and four busts of angels. They are rough distempers in which some conventional affectation of grace remains, though the figures are drawn with wiry and broken outlines in a coarse and incorrect style recalling Fiorenzo and Benozzo Gozzoli, and coloured in raw and sharply contrasted tints.[6] They are akin to pieces

transept, Virgin and Child enthroned between four saints, one of whom is St. Anthony the Abbot, much restored and repainted; inscribed on a cartello: 'F. Verlus. D. Vicentia pinsit MDXV.' "

To these may further be added:

Mori. Parish Church, Altar of St. Catherine. The Virgin and Child with St. Catherine, St. Peter, and the donor, Gianfrancesco Betta. Signed: "Franciscus verlus de Vicentia Pinsit MDXVIII" (GEROLA, *u.s.*, p. 339, with reproduction).

Verona. Museo Civico, No. 458. The Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph and Roch. Fresco, formerly in the Casa Costalunga at Schio (GEROLA, *u.s.*, p. 342). The group of the Virgin and Child is copied from Montagna's altarpiece at S. Giovanni Ilarione, near Vicenza (see BORENIUS, *u.s.*, p. 14).

VASARI (vii. 526) refers to this painter as Francesco Veruzio. He was dead by 1525, and had a son, Alessandro, who also exercised painting (see GEROLA, *u.s.*, pp. 333 *sq.*, 343 *sqq.*).]

[1] He is said by MARIOTTI (*Lett., u.s.*, p. 82) to have been free of the Perugian guild in 1442; but this is possibly a mistake or a misprint. [* This date is perfectly correct.]

[2] *Ib., ib., ib.*

[3] *Ib., ib., ib.*

[4] *Ib., ib., ib.*

[5] *Ib., ib., ib.*

[6] All on gold ground. and the distemper hatched as usual over verde ground. The Infant, erect on the Virgin's lap, is draped at the hip, gives the blessing, and

assignable to him in competition with Lodovico de Angelis;[1] resembling a mutilated fresco removed from S. Giuliana to the gallery of Perugia,[2] a panel of 1485 at Ravenna,[3] or a Virgin and Child, dated 1484, in the gallery of Naples.[4] It would be justifiable, indeed, to neglect such poor creations, were it not of advantage to make note of them for the sake of tracing the style of Giovanni Battista Caporali,[5] the pupil

holds an orb in his left. The Magdalen is partly injured (right side of head). St. Anthony's is a vulgar face without brow (large flaw in the beard). There is something grotesque in the air of the St. Sebastian. The angels are less feeble. Mariotti gives the following inscription, which is no longer to be seen: "Pixit Bartholomeus Caporalis de Perusio, questa opera, ano facto fare e cacciadore de Castiglione de Lago. A. D. M.CCCCLXXXVII." (*Lett.*, pp. 83–4). [* Nearly all these paintings have perished. Two fragments, containing the heads of St. Mary Magdalen, St. John and an angel, are now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala IX., Nos. 11 and 12).]

[1] Gallery of Perugia (Sala XII., Nos. 24, 22, 23). Subject: SS. Margaret, Anthony and Catherine (*antea* in Fiorenzo, note to p. 263), and Virgin, Child and saints, at Corciano.

[2] Now Gallery of Perugia (Sala X., No. 8) (*antea* in Fiorenzo, note to p. 263).

[3] Triptych of the Virgin and Child between St. Peter and St. Paul (see *antea* in Fiorenzo, notes to p. 268).

[4] Gallery of Naples (Sala VI., No. 2). Wood, tempera, on gold ground. The Virgin holds the Child erect before her, on a parapet. With her left she caresses a bird. The Virgin's head, which is small, is injured. Manner of Bartolommeo Caporali, before the period of the Castiglione panels. [* This picture seems akin to Antoniasso Romano, and is ascribed to him by Mr. Berenson (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 135).]

[5] There is no account of Bartolommeo Caporali's death, but the will of his widow Brigida is preserved (dated 1521). It purports to be drawn up "in the dwelling of the heirs of Bartholomæus Caporalis, pictor" (Mariotti, *u.s.*, p. 84). [* The above account of Bartolommeo Caporali may be considerably supplemented. He was much esteemed by his colleagues and fellow-citizens generally, and was often elected to fill honourable posts both in the Painters' Guild and in the municipal administration. In 1468 we find him as partner of Bonfigli, together with whom he, on June 14 of that year, acknowledged to have received the full payment for an altarpiece painted for S. Domenico of Perugia. In this polyptych—now in the Communal Gallery of Perugia (Sala VIII.), and mentioned *antea*, p. 253—the pinnacles with the Annunciation may be considered as being entirely the work of Caporali. With these pictures we may associate a Virgin and Child with four angels in the Uffizi (No. 1,544). In addition to the S. Domenico polyptych, Dr. Bombe classes as joint productions of Caporali and Bonfigli a fresco representing Christ and the Virgin in glory with angels, dated 1465, formerly in the monastery of S. Giuliana at Perugia, and now in the Communal Gallery of that town (Sala IX., No. 8), and the Gonfalone in the church of S. Francesco at Montone. On November 26, 1487, Caporali received payment for a Pietà painted on a housefront at

of Vannucci, the plagiarist of Cesariano's translation of Vitruvius.[1]

It has been stated, without proof as far as present research can avail, that Giovanni Battista Caporali was born about 1476.[2] As an apprentice under his father, he might have witnessed the progress of the altarpiece of Castiglione del Lago; and one might expect to find in the productions of his manhood some reminiscence of the paternal manner. He went early in the sixteenth century (? 1507, 1508) to Rome, where he had the personal acquaintance of Perugino, Pinturicchio, Bramante, and Signorelli, and frequented the company of Aretino.[3] It was natural that if he studied these masters collectively, he should mingle inspirations from them with those derived from his father. We had occasion to observe that the frescoes in the semi-dome of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome are an example of a similar *cento*, and look as if they might have been executed with the help of Caporali and Antoniasso. If so, it might be that Caporali, at the time when these frescoes were undertaken, was a journeyman under Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.[4]

Petrignano, near Assisi, and for some figures over the altar of St. Jerome in the Chiesa della Rocchicciola, near Assisi. Of the Pietà some vestiges still survive, while the fresco in the Rocchicciola (the Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua) has come down to us in its entirety, though repainted. A fresco of St. Anthony of Padua in glory between St. John the Baptist and St. Raphael and Tobit, in the church of S. Francesco at Montone, is signed and dated 1491. Caporali was still living in 1506, but is mentioned as dead in 1509 (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 113 *sqq.*).]

[1] We have not collated Cesariano and Caporali, but the annotators of Vasari state that the five books with notes and plans of which the latter consists, are copied from the former (annotators, VASARI, iii. 598).

[2] MEZZANOTTE, *Life of Perugino*, p. 271. [* He was matriculated in the Painters' Guild in 1497 (BERNATH, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, v. 546).]

[3] See *antea* in Signorelli, p. 106, and in Perugino, p. 346. When he published his *Vitruvius* in 1536 at Perugia, he sent a copy to Aretino, who acknowledges it in a letter from Venice of October 3, 1537, calling the painter Bitte, as Vasari does (VASARI, iii. 597), and reminding him of their old relations at Rome. See ARETINO, *Lettere*, 8°, Paris, vol. i., p. 134, *verso*.

[*4] This fresco may be regarded as the work of Antoniasso (*cf. antea*, p. 267 *sq.*). As we have seen (*antea*, p. 412, n. 1), Caporali must have assisted Pinturicchio in painting the Assumption now in the Vatican Gallery, since payments for this altarpiece (which was ready by June 27, 1503) were in 1505 made to Caporali and Pinturicchio jointly. In 1509 Caporali, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Giovanni di Tom-

There is a Virgin and saints in S. Girolamo al Seminario at Città di Castello, signed: "Hoc opus fecit Johès Bta 1492." It seems the school-work of a man who had been with Signorelli. We inquire whether this can be Caporali.[1]

In S. Salvatore, about a mile distant from Panicale, the apse still contains remnants of a Christ in Majesty between SS. John the Baptist and Peter. Their forms, features, and expression, the way in which they are designed, draped, and coloured, are a modernized adaptation of the paltry manner of Bartolommeo Caporali at Castiglione del Lago; and the more likely to be by Giovanni Battista because they are carried out with the tricky boldness of the decorations at the Villa Passerini near Cortona.[2]

The same hand, bolder, freer, and more closely following Signorelli, yet still with something of Perugino and Raphael, seems to have executed the Nativity and its lunette of the Eternal in different parts of the Duomo of Panicale.[3] The final expansion of the same style, altered by recollections of Giulio Romano and Michael Angelo, may be found in the florid handling of sixteen classical subjects in the Passerini Villa, where Caporali tries his hand at vehement action and muscular display, draws with a brave sort of facility, and colours the wall freely with warm liquid tints.[4] The frescoes of that villa afford a clue to other produc-

maso, and Domenico Alfani, were appointed representatives of the Painters' Guild at Perugia in a lawsuit with the Potters' Guild. On July 3, 1512, Caporali and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo valued the paintings on the great clock of the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia (see BOMBE, *u.s.*, pp. 13, 127).

[1] See *antea*, school of Signorelli, p. 119.

[2] The colour is a flat, dull red, but freely and slightly handled. The landscape behind the throne is retouched.

[3] Wood, oil. The principal panel on an altar to the left as you enter the Duomo, and the lunette in the sacristy. [* This altarpiece is no doubt identical with one which Caporali is recorded to have executed for the church of S. Michele Arcangelo at Panicale before November 18, 1519, and which was valued by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Domenico Alfani (BOMBE, in *Italienische Forschungen*, v. 335 *sq.*). On August 18, 1522, and February 17, 1530, he received payment for an Annunciation in S. Pietro at Perugia, which is still extant (BERNATH, *u.s.*, *cf. antea*, p. 443 *sq.*).]

[4] The subjects are given in notes to VASARI, iii. 695. VASARI says that the Passerini Villa was planned and erected by Gio. Battista Caporali (iii. 693 *sq.*). The villa and its frescoes date previous to 1529, when Cardinal Passerini died.

tions at S. Maria del Calcinaio, near Cortona,[1] and elsewhere.[2] Caporali died about 1560.[3]

Orsini, copying from a MS. of which he neglects to indicate the age, declares that a Nativity, begun by Perugino at S. Francesco of Montefalco, was completed by his disciple Melanzio.[4] We have seen that some parts of it are from the cartoons of Vannucci, but that the handling betrays the comparative inferiority of a pupil.[5] If Melanzio could be acknowledged as the author of this fresco, we should have convincing evidence of the ease with which artists of a low class, under the orders of a great master, can rise above an usual mediocrity. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Melanzio, who was a local painter of Montefalco, should have been subordinate to Vannucci, in one of his visits to that place. But the earliest pieces that can be attributed to this fourth-rate workman prove him to have engrafted the Peruginesque methods on the older ones derived from

[1] At the high-altar is a fresco of the Eternal with two angels, and a panel of the Assumption which, if not by Caporali, is in his style, and perhaps done with the help of Barnabei (Papacello).

[2] Caporali executed frescoes at Montemorcino, near Perugia, in 1547. There are fragments from that place at Perugia, in the house of Signor Pampaglini. A Virgin and Child, a young Baptist, an Angel and Virgin annunciate; on the latter a mutilated date: "DXX." The two first are reminiscent of Manni, the two last are more like works of Caporali. In the same house, a piece of fresco with a half-length figure, originally in S. Severo of Perugia, looks as if it had been painted by one in Fiorenzo's school. [* The present whereabouts of these paintings is not known.] The frescoes at Montemorcino were valued (November, 1547) by Lattanzio di Monte Rubbiano and Dono Doni (MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, p. 236).

[3] Caporali was Decemvir at Perugia in 1519; and a record of 1521 relates to property left him by his mother. He dedicated his *Vitruvius* to the Conte Bigazzini in 1532. In 1540 he was Papacello's security for the completion of certain frescoes in S. Maria di Cesi, near Spoleto. In 1543 he contracted for frescoes in S. Maria di Monteluce, which have perished. In 1549 he, Domenico di Paris Alfani, and Pompeo Cocchi, valued a picture by Lattanzio di Monte Rubbiano at Perugia. In 1553 he made his will; he died *circa* 1560 (MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, pp. 84, 233, 239). A picture in the Chiesa del Gesù at Perugia, representing Cardinal Fulvio della Corgna, and other figures assigned to G. B. Caporali (MARIOTTI, p. 235; CONSTANTINI, p. 188; MEZZANOTTE, p. 272), seem too modern to be really by him. [* From 1553 dates a miniature by Caporali in the Annali Decemvirali of Perugia, representing Pope Julius III. enthroned (BOMBE, *u.s.*, p. 152).]

[4] ORSINI, *Life of Perugino*, *u.s.*, p. 206.

[5] See *antea*, Perugino, p. 360.

Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Francesco Melanzio

From a picture in the S. Francesco, Montefalco

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Benozzo and Alunno. An altarpiece of 1488,[1] and a fresco of 1513 at Torrita,[2] near Montefalco, would confirm this opinion if they could be shown to have been originally by Melanzio.[3] Of this there is little reason to doubt if we compare them with others of more unassailable authenticity, such as the tempera of 1498 in S. Fortunato outside Montefalco,[4] or that of 1515, at S. Leonardo in the same place.[5] The Perugian element in the first is like that observable in Tiberio d'Assisi and Bartolommeo Caporali. In the second there is more of Tiberio, and something in addition of Spagna. In each case the result is poor and very inferior to

[1] This is a panel, in five niches, with the Virgin holding the Child erect on her knees, in benediction, between SS. Sebastian and Severo, Augustine and Theresa, on gold ground. Four seraphs are placed in medallions in the spandrils. The figures, three-quarters the life-size, are painted poorly in tempera, of a dull yellow colour in the flesh. The heads are small and pinched, the drawing of extremities faulty. The St. Augustine seems a copy from Alunno. On the border one reads: "Depicta est ad onorem Mariæ Virginis AD. M488. die vero penultima mens. Decembris." [* This altarpiece is now in S. Francesco at Montefalco.]

[2] St. Anthony the Abbot is enthroned between six saints, amongst whom are SS. Roch (much injured), Francis, Anthony of Padua (all but life-size). In a lunette, Christ in the Tomb, bony, and still reminiscent of Gozzoli. The drawing of the S. Anthony and saints is careful, Umbrian in character, and also recalls Benozzo, the colour tending to brownish-yellow. On the border: "Die 15. M513. Decembris. Lassati vitio &c."

* [3] The earliest authenticated work by Melanzio is a fresco in a shrine or *maestà* near Montefalco. representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Peter, Paul, Sebastian and Roch, and inscribed "Numina quæ cernis Francisci depicta fuerunt Melanti [manu] de Monte falconis MCCCCLXXXVII." (Rossi, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. ii., p. 430).

[4] Wood, tempera, figures life-size, of the Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony, Bernardino, Francis, Fortunato, Louis and Severo. On a border: "Franciscus de Mōtefalco pīsit 1498." The Virgin is like one by Tiberio, the Infant paltry as in Bartolommeo Caporali, the extremities incorrectly drawn. The outlines generally straight and broken, drapery Peruginesque, and the flesh of a dull, sad tone, with dark shadows. [* This picture is now in S. Francesco at Montefalco.]

[5] The Virgin, adoring the Child on her knees, is enthroned under a daïs, attended above by six angels, two of whom suspend a crown above her head. At the sides are SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, Barbara, Anthony, and Jerome, John Evangelist, Sebastian, Francis, Louis the King, and Chiara (canvas, tempera), inscribed: "Franciscus Mēl Montefalc. pinxit anno dom. millesimus quintegesimo decimo quinto die septima septembri." In the style of the foregoing. The colour is earthy-yellow, with little chiaroscuro. [* This picture is now in S. Francesco at Montefalco. From the same year dates a signed fresco over the third altar in S. Illuminata at Montefalco, representing the Resurrection with saints (see Rossi, *u.s.*, p. 431).]

the Peruginesque Nativity already mentioned. Nor did Melanzio, if on this occasion he distinguished himself, ever rise to the same level again, as may be testified by frescoes and panels that can be attributed to him at Vecciano,[1] in S. Francesco, in the cathedral, and in S. Luminara, of Montefalco, and in the monastery of Subiaco.[2]

But it is time to close the register of men who lived on the traditions of Perugino, or his more talented apprentices, with a notice of the Alfani and their contemporaries.

A goldsmith and architect named Paris, having lived for more than half a century in Perugia, bred his son Domenico to the profession of art;[3] and the youth contracted an intimate friendship with Raphael. He is said to have been strongly solicited by the latter to visit Rome, but in vain,[4] and Domenico was content to keep up a correspondence with his brother student, and to act as his agent in Perugia. An undated letter is preserved in the Wicar collection at Lille, in which Raphael requests Domenico

[1] This fresco, in a chapel at Vecciano, near Montefalco, is partly damaged and altered in tone by damp and restoring. The Virgin, enthroned with the Child between two angels, is reminiscent of Melanzio. In the sides of the recess in which she is depicted are the Baptist and St. Sebastian. In the vaulting are SS. Peter and Francis. The figures are not quite devoid of feeling. Yet the drawing is defective, chiefly in the extremities. There is thick substance of reddish colour. We are reminded in this piece of an imitation of Spagna and Tiberio.

[2] At S. Francesco of Montefalco, the subject of a tavola assignable to Melanzio, is the Virgin of Succour (life-size figures), inscribed: "Griseyda S. Bastiani f. f. pro aĩabus dicti S. Bastiani Tarquini peritei et Franceschini A.D. MD.X. tempera." The figure of the Virgin protecting the Child from Satan is long. The drawing is straight and broken. The same subject, dated 1507, of which this seems a replica, is in S. Domenico of Montefalco.

In the cathedral of Montefalco, a lunette fresco of the Virgin, Child, angel and Tobias, a saint in episcopals, and S. Sebastian, is a ruder work of the above class. In S. Luminara, a Dead Christ, with the mourning Virgin and Magdalen, has the character of Melanzio, and bears an inscription closing with the date 1509. Above the portal of the same church is a Virgin of Mercy with two saints holding up her mantle, seemingly a youthful production of the same artist. For Subiaco see vol. i. of this work, note to p. 73. [* A Virgin and Child between SS. Gregory and Jerome with the Eternal above, in the Chiesina di Piazza at Montefalco, is signed "Franciscus Melantius de Monte Falco pinsit." Melanzio was still living in April, 1521, but is mentioned as dead on November 7, 1524.

[3] MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, p. 241.]

[4] We have not discovered PASSAVANT'S authority for this statement (*Life of Raphael, u.s.*, i. 217).

to apply to a lady of the name of Atalanta at Perugia for a debt due to him; and it has been very fairly suggested that the lady is no other than Madonna Atalanta Baglioni, for whom the Entombment in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome was finished in 1507. Some approach to certainty as to the date applicable to this epistle may be found in a drawing of the Holy Family at the back of it, the style of which points to a period little later than 1507.[1] Raphael thus repaid the small services he required from his friends at Perugia with designs which they treasured up, as we shall see, for future use.

Domenico Alfani willingly undertook, we may believe, the commissions entrusted to him, and for the rest, worshipped the style of Raphael with great and meritorious constancy. He became a registered master at Perugia in 1510,[2] painted in Berto's company pennons for trumpeters and a shield with the arms of Leo X. in 1511 and 1513,[3] and gradually rose, as years went by, to the higher dignities of altarpieces. Towards middle age, having a family of natural children whom he caused to be legitimized,[4] he took his son Orazio into partnership, and they laboured in common. Nor does Orazio appear to have worked on his own account till late in life. For this reason the works of the two Alfani remained almost alike and bore the stamp of one atelier. The tendency to copy Raphael is perceptible in their pictures for years after his death, and only made way in part, at a later period, for that of Rosso who, having been hospitably treated by Alfani as he fled to Perugia from the sack of Rome in 1527, returned his kindness with advice and even with cartoons for whole altarpieces.[5] That artists of so little originality should not be of first-rate talents need not be remarked. After Rosso's departure, the Alfani fell into the mannerism of the decline, and lost some of the few advantages they had possessed at first.

The earliest production of Domenico that exists is the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. Gregory and Nicholas, a panel, in oil, with Alfani's name and the date of 1518 on the hem of

[1] The letter in full is in PUNGILEONI, in facsimile, p. 293, and p. 79 printed.

[2] MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, p. 241. His name in the register is: "Domenico Paridis l'anderi Alfani."

[3] *Ib.*, *ib.*, p. 242.

[4] In 1520. *ib.*, *ib.*, pp. 250–1.

[5] VASARI, *Life of Rosso* vol. v., p. 162 *sq.*

the Virgin's mantle, in the Collegio Gregoriano at Perugia.[1] It is full of Raphaelesque beauty and feeling in the principal group, which recalls Raphael's Madonna in the late Rogers collection;[2] pleasing from the nobleness and regularity of the forms in the attendant saints, but marred by the paltriness of two angels like Victories suspending the crown over the Virgin's head, and still more so by the uniform dullness of darkly shaded and unglazed colour.[3] These distinct features are apparent in an equally fine fresco of the Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and Bernardino, and two lower figures of SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua, to the right as one enters the church of S. Francesco at Bettona. The Child, held on her lap by the Virgin and receiving a cross from St. Francis, is a little too weighty perhaps; and there is something strained in the grouping; but the Virgin's face is pleasing, her movement is natural, and the art displayed is derived from that of Raphael at the period of the Madonnas "della Seggiola" or "di Foligno," with some additional fleshiness in the figures and mannerism in the drawing. The draperies are generally fair, chiaroscuro sufficient, colour rosy and of good impasto.[4] Of similar interest are scenes from the life of St. Anthony, altar frescoes attributable to Domenico in S. Antonio Abate at Deruta.[5] A Madonna with two angels playing harp and viol, and two kneeling saints, a panel dated 1521, and signed by Alfani, in the cathedral of Città della Pieve, recalls that of 1518, and is coloured in the flat reddish tone adopted by Andrea da

*1 Now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XVIII., No. 39).

*2 Now in the National Gallery (No. 2,069).

3 Wood, oil, figures life-size. In the hem of the Virgin's dress, above the right foot: "MDXVIII." Above the left foot: "Domenico fece." Small figures ornamenting the throne, are quite Raphaelesque. There is also a reminiscence of Pompeo Cocchi in the head of St. Augustine. The distance of the picture is a landscape.

4 To the right as one enters the church. The lower saints relieved on a fictive marble skirting at the sides of a real niche. Parts of the blue mantle of the Virgin are gone; and pieces of St. Francis's dress are renewed. The head of St. Anthony of Padua is injured, and some of his frock scaled away. The ground of the upper subject is blue, sprinkled with stars.

5 The arched part of the wall is divided into four parts, each of which contains a scene from the Life of St. Anthony (much injured). Below is a statue of St. Anthony, at the sides of which are two painted figures of SS. Sebastian and Roch. There is much life and power in the work, which is, no doubt, by Domenico Alfani.

Photo. Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By Domenico Alfani

From a picture in the Communal Gallery, Perugia

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Salerno;[1] it is the best authenticated example amongst those which the artist furnished to the churches of Perugino's birthplace.[2] In the Virgin, Child, and saints and angels, by Domenico, in the gallery of Perugia, the Florentine element is already exhibited. The colour is glossy, yet modelled with great impasto. The figures are free in movement and of fully expanded forms, and they are moulded into a well distributed composition. But whilst one traces the gradual change to a more modern system, the influence of Raphael is still to be noticed in the Infant Christ and in some of the saints.[3]

It is not till 1532 that the full expansion of the Florentine style is visible in Domenico's works. Vasari says that when Rosso stayed at Perugia he gave Alfani a cartoon for an Adoration, which the latter conveyed with success to panel.[4] This episode is to be found in an altarpiece at S. Agostino of Perugia,[5] in which all trace of Umbrian feeling is absent;[6] but the Madonna and saints of S. Giuliana at Perugia bears Domenico's name with the date of 1532, and suggests the same reflections; and it is clear that as he did this piece he had abandoned the nature of a Perugian for an imitation of del Sarto, such as we recognize in the Madonnas

[1] The altarpiece (wood, oil, figures life-size) is inscribed: "Anno Domini MDXXI. Dominicus Paridis P. Perusinus pinxit." The kneeling saints at the sides are one in episcopals and Mary Magdalen. Much of the colour has scaled away.

[2] There is also an altarpiece (wood, oil, figures life-size) of the Virgin between SS. Bartolommeo, Francis, Louis, and Anthony, in Alfani's Raphaelesque manner, with much repainting in the draperies, at S. Francesco of Città della Pieve, and a St. Jerome (wood, oil) in S. Agostino of the same place, a mixture of the manner of Alfani and G. B. Caporali.

[3] Gallery of Perugia (Sala XVIII., No. 28). A foreshortened angel, above the Virgin's head, throws flowers, and two others hold up the crown. The Infant is reversed from that in an altarpiece at the Carmine of Perugia, and from a drawing of Raphael, the original from which that altarpiece is done. The saints about the Virgin are Nicholas, Peter, Paul, and Lucy. On the step of the throne: "MD. XXIIII." (wood, oil, figures life-size).

[4] VASARI, v. 163.

[*5] Now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XVIII., No. 16).

[6] This piece has been assigned on no clear grounds by ORSINI to Orazio, whereas it is by Domenico. It shows little feeling, is composed in the Florentine fashion, and of a reddish-yellow tone. Of old there was a Visitation, dated, it is said, 1545, at the back of the Adoration. It is now in S. Pietro of Perugia, and greatly damaged, but much in the same manner, and now without a date, unless memory be treacherous.

of Rosso.[1] Our English collections are not entirely bare of illustrations of this change in Domenico. We find one in a Holy Family assigned to Perino del Vaga, in the collection of Castle Howard.[2]

In 1553 Domenico and Orazio are found joint undertakers of a Crucifixion, SS. Jerome and Apollonia, for S. Francesco of Perugia, the execution of which seems to have been left almost entirely in the hands of the younger man.[3] Of this we have the less reason to doubt, as an earlier production of Orazio is preserved in a transept of the same church. The subject is the Nativity, singular for the unusual introduction of St. Anna with a basin of water, the style a mixture of Domenico's and imitative Raphaelesque, the colour of a monotonous and all but shadowless rosy tone. Guide-books declare that the predella, now missing, was inscribed, and bore the date of 1536.[4] The handling is similar to that of the Crucifixion between SS. Jerome and Apollonia; it proves that an altarpiece at the Carmine of Perugia, designed with slight changes

[1] Perugia Gallery, Sala XIX., No. 6. The Virgin, on a round pedestal, with the Infant erect on her knee, is attended by two infant angels in flight above her. The Evangelist, with one foot on the step of the pedestal, points to the Saviour as he looks at the spectator. S. Giuliana sits with an arm on a book, and a monster in leading strings. The composition, drawing, and drapery suggest that the cartoon of this piece was Rosso's. The bodies are large, the heads small, the colour raw and bricky, with dark shadows. The hands are bent in Michael Angelo's fashion. In the predella in five parts, scenes from the Life and Martyrdom of S. Giuliana are depicted; inscribed on the pedestal: "AD. M.D.XXXII. f. Dominicus paridis Perusinus faciebat" (figures in oil, life-size, on panel).

[2] The Virgin holds the Child, who embraces the young Baptist, St. Joseph looking on behind, and leaning on his staff. The colour is dull, the handling mechanical. But the composition is one of the good Florentine class adapted, one should say, by Domenico Alfani (wood, oil, figures life-size).

[3] The contract with both is in MARIOTTI, *Lett.*, note to p. 247. The picture, of a reddish flesh tone, is injured; it hangs at an altar in the transept of S. Francesco. The Christ is by no means good. [* This picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Perugia (Sala XIX., No. 11).]

[4] Now, without its predella, in the gallery of Perugia (Sala XVIII., No. 26). Three angels sing behind St. Joseph, and the pastors are in the distance (wood, oil). The type and movement of the child are Raphaelesque, as in the Holy Family at the Carmine (*postea*). The Virgin's regular features are reminiscent of Domenico's. St. Anna looks somewhat Florentine; the angels poor in form. The picture is injured and abraded (the angels particularly). A lunette, with an Eternal in it, once formed a part of the piece. It had been christened Raphael, but is neither by him nor by Orazio. See as to the predella and its date, CONSTANTINI, *Guida di Perugia*, *u.s.*, p. 303.

from Raphael's Holy Family at Lille, and usually attributed to Domenico Alfani, cannot have been done by him, but must be considered either as a youthful production of Orazio, or of some one related to him in art. There is, indeed, room for uncertainty on this point. The composition is copied with the help of squares from Raphael's beautiful drawing, twelve cherubs' heads being introduced into the upper arched portion instead of three, as Sanzio proposed. The execution is cold and careful, as one might expect from a young artist, the flesh but slightly shaded, and of a flat rosy yellow laid on at one painting; the dresses, on the contrary, of thick impasto and high surface. These characteristics would suit Orazio; but on the hem of the Virgin's blue tunic we read "POMP . ANSL . . . MENCO"; and it may be that this picture is by some other assistant in Domenico's workshop than Orazio, and perhaps by one Pompeo Anselmi.[1] A Martyrdom of St. Sebastian at the Uffizi is apparently by the same hands.[2] The remaining pictures of Orazio may be left to the compass of a note.[3]

[1] The picture, once on an altar to the left in SS. Simone e Giuda (more commonly the Carmine) is now in the Perugia Gallery (Sala XVIII., No. 38). The draperies are injured by retouching, and the violet of S. Anna's dress is repainted. ORSINI, in his *Life of Perugino* (pp. 24 and following), enriches the life of Vannucci with this work.

[2] Uffizi, No. 1,205. Small panel, oil. St. Sebastian, nude, on the tree, and archers drawing their bows, like the same subject at Panicale. The figures are dry and lean, and remind one in some things of Signorelli's at S. Domenico of Città di Castello. [* MORELLI (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 119 *sq.*) considers this picture as a work by Genga).]

[3] Perugia. S. Francesco, altar of St. Francis (wood, oil). [* Now Perugia, Communal Gallery, Sala XIX., No. 8.] Virgin, Child, youthful Baptist, St. Joseph and three other saints. The colour clear and rosy, the Virgin and Child in the manner of, and imitated from, Rosso. Same church. Archangel Michael trampling on the seven sins. [* Now Perugia, Communal Gallery, Sala XXI., No. 13.] Perugia, S. Pietro: The Resurrection and the Assumption, two pieces of a low baroque style, by Orazio. The two paintings, with miracles of SS. Peter and Paul at the sides of the high portal, are ugly and totally repainted. Perugia Gallery, Sala XVIII., No. 37. Wood, oil. A copy from Raphael's Entombment in the Borghese Palace at Rome; washy and cold. Formerly No. 142: Adoration of the Magi; wood, oil, feeble, and injured. [* Not now to be identified.] Formerly No. 159. Holy Family, baroque, imit. Parmegiano and Rosso. [* Now Sala XXI., No. 21 ?] Sala XXI., No. 3. Virgin, Child, Baptist, and St. Joseph, curiously mannered, and by some follower of Raphael del Colle. Formerly Nos. 144, 145, 146. Decollation of St. Catherine, and two other subjects, are more like predella fragments by Domenico than by Orazio. [* Not now to be identified.] Formerly No. 163. Predella, formerly under the Virgin and saints, No. 1,372 at

After his father's death, about 1553,[1] he lived for nearly thirty years, dying at Rome in 1583, with the doubtful celebrity attached to his name of first President in the Academy of Perugia, founded A.D. 1573.[2]

For Pompeo Cocchi, who was Domenico Alfani's contemporary and almost his equal, there is not much to be said; but he should not be forgotten entirely amongst the Peruginesques,[3] any more

the Louvre, attributed to Ingegno, like the foregoing. [* *Cf. antea*, p. 453, n. 1.] Formerly No. 76. Five half-lengths in a lunette, from S. Maria Nuova of Perugia, by Orazio. [* Now Sala XVIII., No. 42 (the Dead Christ and five half-lengths) ?] Perugia, S. Maria Nuova, sacristy: SS. Sebastian, Roch, and three children, assigned to Sebastian del Piombo, is by one of the Alfani. [* Now Perugia, Communal Gallery, Sala XIX., No. 12.] Perugia, Confraternita di S. Agostino: Virgin, Child, SS. James, Philip, Augustine, Dominic, and Francis, a weak picture of Orazio's latest time, a caricature of the forms common in Parmegiano. Louvre, No. 1,126: Marriage of St. Catherine, dated 1548, originally in S. Francesco of Perugia. For additional productions consult the Guides. [* A Holy Family with the Infant St. John by Domenico, belonging to Mr. Fairfax Murray, was shown at the Umbrian Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1909 (No. 66A).]

[1] Domenico is described as the author of frescoes, dated 1525, in the villa of Prepo, near Perugia (MARIOTTI, p. 248). [* Compare on these frescoes, SCALVANTI, in *Rassegna d' arte*, iii. 113 *sqq.*] In 1527 he received a commission for an altar-piece for Castel Rigone, which was valued in 1534 (*ib.*, p. 246). It was long supposed to have found its way to the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, but the round of the Holy Family there (No. 1,110) is not that of Castel Rigone, though it is a fine Perugian work in Domenico Alfani's style. Missing are the frescoes of Domenico painted in S. Fiorenzo of Perugia, some of which had been taken from the wall on the demolition of that church (figure of St. Andrew) (see MARIOTTI, p. 248). In 1535 Domenico painted the arms of Paul III. on the Public Palace of Perugia; in the following year, a statue of St. Louis in S. Francesco (*ib.*, p. 242). In 1536, also, Domenico married the mother of his legitimized children (*ib.*, p. 250). In 1549 he valued a picture by Lattanzio Pagani, and made a will (*ib.*, pp. 248–50). In 1553 Domenico was still living (*ib.*, p. 247).

[2] Orazio was born about 1510. In 1545 he was registered in the Perugian guild. He was elected town architect in 1576, and deprived immediately of the office. See MARIOTTI, p. 250 and following. Consult and compare CONSTANTINI, *Guida*, and MEZZANOTTE, in *Life of Orazio*, appended to *Life of Perugino*. [* See also BOMBE in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, i. 276 *sq.*]

[3] Pompeo Cocchi is on the guild register in 1523 (MARIOTTI, p. 208). A Virgin and Child between SS. Nicholas and Lawrence (wood, oil, life-size figures) hangs in the Duomo at Perugia. On the pilasters: "anno MDXXV. ." (? 7), with the words, "Pompeo Cocchi," in small letters beneath. The authenticity of this inscription shall not be denied. If Cocchi be the author of the piece, he is not unlike Domenico Alfani. The Child presents its back to the spectator, like one that Procaccini might have conceived. The two saints remind one of those by D. Alfani. The draperies are broad. The colour, of a strong red in the flesh, is well fused and of solid impasto. In the Perugia Gallery is a Crucified Saviour, part of a fresco detached from S. Severo, transferred to canvas, and catalogued

than Giovanni di Giorgio,[1] Mariano of Perugia, or Perino Cesareo.[2]

under Cocchi's name. The nude is mannered in drawing, but not unlike that of a tavola in the same gallery (Sala XVII., No. 21), assigned to the same master, originally in the Confraternita della Giustizia, and representing the Saviour on the cross between the Virgin and Evangelist. On the obverse of the panel, the Virgin holds the head of the Messiah on her lap. The Crucifixion recalls the Florentine manner of the followers of Fra Bartolommeo, still with a prevailing Umbrian feeling in it. The style is similar to that of a Crucifixion in the Louvre named Bernardino of Perugia (see *antea*, p. 419 *sq.*), being free and bold. In the Confraternita di S. Agostino, an old subterranean church at Perugia, now transformed into a storehouse, there is a fresco of the Crucifixion with the fainting Virgin, John the Baptist, and three figures in a landscape, called Perugino by Constantini (*Guida*, p. 150), but in the manner of Cocchi or Domenico Alfani.

Mariotti mentions ruined wall-paintings by Cocchi at Montemorcino, notes his will drawn up in 1544, and a valuation of an altarpiece by Lattanzio Pagani, in 1549 (*Lett.*, *u.s.*, 248 *sq.*). [* For further notices of this painter, who died on January 7, 1572, see Degli Azzi, in Thieme and Becker, *u.s.*, vii. 134 *sq.*).]

[1] Giovanni di Giorgio was registered, 1506, in the Perugian guild (Passavant, *Raphael*, i. 521), having, in 1505, painted the heads of a cataletto for the Brotherhood of the SS. Annunziata, which are said still to exist. For the same brotherhood, 1517, he completed what was called a "cassa del Cristo morto" (Ex. lib. confratern. sub anno, extracted by Professor Adamo Rossi), of which two panels are preserved. On one of them, the symbols of the Passion, and two sleeping soldiers; on the other, two figures of the same kind (originally done in tempera, on reddish-brown background, but now much repainted in oil), are distributed. There is feeling in this piece, which imitates the slight, small figures of Pinturicchio and Raphael's youth with some show of success. [* These pictures are now in the Communal Gallery of Perugia, as is also a panel belonging to the same "cassa," bearing the date 1517 (Sala XVIII., Nos. 20, 21, 25).]

[2] For Mariano, consult Mariotti, *Lett.*, pp. 101, 197–9, 201–2. He is mentioned as a poor painter by Vasari (v. 251), and there is a feeble creation of his, of a Peruginesque character, dating from 1503 in the Cappella Belli at S. Domenico of Perugia. [* This picture is no longer in S. Domenico, and, according to Siepi (*Descrizione della Città di Perugia*, Perugia, 1823, ii. 497 *sq.*), it was taken away by the French in 1797.

As extant works by Mariano may be mentioned three small pictures, representing St. Leonard, the Virgin of Mercy, and St. Anthony, in the Communal Gallery of Perugia (Sala XVIII., Nos. 10–12), executed in 1510 (see Briganti, in *Bollettino della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, vol. xv., fasc. i.–ii.); and the antependium in the Cambio chapel at Perugia, ordered, in 1512.]

A Virgin, Child, and two angels, with devotees under the protection of a Pope, SS. Dominic and Chiara, form an altarpiece in the chapel del Rosario in the church of Scheggino, near Spoleto. It is a mannered and very weak performance, without a trace of Perugino's style remaining, inscribed: "Perinus Cesareus Perusinus pingebat 1595." A lunette above the side portal of S. Domenico at Spoleto is by the same hand. [* This painter died on January 22, 1602, at Spoleto. For further notices of him, see Degli Azzi, in Thieme and Becker, *u.s.*, vi. 308.]

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